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THE

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DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

EDITED BY

THOMAS PRENTICE KETTELL.

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VOL. XXV. JULY, 1849. NO. CXXXIII.

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY AND STATES RIGHTS.

The progress of the Federal Union in magnitude and power is one of the most remarkable political phenomena of the modern world. In the space of two hundred years the North American continent has been settled under different circumstances of government and religious creeds, by colonists, impelled by different motives, from at least five nations of western Europe. From the freedom-seeking Puritan to the convert-hunting Catholic, religion interested, in a greater or less degree, most emigrants, the diversified companies of which held the land on many different tenures—a few by Papal authority, and others by royal grants. These latter again were subdivided into proprietary, royal and charter governments; some of which were purely republican in their nature, and others were of a monarchial stamp. No regular plan was ever pursued even in relation to the English colonies, but they originated, grew and flourished, as accidents, the nature of the climate, or the dispositions of private men happened to operate. Nothing of uniformity was discoverable in the variety of governments, of every description of which some examples could be found in the English colonies. But the leading principle at bottom was the sovereignty of the people; nothing like hereditary aristocracy ever appeared in any of them. If the imperial authority of the mother government was acknowledged in general matters, the necessities, the wants and the wishes of the people governed in local legislation; but this local freedom was regarded by not a few legislators as a serious evil. The policy of France in regard to her colonies was looked upon by the statesmen of that age as a model of wisdom. Twelve of the most considerable officers of the crown formed a council of commerce, to whose solicitude the colonies were committed, and on their collective wis-

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dom the fate of the new settlements was supposed to hang—the future prospects of the new country was thought to depend upon the skill of rulers in Europe. On the new American continent all the nations of Europe had a part to act, and the scene of their several labors seemed suited to the characters of each. The gorgeous pride of the Spaniard was pampered with the soft climate, sublime topography, and boundless mineral wealth of the south. His lazy magnificence found in the profusion of tropical wealth those luxuries which neither his industry could procure, nor his love of ease suffer him to relinquish. The active, enterprising, pliable and politic French overrun a country less naturally rich, but inhabited by a people whom they managed with advantage, and with whom an irregular commerce afforded profits that might not have been attained from the soil. The Dutch brought the talismans of frugality and diligence to convert a less promising country into a more solid acquisition. The English applied their thoughtful, cool and shrewd industry—which is impatient of useless labor, or that which does not speedily manifest results—to the sterile lands and frowning forests of the north; and individual energy and internal freedom soon produced evidence of commercial wealth, even under oppressions from abroad.

That oppression speedily condensed the thirteen English colonies into a confederation which wrought out the individual independence of each, and resulted in a political union, under a constitution which is justly regarded as the master-piece of statesmanship. The old diversified forms of government, the incongruities of religious bickerings, and the clashings of material interests, were all settled on three principles; one, acknowledging the people as the only source of power, brought all governments to the same basis. The admission of religious liberty, disconnecting church and state, excluded from the political arena sectarian controversialists; and the establishment of perfect internal free trade, merged the material interests of each in the general prosperity of all. The glorious constitution which acknowledged these principles as the basis of the union of the thirteen old states, has been found sufficiently expansive to follow the emigrants from those states over the face of the continent, absorbing state after state, whether of French or Spanish origin, until the union is now composed of thirty instead of thirteen sovereignties, and embraces as well the colonies of Dutch, French and Spanish origin, as those of English. The imperial policy of each, however wise or however imprudent it may have been thought, has submitted to a common result, and the "well-governed colonies" of France have been absorbed in the "ungoverned colonies" of England. It has been of little importance whether a colony was settled by the self-dependant and hardy English Puritan, seeking freedom—by the pensioned myrmidon of a Spanish despot, searching for gold—by the devoted emissary of the Pope, striving to spread the "true faith," or by the enterprising and ambitious Frenchman, supported and encouraged by the wisdom of France, concentrated in the regal council; all have alike bowed to the great principle of civil and religious liberty, and to the common sovereignty of the people. The laws which originally emanated from the Pope, the imperial Spaniard, the French council, the Dutch stadtholder, and the English oligarchy, with their multiform precedents, statutory and at common law, have all, in the alembic of popular sovereignty and local rights, been amalgamated into republican justice, guaranteed under that glorious constitution which proves itself equal to all emergencies.

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The difficulties that have hitherto presented themselves in adapting the constitution to the circumstances of territorial acquisition, have served only to keep active the vital principles which it contains. Every formidable question of government has been and will be solved by the test of popular sovereignty. If difficulties have been hitherto created through the inadvertent usurpation by Congress of powers that clash with the inherent rights of the people, the remedy is to abandon the pretension, and conform the laws to the wishes of those interested. It does not appear that any of those difficulties which were apprehended from the increase of numbers of the people and breadth of territory, represented in Congress, have been realized. These have doubtless been, to a considerable extent, modified by the wonderful discoveries of the age. We have only to reflect that Washington is now nearer to London than were some of the counties of England represented in Parliament when our Union was formed; that Ireland could now be far more promptly and understandingly represented in Congress than she was a quarter of a century since in Parliament, to comprehend how much steam has done for political influence. The improvements in printing and the wonderful developments of the magnetic wire have still further facilitated the communication of the people with their public servants, and of governments with their most distant constituents. By the magnetic wire, in its present state, representatives at Washington may simultaneously communicate respectively with their constituents in Nova Scotia, Mexico, Oregon and San Francisco. From each point, without perceptible difference in time occupied, the wishes of the people may be made known at the federal centre, and the views and decisions of the government communicated in a circle of ten thousand miles, without delay or misconstruction. The telegraph is, moreover, yet in its infancy, and he must be a bold man who will attempt to place a limit to its operations or its influence. Locomotion and means of communication are the instruments by which force is given to the will of the people; they have been instrumental in enlarging the sphere of their own operations; and the territorial aggrandizement is increasingly progressive. The eagle has scarcely spread his wings over California and Oregon, yet already Canada on the north, and Cuba on the south, seek the shelter of his plumage. It is in vain that we may blind our eyes to the fact, but the operation of those vital principles established by the constitution, viz., internal civil and religious freedom and popular sovereignty, are now being powerfully exerted upon the north and upon the south. A very few years will find the last British American colony on the north, and the last Spanish American colony on the south, members of the American Union. The versatile enterprise of the French, the indolent splendor of the Spanish, the laborious industry of the Dutch, and the business sagacity of the English, will all alike have finally yielded to that popular principle of government which is the basis of the American character. The United States purchased and annexed Florida and Louisiana because it was their interest to do so. The acquisition of Oregon, as a state, resulted from individual enterprise. The conquest of California and Mexico was a necessity of a war commenced by Mexico; but the annexation of both Canada and Cuba will be, as in the case of Texas, a boon to the people of those states, and they may by no means be the last people who will seek it at the door of the American Congress.

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The progress of the nation has not been without a constant scheming on the part of ambitious party leaders to get up issues with which to agitate the public mind, to serve as rallying cries at elections, either to concentrate suffrages upon a candidate, or to draw off support, and defeat him as well through political animosity as to benefit his opponent. The difficulty of creating an issue of sufficient magnitude to interest the whole people increases, as the numbers of votes multiply, and the diversity of interests becomes enhanced by differences of climate, staple productions and commercial resources. For the purpose of serving those partisan objects the tariff and other national measures have been too useful to suffer them ever to be finally settled. Those politicians who seemed most ardently bent upon their final adoption, were those least inclined to suffer any such consummation. A measure capable of agitating the public mind, and of interesting the people of all the states, is far too valuable as a political foot-ball for either party to suffer it to be killed by any ultimate decision. Circumstances killed the bank question; and accident, through a very close but erroneous calculation, laid the tariff on the shelf at a moment when those intriguers who were bound to go for it, supposed that they had insured its defeat. Bold political intriguers are always in the course of a long career found on both sides of questions that have been means of agitation. We find them at one time expressing honest opinions upon constitutional principles, when those principles are not involved in a pending election; but when the machinery of the canvass turns those principles into the partisan arena, previous opinions are self-abolished by counter arguments. Driven from national questions, unscrupulous men seek in sectional jealousies to make themselves formidable as enemies, when no longer trusted as friends.

As the existence of black slaves in all the states was the chief difficulty in the way of forming the union, so has it proved a continued source of difficulty in the progress of colonization. Those states that had the least interest in slaves naturally desired to get rid of them entirely; and the same evils which Virginia so strongly represented to the crown when urging the discontinuance of the trade, and which with in a few years have been repeated by the Cubans in their memorials to Madrid, operated strongly in preventing their introduction into new territory; and the ordinance of 1787, before the union was formed, was meant to prevent their introduction into the north-west territory, ceded by Virginia, a slave state, to the federal government.

This ordinance of 1787 has given rise to much discussion, and has served the purposes of intriguing politicians. The ordinance has been ascribed to various persons, but its true author was Nathan Dane, a revolutionary patriot of Massachusetts. He perseveringly pressed it upon the attention of Congress, until finally it was passed, at a time when Mr. Jefferson was in France. This ordinance, passed before the union, and before any of the principles afterwards recognised in the constitution were settled—when even the principle of the equality of the states in the senate had not been defined, and before there was a single white settler in the territory, was called "articles of compact between the original states and the people in the said territory." The absurdity of a "compact" between two parties, one of which did not exist, is sufficiently obvious, although it was argued that settlers who came on the territory became parties by that act. This non-existant people is, however, by the words

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of this ordinance, bound "forever" by its provisions. That is to say, the confederation of 1787, a temporary political body, professed to bind future generations "forever," in remote countries, notwithstanding that the cardinal principle on which the revolution was effected by those men was, that every generation have a right to govern themselves in their own way. Now the territory to which the ordinance was applied was ceded by Virginia, which state, in common with all the other states at the date of the cession, was a slave state, and could have entertained no idea of making the exclusion of blacks a fundamental condition of the settlement of the land she had ceded. Thus the act declares that the cession

"Is made on condition that the territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into states; containing a suitable extent of territory; and that the states formed shall be republican states, and severally admitted members of the Union, having the *same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as other states.*"

Now one of the "rights of sovereignty" possessed by the old states to this day, is the exclusive control of the question of slavery. The ordinance of 1787 ,emanating from confederate delegates without permanent power, extended laws over the territory, by an act which prohibited forever the introduction of slaves. The same act, however, recites that its provisions are for the establishment of states, "*on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever,*" necessarily, therefore, with the right of having slaves or not at their pleasure. The act of 1802, authorising a constitution for Ohio, prescribes that "*the state,* when formed, shall be admitted into the Union on the same footing with the original states in all respects whatever." Now Congress assumed the right to make laws for this territory as soon as it got possession of it, on the authority of that clause of the constitution which provides "that Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." Nothing but the most latitudinarian construction could stretch this into a right to legislate for the people who should buy the land, when "Congress disposed of it—more particularly that it required a special clause to give Congress the right to "legislate" for the 10 miles square of the seat of government. The only argument in favor of this questionable power of Congress, is that given in the recent powerful speech of Col. Benton, viz., that congress has always done it. It cannot be pretended that the authority of the confederation was superior to that of the constitution which created the Union. By the constitution the power of the federal government in many respects was enhanced, but in respect of slavery it was diminished, and when Congress, adopted the ordinance for the government of the territory, it was of course in so far as it did not conflict with the constitution which supplanted the articles of confederation, under which the ordinance was enacted. That the clause respecting blacks was not disregarded as obsolete, as the result of an undefined power, exercised by the confederation, but which had been defined and put at rest by the constitution, was because the clause did not conflict with the wishes of the people to whom it applied. On the operation of the constitution the authority of the confederation was dead, and all the officers acting under it required to be re-appointed by General Washington. But Congress could not confirm, by the acts of the confederation, powers of which Congress had been deprived by the constitution.

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Under the supposition, however, that Congress has the power to legislate for the "territory," and therefore to keep slaves out of it, by what stretch of power can it be said to have the right to legislate for one state, which it expressly admits into the Union on the same terms as the others, on questions which are undoubtedly reserved by those others as exclusively of state sovereignty? When Mr. Monroe demanded the opinions of the cabinet in relation to the constitutionality of the 8th section of the bill for admitting Missouri into the Union—a clause identical with Nathan Dane's proviso in the ordinance—it appears from the testimony of J. Q. Adams, that himself and all the cabinet considered it constitutional as applied to the territorial *term only*, or that Congress had no right to interdict slavery in a state; nor has Congress ever attempted to exclude a state on the ground of slavery. If it is proposed to erect California into a territory, according to the decision of Mr. Monroe's cabinet, slavery may be excluded; if she presents herself as a state, with or without slaves, Congress has no power over the question. Notwithstanding the clause of the proviso, slaves would have been admitted into the territory in 1799, but that the sense of the people of the territory was opposed to it. Thus, in that year "the officers of the Virginia line, on the continental establishment," petitioned for toleration to remove their slaves on to the Scioto and Miami military bounty lands. This was justly defeated by expressions of the popular voice, and would have been had no clause in relation to the matter ever been printed. There were several attempts to bring slavery in various forms into Ohio—one by indentures for work; but they were always defeated through the just vigilance of the people; and the feeling the attempts created, is manifest in the clause in the constitution of 1802, which prohibits any black or mulatto coming into the state, unless he gives bonds for his good behaviour in $500, and finds good security that he will not come upon the public charge. A white person employing a negro who has not complied with these terms is finable $100; a negro cannot attend free schools, or vote, or give evidence against a white. There were at that time some 200 negroes in Ohio, who were subjected to these conditions, which it seems did not come under the head of slavery. With such provisions voluntarily inserted in the state's constitution, there was evidently no danger of the permission of slavery, had there been no prohibiting clause in the ordinance; and if slavery had been introduced under the territory, the state would have abolished it, as was done in the case of New-York and Pennsylvania. Nathan Dane's proviso was an idle abstraction then, as it has been since, with other names attached to it. The admission of Missouri into the Union renewed this proviso bubble; and although Missouri was admitted as a slave state, her constitution contained the same clause in relation to *free* blacks as did that of Ohio. The provision was found in clause 4, section 26, of article 3, of the constitution, and was objected to as being inconsistent with the constitution of the United States, and the rights of the states, as in some of those states free people of color might be citizens. The clause was this: "*To prevent free negroes and mulattos from coming to, and settling in this state, under any pretext whatever.*"

Now, although this identical clause existed in the Ohio constitution, the miserable intriguing political agitators of that day insisted that the constitution should be sent back from Congress to obtain the legislative assent of the state of Missouri, to the joint resolution of the two

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houses of Congress, declaring that the clause in question should never be so construed as to exclude from settlement, and the rights of citizenship, the citizens of other states emigrating to Missouri. Although this gratuitous insult to Missouri was a mode of backing out from an unsafe position, nothing can more clearly indicate a determination for mischief on the part of those who were then denounced by Mr. Jefferson in the following terms, in his letter to Lafayette:

"On the eclipse of federalism with us, although not its extinction, its leaders got up the Missouri question, under the false front of lessening the measure of slavery, but with the real view of producing a geographical disunion of parties, which might ensure them the next president," &c.

These people, when the Ohio constitution was passed, had not commenced the agitation of the subject; but in the case of Missouri a degrading explanation was demanded of that state, to open a door for the federalists of that day to escape a dilemma. Now Illinois, with a similar clause, had been admitted in 1818, two years before, without any such explanation; and the new constitution of that state adopted last year, makes it imperative upon the legislature "*to pass such laws as will effectually prohibit free persons of color from immigrating to, and settling in this state.*"

Missouri was subjected to a humiliation for a clause in her constitution, which was common to other states, whose right in the premises was unquestioned. The fact only indicates the use that reckless partisans may make of a mere abstraction. It is, however, obvious, that Congress may have a right to interfere when the citizens of free states are prohibited from passing freely into another free state, when it has no right whatever to interfere with a purely local institution.

The effect of all these agitations has been to tend towards the nationalising of the question of slave-holding; and this, as charged by Mr. Benton, has been done to a greater extent by Mr. Calhoun than any other public man. Our readers will remember, that in the pages of this Review for January, 1845, when commenting upon the celebrated letter of Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of State, to Mr. King, placing the national question of Texan annexation on pro-slavery grounds, we remarked:—

"What has become of the Southern doctrine—what, of the Northern democratic position—that the institution of slavery, whether a good or an evil, was a local and not a national, a municipal and not a federal institution—with which the Free States had nothing to do—for which they were in nowise responsible, either to their own conscience or to the judgment of the world, even though it existed on the common ground of the District of Columbia? What has become of this position, after a Southern President and a Southern Secretary of State—and that Secretary, *John C. Calhoun*, of all men living!—have so nationalized, so federalized, the question, as we have lately seen done? When that has been not only acted upon, but avowed, argued, vehemently urged—*that, and that almost exclusively*—as the ground for a large and momentous measure of national policy!"

The consequences which eventually flowed from the position then taken by a national Secretary of the United States have been disastrous to the democratic party. The whole north admitted the states right construc

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tion for the slavery question, and also the necessity for Texan annexation, but they refused assent to the position that the annexation was necessary *for the sole purpose of extending slavery.* The late lamented Silas Wright opposed the sentiment in a letter, which, in a mutilated state, was produced by the bolting faction of New-York for deceptive purposes at the last election. If slavery is forced upon the country as a *national* question, the majority is most assuredly against it. If it retains its municipal character, it is no longer an instrument of evil.

We have seen that the ordinance of 1787, whether applied to the Virginia territory, the Louisiana territory, or the Texan territory, is a mere idle abstraction; and it is equally so when applied either *pro* or *con* to the new Mexican territories; and the only possible solution of the question is to recognize the sovereignty of the people of the new states as equal to that of the old, and that with them alone rests the question of slavery. It is well known that slavery cannot exist there, because it is both unprofitable and unpopular; how absurd then to keep up party dissension merely in order wrongfully to dictate to a people that we know will do right. It is scarcely to be hoped that the present administration, which has profited so largely by the firebrand proviso, will relax any effort to prevent its withdrawal. The provision itself is but one form of that denial of the right of popular sovereignty, which, with a steady opposition to territorial aggrandisement, has ever been a federalist principle. If now, by the enforcement of these two federalist principles, new states can be kept out of the Union, and the democratic party permanently divided, federalism will have a 20 years' lease of power. To prevent such a consummation, the democracy have only to unite on the great republican principle of the sovereignty of the people, and triumph as is their wont. The construction of a railroad connection with the new states, accompanied by a magnetic wire, will not only ensure their rapid growth, but confirm the true principle of local government. That a small faction—who, in New-York, defeated the national candidate from personal motives, against the earnest appeals of Col. Benton to their patriotism—may continue to breed dissension, is highly probable, but their power for evil will be small before a united democracy. The new apportionment resulting from the census of the present year will throw a great weight of power west of the mountains, and both northern and southern fanaticism may be controlled by the steady principles of the rising west.

The necessity of some direct railroad connection between the great valley of the Mississippi and the Pacific states of the Union is sufficiently manifest, and many projects for accomplishing it are already projected. A work of such vast magnitude requires unusual powers and command of means. For the government to undertake such a work would be to make it too costly in a commercial point of view, and altogether too dangerous in a political point of view, from the patronage it would throw into the hands of the Executive, both for itself and the vast crowds of improvements that would be sure to follow in the train when the door would be once opened. The means of constructing the work exist in the public lands, and their judicious application at the proper localities would suffice to complete it without extending the influence of the executive, or throwing too much power into the hands of private individuals. The western progress of such a work would facilitate the settlement of the west, and rapidly extend its political strength, drawing closer its affinities to the Pacific states.

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HISTORY OF THE DAUPHIN.*

The materials, of which this history is composed, have been procured with difficulty from different sources, and compiled with care. Whatever is stated may be relied upon implicitly. The writer deals only in facts susceptible of proof. He has not permitted, nor will he permit himself to go into conjecture or argument on the subject. His only motive has been to arrive at the truth in the premises. And if, after much investigation, he has his own convictions, he will not express them. From what is presented, the public may form their own conclusions upon the question involved. With the consequences, whatever they may be, he has nothing to do.

Let us now revert to the past. On the eighth of October, 1789, after the attack upon Versailles, the royal family, with its insurgent escort, set out for Paris. It consisted of the King, Louis XVI.; his sister, Madame Elizabeth; the Queen, Marie Antoinette; the Dauphin, an infant of four years, and the Princess Royal, a little older. The carriage was preceded by the mob, bearing upon pikes the heads of two of the slain body guard. But that barbarity was discontinued before they reached Paris. Cannon came next, bestrode by infuriate women; the tumultuous throng, variously armed, and among them, interspersed, the despoiled and dejected guard followed. The whole way, from Versailles to Paris, seemed blocked up by these dense masses, pressing forward, as by some unknown impulse.

As they moved slowly on, little aware was the unfortunate Louis of the sorrows and calamities to which he himself and his family were born, and which that day, for the first time, they began to taste. It is well for humanity, that the future is concealed from us. Had he known that his neck would soon yield to the block—that his wife and sister beside him, would share the same fate, and his infant children die in prison or exile, he would have been thankful to have the cup pass from him.

"Louis was firm in principle, pure in morals, humane in feeling, and beneficent in intention. He had all the qualities to adorn a pacific throne, or which are amiable and estimable in private life; but not the genius to prevent, nor the firmness to resist a revolution."

"Marie Antoinette was young, beautiful, high-spirited, and ambitious. She early acquired a lead at court, which continued to the overthrow of the throne. Her character was better suited to adversity than prosperity. In the arduous trials of her late years, she evinced a courage and magnanimity worthy the queen of a great people; but, in the early and prosperous period of her reign, mingled the love of power with the spirit of gaiety; and instead of firmly preparing for the storms approaching, made use of her influence to support men, who ended in becoming the worst enemies of herself and her family, and destroying her."

Madame Elizabeth, in all her excellent traits of character, resembled her

* History of the Dauphin, son of Louis the Sixteenth, of France. By H. B. Ely.

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brother. She was mild, amiable, and magnanimous, and possessed all the virtues that belong to woman. One of the charges brought against her, and after trial, for which she suffered death, was, that she had bound up the wounds of enemies on this fatal day at Versailles; and she acknowledged it.

The family took up their residence in the Tuilleries. Subsequently, they attempted to escape from Paris, and were brought back. In the insurrection of the tenth of August, 1792, the king was stripped of his power, and three days after placed a close prisoner in the Temple. Here he was deprived of all intercourse with his friends, and kept carefully in ignorance of the events transpiring without. If any information was obtained, it was surreptitiously. The hardships of confinement were, however, ameliorated by the society of his family. Much of his time was occupied in the education of his son, a bright, intelligent boy, who, by this time, taught to appreciate his situation, began to feel something of the claims of royalty in himself.

It was at length resolved by the Assembly to try the king upon the charges, which cost him his life. The time was appointed, but kept carefully concealed from him. And, as if to wound him the deeper, on that very day when the whole energies of his mind were required to meet those charges, upon which his life depended, his son was separated from him. He was summoned to the Assembly; and, as one by one they were read against him, in answering them, he struggled manfully against destiny. His unnatural kinsman, the infamous Egalité, father of Louis Philippe, and one of those sitting in judgment against him, exclaimed, with an oath: "That man will deny everything!" He returned to his prison; but found himself deprived of the further solace and consolation of his family. From that time to the twenty-third of January, 1793, the day of his execution, he had no society. The son of Saint Louis ascended to heaven, leaving behind him a will, enjoining upon his son much good counsel, should he ever come to the throne.

After his death, the education of the Dauphin was still carefully pursued by Maria Antoinette and Elizabeth. Various plans were projected for their escape, but none of them carried into execution. To guard against efforts of this kind, the committee, in whose charge they were placed, resolved to separate the boy from his mother. The order came, and the determination was carried into effect. In vain the boy demanded the authority; in vain were his tears. He was delivered into the custody of Simon, the particular friend and faithful agent of Robespierre. "What is to be done with the young wolf-whelp?" he asked; "was he to be slain?" "No." "Poisoned?" "No." "Starved to death?" "No." "What then?" "He was to be got rid of."

Too well he executed the work. The boy was subjected to every abuse and indignity ingenuity could devise. Such were the cruelties practiced upon him, that he trembled, sometimes to convulsion, at the sight of his keeper. On one occasion, Simon, in a paroxysm of anger, snatched a towel, hanging in the casing of a window, with such violence as to draw the nail from which it was suspended, and struck him in the face, inflicting a deep cut over the left eye-brow, and on the right side of the nose. By cold, hunger, beating, and ill-treatment of every description, he was at length so reduced, that almost every ray of intellect seemed extinguished. Whether insane before, and in a state bordering

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upon idiocy now, does not appear. Probably it was the case. But he fell ill under the weight of these severities, and, as some writers have it, died on the eighth of June, 1795.

There is another account of the matter. What reliance can be placed upon it, remains to be seen. After the boy fell ill, two physicians, M. Dumangin and Surgeon M. Pelleteau, were appointed to take care of him. They were secret loyalists, or inclined that way. A plan was projected for his escape, and carried into execution. They reported him worse, and finally dead. The officers were bribed, and the guards intoxicated. A dead body was introduced from the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the living boy immediately passed beyond the power of bolts and bars.

In the year 1799, Nathaniel Ely, a gentleman of Longmeadow, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, requested two persons, then on a tour in Canada, to visit the Caughnawaga Indians, at their village on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, a few miles south of Montreal, and procure two of the descendants of John Williams, a clergyman of Deerfield, Massachusetts, who had been taken prisoner in the irruption and destruction of that town by the savages in the year 1704, and with his family, carried into captivity. One of his daughters, Eunice, an infant of seven years, had been adopted by the Indians, and afterwards married an Indian chief. It was the object of Ely to obtain two boys from this descent; and, as he supposed, did so, in order that he might give them a Christian education, and fit them to act as missionaries for the conversion of the Indians. He was prompted to this work of benevolence from a religious turn of mind.

Accompanied by their father, the boys, Eleazer and John Williams, accordingly came to Longmeadow soon after, and were taken into his family. It is proper to observe here, that among the North American Indians generally, as in this case, the names of families are continued in the female line, and do not change, as among us, to the male on marriage. So, in this instance, the daughter of John Williams, though married to an Indian, continued to retain her own name, as well as her descendants. "I well recollect the time they came to Longmeadow," states a gentleman of Rochester, New-York, in 1849, "though I think I did not see either of them until about the year 1810, when I first saw Eleazer, and have always been well-acquainted with him ever since. John I do not recollect ever to have seen; but it was reported that he was much more of an Indian than Eleazer."

The boy Eleazer was sent to the academy connected with Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, and sustained a good reputation for scholarship and Christian character. He continued his studies, and was educated a clergyman. But war breaking out between the United States and Great Britain in 1812, and strongly appealed to, by the national and state governments, he took up arms. The crisis was momentous and trying; and he was urged to make vigorous exertion, since—"Much will depend upon your zeal and activity, as an Indian chief in that section of the country, which is the principal theatre of the war." For the defence of American rights, and the honor of its flag, he shed his own blood at the siege of Plattsburg in 1814. Peace concluded, he returned to his former avocation, and was settled as pastor over the Oneida Indians, in Oneida county, New-York. About this time he formed an acquaintace with

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Bishop Hobart, of New-York, and possessed the affection and confidence of that eminent prelate to the day of his death. In the year 1821, he removed to Green Bay, Wisconsin, where, for five years, he acted as chaplain to the garrison. He was followed by his former Indian congregation, among whom he now officiates occasionally.

A French gentleman, M. Bélanger, recently died at New-Orleans, Louisiana, who declared on his death bed, that in the year 1795 he brought from Paris the Dauphin, the son of Louis the sixteenth, by way of Holland and England, to the United States, and committed him to the care of an Iroquois chief, named Thomas Williams, from Canada. Eleazer himself states, and he is a man whose veracity was never questioned, that he supposed when he went to Longmeadow he was thirteen years of age; but it may be, he was fifteen. He was informed by his reputed parents, that for four years, from 1795 to 1799, he was deranged. He never had distinct recollection of any events of his life, until about six months before going to Longmeadow. Ever since that time, faint outlines, as of dreams, of buildings of great splendor, military array, men in martial dress, and similar images, have been associated with his first and earliest recollections; one object, however, was and has always been vividly before his mind—a monster who was continually menacing and abusing him, and of whom he was always in great fear. Could that have been his jailor, Simon?

In December, 1799, when his reputed parents were debating the question of complying with the request of Nathaniel Ely, he was lying in bed in the same room, and, as they supposed, asleep. His mother objected to letting the children go to be educated among heretics, and lose their souls. This was overruled by the father. The mother rejoined. "If you will do it, you may send away this strange boy. Means have been put in your hands for his education; but John I cannot part with." Other expressions were used, which indicated her willingness to sacrifice him. This raised many queries in his mind, then and afterwards, in regard to his connection with the family; but they were soon forgotten.

In the month of October, 1795, Jacob Vanderheyden, a well-known Indian trader of Albany, New-York, encamped at Caldwell's, on Lake George, and remained there many days waiting for the Indians to come in from the north, to purchase their furs, and supply them with goods, previous to their winter hunts. While there, a French gentleman came among them, having a French boy with him, about ten years old. He was in the Indian camp for some time, and departed, leaving the boy with the Iroquois chief, afterwards the reputed father of Eleazer. The boy came with the chief to the camp of Vanderheyden, and was evidently deranged; he spoke the French and German languages, and was remarkably well dressed; afterwards, he was taken by the chief to his winter hunt, as one of the family, and continued with him until the year 1800.

In the year 1818 Eleazer was at St. Regis, and, furnished with introductory letters from the priest of that mission to the Reverend Dr. Richards, of the Seminary at Montreal, called upon him, by request, and was well received. He was informed by this gentleman, that Abbe Calonne, for many years chaplain to the Convent at Three Rivers, Lower Canada, a priest who had escaped from the fusillades of the French revolution, and who was the brother of the state minister under Louis

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Sixteenth, had declared, that Eleazer was a French boy, from one of the best families of France. When questioned more particularly relative to the matter, he never could be prevailed upon to go into explanation.

In the last interview with his reputed father, now dead, Eleazer inquired of him about the visit of a certain French gentleman at Lake George many years before; but he kindly declined entering into any conversation about it. Soon after, he inquired of him his age. He replied rather sharply, "Why do you ask me? go to the priest; he keeps the records." He went to the priest, at Caughnawaga, was shown the records, and found there the date of the birth of each of his father's children, eleven of them, at regular intervals, with little exception, of from two to two-and-a-half years, but no record of his birth, or the time he was adopted. These baptismal records have been since examined, and with the same result.

He is now apparently from sixty-three to sixty-five years of age; about five feet nine inches in height, and inclined to embonpoint. His complexion is rather dark, but not as much so as very many Americans, and especially Europeans from the Continent. His eyes are dark, but not black. His hair may be called black, is rich and glossy, and interspersed with grey. His eyebrows are full, and of the same color; upon the left is a scar. His beard is heavy, and nose aquiline. The nostril is large, and finely cut. His mouth is well formed, and indicative of mingled firmness and benignity of character. Most however remarkable, is the full protuberant Maximilian lip, the distinctive feature of the Austrian family. This, the experienced observer is well aware, is never found in the aboriginal, and very rarely among the Americans themselves. His head is well formed, and sits proudly upon his shoulders.

He is naturally intelligent, and possessed of a clear mind and correct judgment. In his address he is easy, and in conversation animated. His manners are, and ever have been, uniformly polite and gentlemanly, and would indicate French rather than English parentage. His language is choice. He is fluent in both Indian and English. Of the French he is defective in pronunciation; though he understands tolerably, when reading or addressed in that tongue. But there is not the slightest indication, in his person or countenance, of Indian blood. And, if there be any thing in family resemblance, whoever has seen Louis the Sixteenth, or likenesses of him, or is acquainted with his family, in beholding this man, would notice the similitude.

Justly, the elder branches of the Bourbons have regarded the younger as their enemy. They never forgave Egalité for his participation in the death of the king. Louis Phillippe, the principal element of whose character was selfishness, had not been seated a fortnight on the throne, when his whole energies were directed to his own firm establishment, and the succession of his family, and that at the expense of the elder branch. Through his entire reign, down to the Spanish marriages, all diplomacy was directed to this object. At the instance of the citizen king, Prince de Joinville visited Eleazer, at Green Bay, in 1841, and spent three days with him. What transpired between them, will probably go down to the grave unknown. It is sufficient to state, that overtures were made him, to renounce for ever all claim to the throne. The proposal was rejected with disdain. De Joinville received the same answer which Artois rendered the ambassador of Napoleon at Warsaw on

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a similar errand. "Though I am in poverty, sorrow, and exile, I shall not sacrifice my honor."

Whatever may be the result, the fate of our friend appears fixed. He has endured trials and sufferings. With them, or without them, he has no ambitious aspirations. Wisely, he would prefer the seclusion of private life to occupying an earthly throne, even though it were offered him.

And now the question may be asked, what care the American people for the Bourbons? Nothing as princes, but everything as men. Never can we forget the good will of Louis the Sixteenth towards us, and the assistance he rendered, with fleets and armies, in achieving our independence. And if it so be, that his son is an exile among us, and not only that, has shed his blood in the defence of rights dear to us all, we will show our gratitude, at least, in being hospitable and generous.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HORACE.—ODE XXII.

TO FUSCUS.

No, Fuscus, no—protected by a heart
Virgin of crime, nor bow, nor moorish dart,
Nor quiver full of deadly poison'd reeds,
The steady friend of Virtue needs.

Whether his path through Syrte's sands he seeks,
Or Caucasus' inhospitable peaks,
Or in that land of vision and of dream,
Where flows Hydaspes' wooing stream.

For—as, with songs of Lalage and love,
Careless, I wander'd in the Sabine grove
Too far—I met a wolf, who, at my sight,
Defenceless as I was, took flight.

Such prodigy ne'er Daunia's warlike land
In her wild forests fed; ne'er did the sand
Of lion-breeding Africa beget
The equal of that monster yet.

Place me in lifeless regions, where no trees
With waving unbrage woo the summer breeze,
E'en on that side of earth which heaven's doom
Hath shrouded in perennial gloom.

Place me in deserts, where from nearest skies
Sol's rays descend, love-treasur'd memories.
Of Lalage's sweet voice and sweeter smile
Would still my sufferings beguile.

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PRIMOGENITURE AND ENTAIL.

AMERICANS universally condemn these laws, and most justly too; but do we not lose much of the wisdom of experience by condemning on the first appearance of wrong and injustice, without tracing the many injurious and baneful influences to their primary source. To the student these laws are peculiarly interesting; but to the people they are of vital importance. It is now too late to trust to accidental changes and improvements in our social relations; every evil can be traced, with proper diligence, to its primary cause, and may be remedied by the peaceful but all-powerful workings of our moral and intellectual forces. Political faith is no longer superior to our religious convictions.

We maintained, in our previous number, that free thought and free action are necessary to the development of mind, which no one will deny, and that *equality* stimulates all the energies of society, by presenting the various fields of interest and ambition to the competition of every member. The laws under consideration are directly opposed to the idea of equality, and are therefore contrary to the spirit of our institutions. Before we examine the influences, which they exerted, we will take a view of the laws themselves.

The third rule in the canons of English descent is—that where there are two or more males in equal degrees, the eldest only shall inherit; but the females shall take together. "This right of primogeniture in males," says Blackstone, "seems to have obtained among the Jews." During the time of Henry the first, "the eldest son had the capital fee, or principal feud of his father's possessions." There appears to be much difference of opinion as to the period and place, when and where, this law was first introduced; it is not, however, so important to know these facts, but rather the reasons for it; the objects sought to be effected by it; and the manner and extent of its influence. The Greeks, the Romans, the Britons, and the Saxons, were in the constant practice of dividing their property equally among their children; or, in some instances, among the males only. But society was broken up, and, with the new order of things, honorary feuds, or titles of nobility, were introduced; it therefore became necessary to make the estates impartable, and descendible to the eldest son alone. This was rendered necessary, not only to keep up a distinct nobility, but to secure the military services by which the feud was held. The eldest son was the first one competent to discharge the services; it was therefore proper for him to take the honors and assume the responsibilities of the feud. Females were excluded—for, by marriage, they might introduce a stranger into the family of her lord, the feudal relations and interests of whom might prevent a faithful discharge of the duties and services attaching to the feud. These were the reasons upon which the rule was based, and were the legitimate offspring of the feudal relation; but they ceased to exist as soon as that system expired. But those most benefited by this rule found other reasons for continuing it. The feudal distinctions had given it birth; and it was found essential to maintain a portion of those privileges after the new order of things had been introduced. The

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feudal system was broken down by the growing importance of the people; but its roots had penetrated the very frame-work of society, and could not be removed immediately. A sickly and effeminate offspring sprung up out of the ruins of the old system, which primogeniture and entail nursed into the present nobility.

Estates-tail grew out of the old conditional fees, and were fostered by the same spirit and influences that its correlative depended upon. Before the statute Westminster the Second, lands and estates left to a man and his heirs, were considered a conditional fee; and as soon as hehad an heir the condition was performed, and he could dispose of the estate. This was objectionable to the nobility; they wished to perpetuate their possessions in their own families, as it was considered the only sure foundation for the distinctions they enjoyed; they therefore procured the passage of the act, called the statute *de donis*, by which the intentions of the donor were carried out. This statute revived the feudal restraints by limiting the estate to the donee and his heirs, if any; if none, then it reverted to the donor. This new estate was denominated a fee-tail. Blackstone says: "The establishment of this family law occasioned infinite difficulties and disputes; children grew disobedient when they knew they could not be set aside; creditors were defrauded of their debts," for the estate could not be affected; and subjects became indifferent to their obligations, for their possessions were not subject to forfeiture. For these reasons estates-tail "were justly branded as the source of new contentions and mischiefs unknown to the common law, and almost universally considered as the common grievance of the realm. But as the nobility were always fond of this statute, because it preserved their family estates from forfeiture, there was little hope of procuring a repeal by the legislature."

The difficulty was overcome by an act of judicial legislation, during the reign of Edward IV. The king discovered, in the difficulties between the houses of York and Lancaster, that attainder had little or no effect, as their estates were protected by this statute. To avoid this, and give new direction to these estates, Taltaruen's case was brought before the court, and the judges decided that fees-tail might be barred by common recovery, which Blackstone says was a kind of *pia fraus*, introduced to elude the statute. This was the first blow struck at such estates, and was soon followed by a law declaring that all estates of inheritance, ("under which general words estates-tail were correctly included,") were forfeited to the king upon any conviction of high treason. This question was not settled for upwards of two hundred and twenty years. There was much difficulty, during the reign of James II., in settling the principle in the case of Lord Gray, who was engaged with Monmouth in his invasion; and from the fact that his life was spared on the condition of a ransom of forty thousand pounds to the treasurers, and smaller sums to other courtiers, because his estate could not be affected, we infer that the previous decisions were overruled. No open and clearly-defined statute against these estates could be passed—hence the necessity of passing general laws, subject to the construction of the judges, who it seems were always acquainted with the wishes of the appointing power. By successive statutes, and repeated judicial constructions, estates-tail have been greatly relieved. They are now changed by the joint consent of the donee and heir; and new settlements are regularly made to suit the emergencies of the family.

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These laws are a part and parcel of the same machinery; and as they arose out of, and have been fostered by, the same spirit, they are always treated of in connection with each other. The law of primogeniture in its operation secures a limited or special-tail-male estate. By one the landed property may be kept in the family, either between the heirs, generally, or some particular one; by the other the eldest son takes alone. The anti-republican tendency of these laws manifested itself early in the history of our own country; for this reason they were abolished soon after the Revolution. Estates-tail were abolished in Virginia, on motion of Mr. Jefferson, as early as 1776, and in New-York in 1786, many large grants of land were made to individuals in the southern and middle states, and as these proprietors were "desirous of maintaining the splendor of their families, they entailed their property upon their descendants. "The transmission of these estates from generation to generation," says Mr. Jefferson, "to men who bore the same name, had the effect of raising up a distinct class of families, who, possessing by law the privilege of perpetuating their wealth, formed by these means a sort of patrician order, distinguished by the grandeur and luxury of their establishments. From this order it was that the king usually chose his councillors of state." The evils resulting from this law caused its destruction in the first stages of the Revolution.

In order to trace the influence of these laws upon society, we are compelled to turn to France, where the changes have been gradual. That country, unfortunate in many things, but glorious in others, has passed from the grand vassalage, under Hugh Capet, one extreme, to the compulsory division of landed property, under the Emperor and the Republic, which may be termed the other extreme; for this goes beyond the laws of descent in our own country. Each successive revolution had the effect of distributing property more equally among the people, and of approximating the government and the governed. If we turn to the times of Hugh Capet, we will find that the people enjoyed few, if any, important privileges; they were but living instruments, in the hands of, and subject to the control of the grand vassals. The whole territory of France was held by twelve of these grand proprietors, including the five ecclesiastical peers, created by Capet, for the protection and support of the church. The feudal foundation of these twelve pillars gave way after the enfranchisement of all Christians, by the bull of Alexander III., and the introduction of the arts and sciences. The Christian world felt the beneficial effects of this famous bull, and published them to posterity by the evidences of an improved intellectual and moral condition. The storms and tempests of war had exhausted their power upon these iron-bound columns, without affecting the edifice: the gentler influences of moral enfranchisement and increased knowledge, gradually removing the foundation thereof, felled them to the ground. The grand vassalage was superseded by the grand seigniory. Two hundred of these exercised the powers and enjoyed the privileges of the twelve vassals. This increased number, and consequent division of property, brought the people nearer the government, and thus improved their political and social condition; for, so many of their own number could not be promoted without exerting a very great influence on the whole body politic. This partition or division of landed-property, was both the cause and the effect. It was the result of a force, which increased in proportion to the effect it had upon society. It resulted from the improvement that was gradually going on; and contributed to quicken the spirit that gave it birth. The

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grand seigniory, like its predecessor, yielded in its turn to a further division of landed property, and of political power. Printing had added fire to the spirit of improvement. Religion had received a more enlarged and liberal enfranchisement by the *bulls* of Luther, in Germany,—Wickliffe, in England,—and Calvin, in France. Two hundred grand seigniories were not now sufficient to represent the people, or support the government. Richelieu threw into the harvest his sword of fire; and the grand seigniory wasted before it, as before the stroke of destiny. Their wrecks were scattered over the country, like so many worn out and useless wheels and movements of machinery, which the improvements of time had superseded. Louis XV. found it necessary to create fifty thousand proprietors, to supply the place of the two hundred that had been swept away. This last division of landed-property had an immense influence on the political rights, and moral and intellectual character of the people; and finally prepared the way for a full investigation of all laws connected with the descent and distribution of landed-property. In 1755, the Marquis de Mirabeau, the father of the celebrated Mirabeau of the Revolution, made a bold attack upon the swollen estates in France. "They were given over," he asserted, "into the hands of tenants-at-will, or intrusted to indolent stewards, charged with furnishing the means of dissipation and luxury to their owners, who, passing their lives in towns, were too proud to look after their estates." Many of the most injurious effects were traced to this cause; it was therefore considered a matter of political, as well as moral interest, to remedy the evil. The state was badly governed by a class which had no sympathy with the people; and whose natural indolence and hereditary vices were fostered by the advantages secured to them. Under these circumstances, Mirabeau contended that the subdivision of the territory would give vitality to the state, by encouraging industry, and by furnishing the means to insure its just reward. "The friend of man" excited a deeper interest in questions of this character, than had ever before existed. They were linked with, and made part and parcel of, every measure of political reform. We have thus seen that every important change, from Capet's time, down to that period, in which liberty degenerated into barbarity, was connected with, if they did not depend upon, the division of landed-property. As proprietors increased, their individual power and distinction decreased. It was less an object to maintain their privileges, and they were less able to do so, if desired. These privileges were brought nearer the people, who, stimulated by the prospect, made increased efforts to possess them themselves. The grand vassals were not thus to crush the half-formed hope of their oppressed kindred. The grand seigniory, stifled by the spirit that gave it birth, was no longer thus to over-awe the humble by lordly equipage. The Orleans dynasty was as powerless as its defunct predecessors. The fifty thousand aristocrats of Louis were succeeded by thirty millions of men, who, being without those principles so indispensably necessary to liberty, were hurried into the grossest acts of inhumanity; but the fact that they degraded themselves to the utmost extent, has nothing to do with our argument. We do not say that these advances resulted solely from the increase of proprietors, but we do assert that it had much to do in producing the grand result; not the Revolution, but the present Republic. Much of the spirit which burned so brilliantly in the Swiss Cantons—the republics of Italy and the Cortes of Spain, long before the birth of the Orleans aristocracy,

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may be, with great propriety, attributed to the equal division of landed-property, which the laws of these countries favored. One thing is quite certain, if history can be believed; that wherever the laws, favoring an equal division, were established, the rights of the subject were earliest declared, and most successfully defended. It would have been useless for the humble citizens of Spain to resist taxes, unless levied by their representatives, if they had been without lands and homes subject to assessment. The republics of Italy would not have furnished so much to admire, to pity and deplore, had primogeniture and entail blighted the spirit of equality, upon which their happiness depended, as well as their individual and national pride.

We have devoted much time to the history of France, for various obvious reasons: no country so fully illustrates the effects of these changes,—no other has passed from one extreme to the other, as France has done. "The love of liberty was the ruling passion of their progenitors; the enjoyment of their best treasure; the words that expressed that enjoyment, the most pleasing to the ear. They deserved, they assumed, they maintained, the honorable epithet of Franks, or Freemen." Whether the descendants of that indomitable race of conquerors are worthy of the flattering cognomen, in which their early progenitors took so much pride, is a question that cannot now be decided. For the honor of a country, rich in all the elements of national greatness,—the birthplace of distinguished warriors, and the seat of scientific discoveries,—for the honor of a people, who have been alternately the pride and glory, and the terror and the shame, of Europe,—who have stood highest in civilization and lowest in barbarity; it is to be hoped they may now commence that silent but triumphant answer, which centuries of individual and national prosperity and greatness will justify.

But we need not confine ourselves to France alone; England, where these laws still prevail, furnishes many bold examples of their influence. In England, as in France, the division of property and consequent increase of proprietors, have preceded, if they have not themselves caused, every valuable concession. The boasted balance of their government,—the principal security of the people, and chief glory of their constitution, the House of Commons,—performed but an insignificant office in the government, until after the great barons were broken down by intestine wars, and their estates distributed among a large number of less important personages,—less important by reason of the partition of territory. The death of Warwick, the last of those mighty arbiters of regal power, was the announcement of the commencement of a new era in the history of England. A succession of changes commenced, which succeeding events and circumstances converted to the most important purposes. Henry VII. did little to quiet the disturbed elements of discontent, which survived the intestine wars of Henry VI. and Edward IV.; indeed, we think his tyranny contributed to widen the breach between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, and thus weakened the power of the nobility. These individuals had maintained their privileges by mutual support; but they now turned upon each other. This not only gave the common people a respite, but enabled them to gain many advantages, which otherwise would have been beyond their reach. Another class remained to be removed or humbled. This task was reserved for Henry VIII.; and fearlessly did he perform the work. The ecclesiastical edifice fell under the blows of the great reformer. The church-

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lands were sold to a large number of commons, and did more to increase their importance than they did to benefit the king. The king, the lords, and the church, had formerly held almost all of the landed-property; but by the intestine wars under Henry VII., and the policy of Henry VIII., their lands were reduced to little more than one-third. The commons now began to exercise an important influence in the government. Grievances were spoken of, and subsidies considered. They had heard something of the great charter, but had seen and felt but few of its beneficial effects; it existed in name, but had few active powers; they now had its seal renewed, and contributed greatly to the security of the franchises it was intended to establish. It was this increasing power of the commons,—this growing importance of the people, that gave them the ascendancy over Charles I., and enabled Cromwell to make a further division of landed-property, after the battle of Naseby. "Large domains, belonging to the crown, to the bishops, to cavaliers, and to the chapters, were seized, and either granted away, or put up at auction." In this general spoliation of "old and honorable families," and the creation of new ones, Cromwell performed the same office for England that Richelieu did for France. But his influence was checked; for early in the reign of Charles II., many of the cavaliers were put into possession of their "ancient estates." The confiscations were considered void, and the king, ecclesiastics and nobility, re-entered on their estates. The proportion, however, of small proprietors remained quite respectable—much greater even in the reign of Charles II., than at the present. From these facts, it appears, that the successive advances of the commons have been connected with the real property of the country as closely as the changes in France. That the rights and liberties of the people depend upon the importance and influence of the commons, cannot be a subject of doubt.

We have thus briefly referred to some of the historical facts connected with this subject; and would now ascertain, if possible, the causes of the changes which occupy so large a part of history. During the reign of feudalism, the common people had few, if any, acknowledged rights. Indeed, it seems impossible to degrade man more than he was at that period. For their lords they were compelled to perform the most degrading services, and in the most abject manner. Their highest reward was a smile from their oppressors,—their only hope, indulgence. For their lords, their lives were freely offered up when difficulties with others demanded the sacrifice,—from them they received subsistence and protection, and to them everything, even the first blushes of the bridal hour, were yielded. The early changes in this system were effected by the lords themselves, but unintentionally. The intestine wars taught the serfs their own power, and defeat weakened and destroyed their oppressors. Institutions and laws work silently, and not unfrequently produce the greatest results before we are aware of their tendency. The minds and hearts of a people are subject to such infinitely multiplied influences,—are affected by such gentle forces,—tinged by such delicate hues and shades; that it is difficult to govern them by any rules, without expanding or contracting the one, and warming or chilling the other. Progress is so deeply written on our nature, that it is almost impossible to prevent improvement. Our wanderings may be limited,—our limbs manacled; but the fountain of our aspirations cannot be destroyed without the destruction of life. The source of our natural nobility—the mainspring of our intellectual and moral movements, are not within the

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reach of man. It is upon these natural impulses of our nature,—these unutterable and irrepressible longings, that the improvement of our social relations depends. "All true grandeur proceeds from mind—all expansion belongs to it."

In our previous article we alluded to the fact, that the intelligence of a society, or body politic, depended upon the contributions of the different members; and that the intelligent and virtuous were affected by the ignorant and vicious, and *eo converso.* If this be true, and we think it a self-evident fact, then the general improvement is best secured by such laws as act equally upon all classes and individuals. The best evidence, then, of advancement, is the constant approximation to such laws. The English and Scotch laws grew out of the system referred to, and were matured by the increasing importance of the government over individuals. As the feudal lords yielded to the central power, the government assumed a more distinct character; but as the government was dependent upon the lords for the means of defence, they expected and received in their turn the privileges and protection which enabled them to comply with the expectations of the government. These privileges and this protection were secured chiefly by primogeniture and entail. When they were swept away in France, the aristocracy also disappeared. But of their influence the English have long been satisfied. Blackstone speaks of it in his commentaries, and others, before and since, have written of their importance. "I do not by any means," says Lord Brougham, "wish to interfere with the power of making or barring entails. I consider the English law as hitting, very happily, the just medium between too great strictness and too great latitude in the disposition of landed property. Sufficient restraints upon perpetuities—upon endless settlements, are provided, to allow a free commerce in land, as far as that is consistent with the interests of agriculture and the exigencies of our mixed constitution; while as much power is given of annexing estates to families as may prevent a minute division of property, and *preserve the aristocratic branch of the government.*" During the reign of Henry VIII., when the papists in Ireland furnished objects for the vengeance of an exasperated monarch, the first blow was directed against these laws. By this they hoped to break down the families of influence, and then by abridging the right of settlement, and preventing the papists from acquiring an interest in landed property, either directly or indirectly, in fee or in trust, they expected to effect their destruction. But these acts were not considered sufficiently speedy; the inventive imaginations and vindictive spirit of those liberal-minded apostles of the Anglican Church disgraced themselves by the passage of laws, encouraging the children of papists to rebel against parental authority, and as a compensation for this species of treason, they were rewarded with the substance of the father. The wife had her reward also, for disregarding the ties so essential to her happiness and honor, and upon the faithful observance of which the nobility of her character depends.

No people can be prosperous and happy where their liberties are uncertain and their property insecure; much less can they improve when the first depends upon the variable dispositions of arbitrary rulers, and the last is the fruit of their gratuities. Property of any description, either improves the individual by increasing his advantages, or injures him by stimulating the passions, and thus precipitating him to the bottom. Landed property differs, however, from personal, in its influences; it

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connects him more permanently with the country; it seems to invest him with greater stability of character, and to inspire him with a higher estimate of his own importance. These are the necessary results of the laws which require more formality and solemnity in the transfer of lands, and which give the proprietor certain privileges and distinctions not enjoyed by others.

These are a few of the reasons for abolishing primogeniture and entail, but there are others of equal importance. The division of estates and increase of proprietors, has the effect of strengthening the government. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the sneer of the English reviewer, at this argument, is the result of presumption or of wilful ignorance. If a national debt, held by the citizens, strengthens the government, affording greater security against internal violence than frowning forts and bristling bayonets, will not an interest in lands, which cannot be carried off or destroyed, be a greater security? We are answered that the government may be destroyed without sinking or otherwise affecting the lands, which is undoubtedly true; but are they not forfeited by rebellion and treason? The security of government, however, does not consist in the fear of forfeiture or loss; these may check the timid, but will have little effect upon those upon whom all governments depend. The best, the surest foundation is laid in the stimulant given to the moral and intellectual improvements of man. By the partition of lands, homes are created for a greater number of the citizens, and the means of employment given, in which their truest happiness is found. It not only furnishes employment, but it stimulates labor, and thus secures the full enjoyment of pleasures commensurate with the highest faculties of the soul.

Place man in such independent circumstances—surround his home with the securities of law—enrich it with domestic affections, and he has something beyond price to contend for—to live for. The government may oppress him; he will bear with it until a remedy can be effected by peaceful means. On one side stands his home; he still has a sacred retreat, and in its enjoyments and pleasures, hopes and affections: all else may be forgotten. On the other, forfeiture and ruin, not only of political advantages, but those nearer and dearer relations and enjoyments which cluster around the family circle. Since writing the above, our attention has been directed to a recent work of Mr. Guizot, in which he uses the following language:—"Moveable property, or capital, may procure a man all the advantages of wealth; but property in land gives him much more than this. It gives him a place in the domain of the world—it unites his life with the life which animates all creation. Landed property is the establishment of man as sovereign in the midst of nature. It satisfies not only his wants and his desires, but tastes deeply implanted in his nature. For his family it creates that domestic country called home, with all the living sympathies, and all the future hopes and projects which people it. * * * It also affords a field for activity the most favorable to his moral development, the most suited to inspire a just sentiment of his nature and powers." In speaking of the revolutionary spirit of his country, and of the condition of the government, he says, they can be corrected only by the moral and intellectual tendencies of the age. And to the *homes* of France he looks with the greatest confidence. "The family is now, more than ever, the first element and last rampart of society. It is in domestic life that the ideas and the virtues which form a counterpoise to the excessive and ungoverned movement, excited in

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the great centres of civilization, are found. The tumult of business and pleasure, temptation and strife, which reigns in our great cities, would soon throw the whole of society into a deplorable state of ferment and dissolution, if domestic life, with its calm activity, its permanent interests, and its fixed property, did not oppose solid barriers throughout the country to the restless waves of this strong sea. It is in the bosom of domestic life, and under its influences, that private, the basis of public morality, is most securely maintained. * * * Home, the abode of stability and morality, also contains the hearth at which all our affections and all our self-devotion are kindled; it is in the circle of the family that the noblest parts of our nature find satisfaction, and they would seek for it elsewhere in vain; it is from that circle, when circumstances demand, that they can go forth to adorn and bless society."

We have made this long extract, not only to support the position already taken, but to sustain us in some remarks we design making, upon our own political and social relations.

From these facts, we think the division of landed property highly important to society, and that the natural order is disturbed wherever the laws have a contrary tendency. By this means man's highest powers—his noblest energies—are stimulated; and in the same proportion the government will be strengthened.

A very close observer, and truly philosophical writer, in speaking of our institutions, says: "I am surprised that ancient and modern jurists have not attributed to these laws (of descent) a greater influence on human affairs; it is true they belong to civil affairs, but they ought, nevertheless, to be placed at the head of all political institutions—for while laws are only the symbol of a nation's condition, they exercise a considerable influence upon its social state. They have, moreover, a sure and uniform manner of operating upon society—affecting as it were generations yet unborn." By something like an equal division of property the power of individuals is balanced; and as the influences of individuals approximate in character and weight, the force of law increases; for all are equally interested in its protection. "I know not," says the last author quoted, "upon the whole, whether society loses by the change; but I am inclined to believe that man, individually, is a gainer by it. In proportion as the manners and laws become democratic, the relation of father and son become more intimate and more affectionate; rules and authority are less talked of; confidence and tenderness are oftentimes increased; and it would "seem that the natural bond is drawn closer in proportion as the social bond is loosened. Though the father is not hedged in with ceremonial respect, his sons at least accost him with confidence; no settled form of speech is appropriated to the mode of addressing him; but they speak to him constantly, and are ready to consult him day by day: the master and the constituted ruler have vanished—the father remains." If these are indeed the legitimate effects of our laws of descent and distribution, we may congratulate ourselves upon their existence. But if they have such influences on the relation of the father and son, havethey not more on that of brothers? All cause of bitterness is removed in the equality to which they are reduced; each one is thrown upon his own exertions—has equal opportunities and similar dependencies. Their brotherhood is fully recognized; and they therefore mingle together without ill-feeling or embarrassment. The inheritance is divided, but the hearts are more firmly united. But it is not alone upon

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the family in their domestic relations that these laws act; for by acting upon it, you most effectually act upon the body politic. All improvements of every description, must and do commence at the fireside; and the only sure basis of government is formed in the security which the laws extend to these nurseries of public and private virtue.

But an objection has been made to the division of estates, on the grounds of economy. It is urged that large farms are more profitable—that they yield more, and are less expensive in proportion to the number of acres cultivated. Facts, however, do not sustain the friends of primogeniture and entail in this statement. The evidence in France and England is opposed to it; but Holland and Switzerland have furnished more direct and positive contradictions. In Belgium, where the two systems were fully and fairly tried, the result was anything but favorable to large estates.

M. Passy says, (in a work on this subject,) that "Belgium had two zones of arable country completely different from each other. In the Walloon district the system of large farms prevailed: and, notwithstanding the natural richness of the soil, the returns from such farms were small. The district lying between Ghent and Antwerp, the country of Waas and Termonde, was, on the contrary, entirely covered with small farms; and these lands, originally sterile, had become admirably fertile. Nowhere was the land let at so high a rate—was there so much live stock reared—or a more dense population in the enjoyment of so much comfort. At the sight of so striking a contrast, it was perfectly natural for Belgian agricultural writers to hesitate in awarding the preference to large farms; indeed, some of them went so far as to denounce them as nuisances of which the country should be cleared; and, in 1760, the states of Hainault actually passed a law for their suppression." "The contrast," says the same author, "was equally great between the poverty and sloth on the large farms in the Roman states, and the prosperous activity on the small farms in Lombardy and Tuscany." This authority is sufficient to satisfy the impartial; but additional evidence may be found in every agricultural district in our own country. Small farms are better cultivated than large ones, for various reasons—first, they are cultivated by the proprietors themselves. Again, it is important to make them yield as much as possible, and to make them last as long as possible. Large farms are farmed out; or labor is employed to cultivate them. In either case the interest necessary to secure a faithful cultivation is wanting; and less, therefore, is made, while the soil is injured more.

Adam Smith condemns these laws, as contrary to the interests of family as well as of society, and Baron de Stael Holstein is of the same opinion, even in an economical point. De Tocqueville and Guizot also agree in condemning these laws.

If these laws cannot be defended on the grounds of economy—if they do not strengthen the government, but weaken and corrupt it—if they fail to inspire those kind feelings and generous impulses, upon which our social and individual happiness and improvement so much depend—if, under their influence; the intellectual faculties are restrained, and the moral forces of our nature enfeebled; then the period of their existence has well-nigh closed. Neither the force of custom—the swollen power of the lords of the soil—nor the iron rule of monarchy, will be able to keep them longer in the statute books of England, or any other country.

While our principal object has been to distil some benefit from this dry,

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and to most persons, uninteresting subject, by a reference to the history of others, we will now be excused for turning from their illiberal and unjust institutions to our own, with a pride equalled only by our gratitude for the distinguished privileges which are our peculiar birthright. If we turn to the agricultural or manufacturing districts, or to the commercial cities on the sea-board, the same unexampled prosperity meets the eye. In whatever light we contemplate our country, it will prove itself worthy of the great founders of the Republic, and of the best labors and warmest affections of their descendants. If we look for the sources of our national strength in peace and defence in war, we will find them treasured up in the hearts of a contented and prosperous people. The strength of our Union is found in the independence of the members, and the glory of the nation in the weakness of the government. We have but few frowning forts around our coasts, and less are needed. Our chief means of defence is found in the interior—every cottage is a school for warriors of a new but unyielding character; and every heart a citadel, which cannot be stormed or successfully besieged. Without an army we conquered, and have since maintained our independence. Our rapidly increasing commerce has been defended, and the sanctity of our flag triumphantly maintained. All this, however, might have been accomplished under a different form of government; but other difficulties tested our institutions while in their infancy—difficulties resulting from the unsettled policy of the country. The various opinions—local prejudices, and infinitely multiplied interests, demanded the most liberal concessions and compromises. These were made at the proper time, and in such a manner as to insure them in the future, should circumstances require it. To this spirit, which has been and may be again, the salvation of our confederacy—the peace and quiet of our cottage homes—the affection and virtue of our unpretending domestic circles, have contributed the largest proportion. Through their influence we have been able to withstand commercial distress, and that which is frequently worse—unnatural prosperity. We have overcome sectional bitterness, and the gigantic power of corrupt central institutions. The shocks of contending parties have contributed to fix more permanently the foundation of our liberties, while the decay of other governments have added strength to our own. How much of this prosperity has naturally and necessarily resulted from the agricultural character of our country—from the influence of our small farms, and laws of descent and distribution—no one can say. These, in connection with, and as a part and parcel of our republican measures, have worked out the great problem of self-government most satisfactorily to the civilized world. In the establishment of our government, a whole continent was thrown open to the energetic and persevering of all countries. Land which, at that period more than the present, increased the importance of the possessor, was offered to all. Under such circumstances, it was of little importance to the time-worn and weather-beaten wanderer, how many lords of the soil and merchant princes of the seas he left behind; a new and boundless territory, as fertile as any on earth, diversified with hills and valleys, containing vast navigable rivers and inland seas, and almost every variety of climate, lay open before him. On it hope fixed her ever wakeful eye; and to it the weary feet were turned with unfaltering steps. As it was then, and is now, a sure asylum for the oppressed of every clime, may it ever be—worthy of their and our unshaken confidence and noblest exertions.

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MARAT.

MARAT can advance but a slight pretension to a place among the statesmen of the Revolution. As an historical personage, however, his character is a remarkable one. Like his form and features, it bears upon it the mark of a striking individuality. No series of historical portraits of those times would be complete without him, for few men played a bolder part, or exercised a more potent influence upon the public mind than he. In that grand revolutionary *tableau* which rises up before the imagination, like spectral figures to the natural vision amid the scenic illusions of the stage, none can fail at once to recognize the sanguinary prophet of Jacobinism. There he stands—that depraved and squalid figure—mocking, with scornful lip, the wild tempest which rages around him; his bony finger pointing out with convulsive eagerness the victims doomed for the slaughter—his maniac eye flashing through the darkness which clouds his pathway—his demoniac laugh ringing out wild and shrill above the diapason of the earthquake that rocks the capitol!

JEAN PAUL MARAT was a native of Switzerland. His parents were Protestants. He was born at Bondry, in Neuchâtel, in the year 1744; was carefully educated, and displayed in his youth a decided taste for natural philosophy and the physical sciences. Nature had bestowed on him a most unprepossessing exterior. He was diminutive in stature, scarcely five feet* in height; his form was ill-shaped—his head large—his features strongly marked and distorted, and his complexion sallow; with nothing to relieve his repulsive ugliness save a bright and piercing eye, which, in his last years, had in its glances a wildness that was sometimes attributed to insanity. His mind was almost the counterpart of such a body—distorted, eccentric, unlike that of his species. He was imperious and violent in temper, petulant and vindictive, with a morose, cold and selfish disposition, united with the most extravagant conceptions of his own ability.†

Marat devoted himself with ardor to the study of the natural sciences. These constituted his favorite pursuit, not only in youth but through his whole life, up to the beginning of his revolutionary career. He studied medicine at Paris, at which place he commenced the practice of his profession; but he met with little success, and remained in poverty and indigence. Brissot, who knew him well, says of him, that he not only suspected Marat of being a quack and a charlatan, but knew him to be a notorious liar. As an instance of this latter accomplishment, Brissot mentions that Marat told him of his prodigious success in the practice of medicine, which was so great that, on his *debut* at Paris, he was paid

* French measure.

† Brissot, his colleague in the Convention, speaks of Marat's character thus:—"He had but a single passion, that of being foremost in the career which he was running. Anxiety for fame was his disease, for he had not that of avarice. He loved no man, and had no belief in virtue. He was selfish—never bestowed praise on any writer, and seemed as if all talents and all genius were concentrated in himself."

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thirty-six livres for every visit, and had not time sufficient for all the consultations to which he was called.

Marat subsequently quitted the practice of medicine, which he said was in Paris only the profession of a quack, and unworthy of him, and thenceforth devoted his whole time to the study of natural philosophy. Brissot also mentions an instance of his quackery, that, although he had renounced his profession, yet, from time to time, he sold remedies, which he warranted, and was always careful to name the price. A wart on Brissot's finger having struck his eye, Marat sent him, unasked it seems, a bottle of very limpid water, for which he took from the patient twelve livres. Brissot made no use of the remedy.

In the year 1775 Marat went to England, and resided for a time in Edinburgh, where he taught the French language. While here he held himself out as the champion of liberal principles; and wrote and published a book, entitled the "Chains of Slavery," in which he attempted to unmask the corruptions of the court and of the administration. Marat subsequently told the most abominable lies to his credulous friend Brissot, about the sensation this work had produced in England, and the reputation it had acquired for its author; how he had been rewarded by valuable presents—by admission into corporations, and by being presented with the freedom of several cities!

bout the same time Marat published a treatise on the "Principles of Man," which appeared in three volumes, and which was afterwards burlesqued by the witty and sarcastic pen of Voltaire. He was also the author of various other works, principally upon medical and philosophical subjects, which are said to display no little learning and acuteness of mind.

As a philosopher, Marat was indefatigable in his researches and labors. It is recorded of him that, insensible to the pleasures of the table, or to the enjoyments of life, he consecrated all his time and his money to philosophical experiments; nor is it denied, that he made some new and valuable scientific discoveries, and that his experiments were ingenious and original, particularly those upon light. His system of optics, together with that of a fellow-countryman, M. de Saussure, for some time occupied the attention of the learned world. Marat kept up a correspondence with various men of learning upon these subjects, among whom was Barbaroux, afterwards his colleague in the Convention.

Marat's hatred was excited against the members of the Academy of Sciences, and it was one of his most intense passions to humble. They had treated his first essays with neglect and contempt, and Marat, doubtless, had some cause for his hatred. Brissot himself says, that their conduct toward him was unjust, and he does not hesitate to express his disgust at the "insolence and despotism with which they treated a philosopher, because he did not, like themselves, wear a gown." They were enraged at his experiments on light, fire and electricity, and never would acknowledge anything new or valuable in any of his theories. It was a ruling passion with Marat through life, to overthrow established systems, and destroy the reputation of celebrated men. To gratify this passion, as well as to humble the pride of the academy, he applied himself for a long time to making experiments on light, with the view of overturning Newton's principles of optics. Some of these experiments were witnessed by Franklin, who, it is said, was highly delighted with them, and

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expressed great admiration at the ingenuity of Marat. Marat also pretended that he had made discoveries on electricity which overthrew the system of Franklin; but Franklin, says Brissot, was not the dupe of his quackery. An instance of the crabbed temper and insolence of Marat is related by Brissot, in connexion with these experiments. The celebrated Volta, distinguished for his discoveries on electricity, called to see him perform some of his philosophical feats, but he had scarcely repeated a few of them, and heard one or two objections from Volta, than he insulted his visitor grossly without attempting to answer the objections.

In these employments, pursuing his philosophical experiments in opposition to all the philosophers and the academies; attacking, without discrimination, established systems, and the reputations of celebrated men, Marat continued until the opening of the Revolution. He was the Diogenes among the philosophers of that day; they kept aloof from him, and did not even criticise his experiments, fearful by doing so of adding to his celebrity. He does not appear at this time to have had any taste for politics, or to have entered upon any political discussion.*

He was living in comparative poverty in Paris. His habits were simple, even austere, and his wants few and easily supplied. He had formed a connexion with a lady of rank, a certain Marquise de L——, a woman of accomplished mind and elegant manners, who, being separated from her husband, had put herself under the care of Marat, as a physician. The connexion of such a woman with a man of such violent temper, and disagreeable manners and person as Marat, was a matter of no little surprise.†

The philosopher had also risen to the dignified station of veterinary surgeon to the stables of the Count d' Artois, which place he held at the commencement of the revolutionary excitements. He was, therefore, in reality, a pensioner of the court, eating its bread, and living upon its bounty, at the very time he took it into his head to become a politician and a patriot. The breaking out of the revolutionary troubles fired his convulsive brain, and roused his exaggerated imagination. Deserting the field of philosophy for that of politics, he entered upon his course with the same views, the same motives, the same feelings that had always actuated him—a disappointed ambition, humbled and discouraged by the obstacles it had encountered—a morose and misanthropic disposition, soured with the world on account of the neglect and contempt that he had always received—an intensely vain and egotistical nature, hating all mankind because they refused to acknowledge his superiority, or appreciate what he conceived to be his own merits; these were the main sources of Marat's revolutionary ardor.

Ceasing his attacks upon Newton, Helvetius, Franklin and the philosophers, and his labors to overturn their systems, he set himself to work with the same vindictive and persevering spirit to attack the court and the aristocracy, and to overturn the established system of government and society.

* So late as 1786 or '87, Brissot, in a conversation with Marat, asked him why, instead of warring against the academies, and the systems of philosophers, he did not enter upon political discussions, and labor with the patriots to overturn despotism. Marat answered, that he would rather continue his experiments in peace, because philosophy did not lead to the Bastile, and he intimated an opinion, that the French people were not sufficiently ripe—not sufficiently courageous to support a revolution.

† Brissot.

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Marat's first visible appearance upon the revolutionary stage is on the 14th of July, 1789, the day of the taking of the Bastile. He had a few days previous given "printed advice" to the people to abstain from violence. On this day he was among the crowd on the Pout de Neuf when a troop of hussars approached for the purpose of reconnoitering. Marat coming up to the commanding officer, summoned him, in the name of the people, to alight and give up his arms; the officer obeyed, and the soldiers, after being disarmed, were dismissed on their parol. After the fall of the Bastile, Marat did not hesitate to make this simple circumstance the ground of a claim upon popular favor, arrogating to himself a large share of the glory of the day.

His zeal in the revolutionary cause was now rapidly rising into a kind of frenzy. He undertook to harangue the populace of the section in which he lived, but his efforts were received with shouts of derision and contempt. He was never able, as a speaker, to express himself with fluency, and his shrill and discordant voice, his violent and exaggerated manner, his deformed figure and slovenly attire, excited among even the lowest spectators only the emotions of pity or ridicule. They made sport of his person, treated him with a mock gravity, ran against him, trod upon his toes; but to all these studied insults, he opposed the stoic insensibility and disdain of a nature that had become thoroughly callous, and of a heart utterly indifferent either to the love, or the hatred and contempt of his fellows. His dogged perseverance was equal to his wonderful impudence and arrogance; the insults he received did not in the slightest degree deter him from again and again repeating his efforts; the scorn with which he was treated he returned with the disdain of a cynic philosopher; and he consoled himself with the comfortable reflection, that the people despised only because they could not comprehend him.

The Revolution awakened all the intellectual activity of the French capitol. It ushered in the age of journalism. The press became the echo of the popular excitement. A spirit of free and fearless discussion, hitherto unknown, was manifest on every side, and a multitude of daily and weekly newspapers deluged the capitol and all France. Mirabeau, in his *Courier de Province*, had sounded the first blast on this "speaking trumpet of the Revolution," as it had been aptly called. Presently a host of journalists sprang up on every side, each emulously pressing forward in the race of progress and reform. *The Revolution of Paris*, a weekly paper, edited by Loustalot, had a circulation of 200,000. Its motto was strongly characteristic of the times—"*The great appear to us great only because we are on our knees—let us rise!*" Brissot edited *La Patriote Francais*, and the philosopher, Condorcet, *La Chronique de Paris*; the *Discours de la Lanterne* was written by the brilliant and witty, though versatile, Camille Desmoulins. Below these swarmed a host of minor journals, some on the extremest verge of radical democracy, such as the *Annales Patriotiques*, by Carra—the *Bouche de Fer*, by Fauchet—the *Orateur du Peuple*, by Fréron, and the *Journal des Jacobins*, by Laclos. It was upon this boundless and stirring field that the cynical spirit of Marat now prompted him to enter. He commenced his journal, *L'Ami du Peuple*—from which was derived his subsequent title of "People's Friend"—a publication the most radical, the most violent, the most corrupting of the public morals of any that had preceded it, or of any that was destined to succeed it, if we except, perhaps, alone, Hebert's infa-

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mous *Pére Duchesne.* Brissot, who had been the friend of Marat before the Revolution, when every other man's hand was against him—who had followed his experiments for several years, and had done various acts of kindness for him out of pure good feeling and compassion, such as publishing extracts from his works, with commendatory notices, procuring him a sale for his books and chests of instruments, and even sharing his purse with him when he was in distress, now undertook to advertise Marat's *l'Ami du Peuple* with a eulogium, little thinking, as he says, "that a writer who had any respect for himself could become so degraded as to make use of a style so vile, scandalous and atrocious, or violate every principle, every law, so far as to calumniate the most virtuous men, and preach massacre and pillage!"

Marat's paper soon became notorious in the capitol. It was filled with the most intemperate language and violent invective; with the grossest abuse of the royal family and the court; with denunciations of the aristocracy, and with the most fulsome adulations of the people. It was eagerly circulated and read among the lowest dregs of the populace, and its author at once acquired an unenviable celebrity. The influence of this print was the more wide-spread and dangerous, inasmuch as its most exaggerated and violent articles were penned with a certain vigor of style, and with a fearless independence of tone, that chimed in with the highly excited state of the public feeling. Nor can it be denied, that Marat, with all his extravagance and frenzy, possessed an acute and ready mind, and an intellect an once clear and penetrating. His mind may possibly have bordered on insanity, as has been supposed, but we cannot help thinking, there was too much "method in his madness" for any one to have sustained against him the plea of lunacy. He was no more insane in laboring to overthrow existing government and society than he had been in making his ingenious philosophic experiments in order to overthrow the academy; no more mad in attacking Lafayette and Mirabeau, than he had been in applying all the astuteness of his intellect to destroy the reputations of Newton and Franklin.

Marat, though accused of cowardice, certainly exhibited in the earlier years of the Revolution a moral courage, which would have been highly creditable to a better man. Of all the prominent journalists, he alone, by his violence and imprudence, exposed himself to constant persecution, and was obliged, for months at a time, to lie concealed in caverns and cellars, to escape the arm of the law. Soon after the fall of the Bastile he publicly declared in his paper that the National Assembly was too full of aristocrats to accomplish anything, and that all the service it could now do the public was, to dissolve and make room for a better. He also denounced the Municipality, sitting at the Hotel de Ville, as a set of imbeciles and idiots, for which outrage they launched their writ of arrest at him, but he escaped, and concealed himself in some subterranean abode, from which his paper continued regularly to issue, filled with more violent language than before. Again and again were warrants issued for this man, but always without success. Among his defenders was Danton, who declared, that in a case of persecution like Marat's, "force ought to be resisted by force." In the year 1790, Lafayette in person, at the head of a party of patrols, besieged his house, but Marat found refuge at the abode of an actress, whose husband, a partisan of his, was induced to admit him. In the various attempts made to arrest him, he managed to

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conceal himself in cellars, in the vaults of the Cordeliers, and the obscurest corners of Paris, from which he sent forth his paper, which regularly appeared, and was openly hawked about the streets, assuming a more ferocious and uncompromising tone, as its author became inflamed by the persecutions that were unceasingly waged against him.

The pen of Marat was not confined to general subjects. He never hesitated to attack individuals; and his journal was constantly filled with bitter and savage personalities. The reputation of the most exalted patriot was not safe from his assaults. He collected, with indefatigable industry, from every quarter, facts, circumstances, suspicions, and denounced his victim with a fury and an audacity that seemed nearer akin to the nature of a fiend than a man. One by one the leaders of the Revolution were pierced by the poisoned shafts of this moral outcast. He saw aristocrats all around him, even among the most accredited patriots, and he attacked all alike, without partiality and without discrimination. He was one of the first to penetrate the designs of Mirabeau, and he assailed that distinguished man in the full blaze of his popularity. According to him, the Assembly was full of traitors; it was necessary to erect eight hundred gibbets, for as many of the national deputies, and to hang up Mirabeau upon the first of them. Lafayette, too, at the head of the National Guard at that time, the most powerful and one of the most popular men in France, he denounced with the same bitterness. The following is an extract from one of those papers, which he hurled forth like fire-brands, to kindle into fury the passions of the multitude:—

"What is Lafayette doing—is he a dupe or an accomplice? Why does he leave free the avenues of the palace, which is only open for vengeance or flight? Why do we leave the Revolution incomplete, and also leave in the hands of our crowned enemy, still in the midst of us, the time to overcome and destroy it? Do you not see that specie is disappearing and assignats discredited? What means the assembling on your frontier of emigrants and armed bodies, who are advancing to enclose you in a circle of iron? What are your ministers doing? Why is not the property of emigrants confiscated, their houses burnt, their heads set at a price? In whose hands are arms? In the hands of traitors. Who command your troops? Traitors. Who hold the keys of your strong places? Traitors, traitors, traitors—everywhere traitors; and in this palace of treason, the king of traitors, the king! Watch!—watch!—a great blow is preparing—is ready to burst; if you do not prevent it by a counter blow, more sudden, more terrible, the people and liberty are annihilated!"

By such terrible appeals was this man, an outcast from society, proscribed by the law, shut up by day in his subterranean cavern, and prowling at night by stealth through the deserted streets of the city, slowly and surely corrupting the public morals, and familiarizing the minds of the people with ideas of terror and bloodshed.

After the close of the Constituent Assembly, the terrible influence of this strange man upon the public mind became more and more visible. He preached in his journal openly, revolt, pillage, murder and bloodshed. His mind, accustomed to abstractions and philosophical speculations, was gradually maturing a system the most atrocious that ever entered into the head of civilized man. According to his ideas, society needed purification—the country was full of aristocrats who ought to be exterminated. He computed that it was necessary to massacre 260,000 partizans of the

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old order of things in mass, and without discrimination; liberty and equality could be propitiated only by a holocaust of human victims. For the task of purifying society, he proposed that a dictator should be appointed, with the sole power to point out victims and order them to death; and that this dictator should have a cannon ball attached to his leg, in order that he might be always in the power of the people. Another of his favorite measures was, that the Assembly should cause the aristocrats to be marked, by ordering them to wear a white ribbon, and pass a decree, making it lawful for any one to kill them when three or more were found together. The fact of his having conceived a system so horrid and revolting, seems to countenance the opinion that Marat was actually a maniac. But this opinion is strangely shaken when we turn to his writings, and glance over those clear, forcible, nervous sentences, some of which strike upon the heart like the point of a dagger.* It is to be observed, however, that the open avowal of these atrocious sentiments was received with horror by all save the worst part of the Parisian populace; and it must be recorded to the credit of the Legislative Assembly, that it passed a decree of accusation against the agitator, and endeavored to bring him to trial. Marat, however, escaped this time, finding refuge in the house of an obscure advocate, where he lay concealed until after the events of the 10th of August.

It was in this retreat that Barbaroux, with whom he had formerly corresponded on philosophical subjects, was prevailed upon, just on the eve of the insurrection, to visit him. Marat unfolded in detail his execrable system to the young patriot, who listened to these insane ravings with ill-concealed disgust and horror. He entered upon an arithmetical calculation, showing how two hundred and sixty thousand aristocrats might be massacred in one day. "Give me," said he, "two hundred Neapolitans, the knife in their right hand, and a muff in their left to serve for a buckler, and with these I will traverse France and complete the Revolution." Wearied with the life he had been forced to lead for two years past at Paris, where he had been hunted like an outlaw or a wild beast, from one place of concealment to another, he begged Barbaroux to send him in disguise with a letter of recommendation to Marseilles, hoping, in that city, so enthusiastically republican, to be better appreciated than

* Read, for example, the following, in which he relates a conversation with Robespierre:

"The first word he addressed to me was a reproach for having dipped my pen in the blood of the enemies of liberty—for always speaking of the cord, the axe and the poiguard; cruel words, which unquestionably my heart would disavow, and my principles discredit. I undeceived him. 'Learn,' I said, 'that my credit with the people does not depend on my ideas, but on my audacity, the daring impetuosity of my mind, my cries of rage, despair, and fury, against the wretches who impede the action of the Revolution.'

* * * * * * * *

"If I had had in my hands the arms of the people, after the decree against the garrison of Nancy, I would have decimated the deputies who confirmed it. After the information of the events of the 5th and 6th of October, I would have immolated every judge on the pile; after the massacre of the Champ-de-Mars, had I but had two thousand men, animated with the same resentment as myself, I would have gone at their head to stab Lafayette in the midst of his battalions of brigands, burnt the king in his palace, and cut the throats of our atrocious representatives on their very seats." Even Robespierre, he tells us, listened to him with affright and turned pale. "I left him," adds Marat, "with something like contempt. I had seen an honest man, *but not a statesman.*"

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at Paris. But Barbaroux, whose generous nature revolted at these monstrous ideas, refused, and left the wretch, whom he thought insane, to his own murderous reveries.

During the insurrection of the 10th of August, and the attack upon the palace, Marat, fearful for his personal safety, lay concealed in a cellar, where, it is said, Danton had secreted him. When the issue of the contest was known he emerged from his dark retreat, and all danger being over, was seen ostentatiously displaying himself with a drawn sword, and parading at the head of the Marsellaise through the streets of Paris. The subterranean life of this moral *lusus naturæ* was now at an end. Henceforth, he left his cavernous abodes, and stalked abroad openly into the light of day. The mystic oracles of this dark prophet of evil were no more heard to issue from the bowels of the earth—no man knowing whence they came; nor by the fitful torch-light, amid the gloom of caverns and church-vaults, did he any longer prepare his unholy incantations; but emerging from his dark retreat, he walked abroad, "like the pestilence at noon-day," unchallenged, among the busy thousands of the capital, upon whose bewildered ears again fell the harsh croaking of that fiend-like voice, which rose louder and wilder than before above the stillness which terror was already spreading like a pall over the doomed city!

After the fall of the throne, the journal of Marat, now safe from public persecution, assumed a more extravagant and licentious tone than ever. He changed its name, and the *Ami du Peuple* became the *Journal de la Republique*. The fortune of the agitator was evidently rising with the times. He succeeded in procuring what he called "the restoration" of no less than four printing presses of royalist establishments, which had been suppressed on the downfall of the king, and which he insisted had been snatched away from him, in less palmy days, by "the traitor, Lafayette!" In the new insurrectional municipality, which met at the Hotel de Ville, Marat, in company with Robespierre, had a seat, and even a seat of honor—a *tribune particuliere* was assigned him. So strangely had the times changed! The moral outcast, the mutineer of society, lying in cellars and dungeons, execrated by all mankind, was now not only tolerated and endured, but raised to the dignity of a legislator in the municipal council, and even assigned a seat of honor in the turbulent body of which he was a member!

The circumstances which led to the September massacre, have been already briefly narrated in the preceding sketch of Danton. Marat was a prominent actor in this tragedy. The imminence of the public danger which drove other minds to despair, merely furnished the occasion for him to plot, and partially carry out his cold-blooded and merciless system of extermination. The arrests during the forty-eight hours, were made by the committee of *surveillance* over which he presided. While three hundred midnight assassins were marching from prison to prison, and piling up the court-yards of the Abbaye, the Bicêtre, and La Force, with heaps of slain, Marat looked on with demoniac satisfaction, gloating over the carnage with the cold eye of that horrible philosophy which made him upon system a monster and a fiend. It is even said of him that he proposed to set the prisons on fire! And when the work of carnage was ended, he sat himself coolly down to pen a circular to all the com-

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munes of France, applauding the massacres, and urging the departments to imitate Paris. That famous circular closes with the following passage:—

"Apprised that barbarous hordes are marching against it, the commune of Paris hastens to inform its brethren in all the departments, that part of the ferocious conspirators confined in the prisons, have been put to death by the people; *acts of justice*, which appear to it indispensable for repressing by terror the legions of traitors encompassed by its walls, at the moment when they were about to march against the enemy; and no doubt the nation, after a long series of treasons which have brought it to the brink of the abyss, *will eagerly adopt this useful and necessary expedient*, and all the French will say like the Parisians—'we are marching against the enemy, and we will not leave behind us brigands to murder our wives and our children.'"

The circular was signed by Marat, Sergent,* and five others, members of the committee of *surveillance;* but it met with no other response from all parts of France save a deep and universal expression of horror.

The society of the Jacobins, of which Marat was a member, after much opposition, presented his name as a candidate for a seat in the National Convention. He was elected, with Danton, Robespierre, and others, by the city of Paris. His first appearance in the tribune was only a few days after the Convention assembled. It was on the exciting discussion which sprung up on the question of the dictatorship. The name of Marat was mentioned in the debate, in connexion with some placards of his, in which, as was said, he openly urged the creation of a dictator. To the surprise of all, Marat demanded permission to speak. Some of the new members had not yet seen, though all had heard of the *Ami du Peuple*, and an eager curiosity was manifested to see him. As the veritable Marat himself stepped forth, his deformed figure, clothed with squalid garments, his huge head covered with a slovenly cap, his hideous, sallow features, distorted with a sarcastic smile, the disgust of the deputies could no longer be restrained, and a cry of "down! down!" burst forth at once on every side of the chamber. A smile of disdain played upon his thin lip, as, with an air of indescribable nonchalance he laid his dirty cap upon the tribune. Gazing round the assembly, he commenced his speech in a tone of infinite assurance and self-possession which rarely fails to attract the attention of an audience:—"I have a great number of personal enemies in this assembly." "All!" was the loud response. The speaker continued, without the slightest change of feature:—"I have a great number of personal enemies in this assembly. I recall them to a sense of decency. Let them spare their ferocious clamors against a man who has served liberty and themselves more than they think." He then proceeded at length to speak of the dictatorship, openly avowing his sentiments, and unfolding his idea of what this dictator should be, and declaring that he alone, of all the political writers of France, had advocated the measure as the only expedient for crushing traitors and con-

* Sergent, the terrorist, lately died at Marseilles, at the advanced age of 93. M. Hippolyte Carnot, the late Minister of Public Instruction under the Provisional Government, spoke a few words of eulogy over his grave. Sergent remained a Republican to the day of his death, and was frequently heard to say that he never regretted his vote in the Convention for the immediate execution of the king.

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spirators. "If you are not yourselves enlightened enough to comprehend me," he added, with the same imperturbable assurance as before, "so much the worse for you. Such is my opinion, written, signed, and publicly maintained. If it is false, it would be right to combat it, to enlighten me, and not to denounce me to despotism. I have been accused of ambition, but look at and judge me. Had I but condescended to set a price upon my silence, I might have been gorged with gold, and I am poor. Persecuted without ceasing, I wandered from cellar to cellar, and I have preached truth from a wood-pile." One of the deputies read a paper printed by Marat that day, in which he expressed his conviction that all his efforts to save the people would end in nothing without a fresh insurrection. The reading of this paper created the most violent indignation. A decree of accusation was demanded, amid cries of, "To the Abbaye!" "To the guillotine!" Marat appeared again in the tribune, and with the same smile of bitter derision, recalled his enemies "to a sense of decency." He avowed the paper, for falsehood, he said, never approached his lips, and fear was a stranger to his heart; made some explanations in respect to it, and, finally, amid the tumult of the assembly, took his seat. Nothing further was attempted or said against him. As yet, he was too much despised to be feared; but the events of the day added greatly to his consideration, and tended to increase the influence of his detestable journal with the worst part of the populace.

Dumouriez's arrival in Paris in October, 1792, furnished for Marat a fine occasion to exhibit his cynical spirit. It had always been a fashion with him to attack distinguished men while at the height of their popularity; and, indeed, the poisoned shafts of his malice, though for a time warded off, rarely failed eventually to transfix his victim. Thus he had denounced Mirabeau, at the zenith of his fame, as a traitor, and Lafayette and Bailly. He was now denouncing Roland and Petion, and Brissot, and the Girondins—the *hommes d'état*, as he contemptuously called them—and had already began to sap the foundations of their popularity. Dumouriez was now in the full blaze of his glory, fresh from the field of that triumphant campaign which had saved the Republic. Marat did not hesitate to assail him openly in his journal and at the Jacobins. He pretended to regard him as a proud and dissolute aristocrat, if not a traitor. Trumping up some charge against Dumouriez of punishing two republican battalions with severity, for having murdered four Prussian deserters in cold blood, he denounced him at the Jacobins, and obtained authority, in company with two other members of the club, to wait upon him and demand an explanation. Marat, in his shabby attire, thrust himself upon the general in the midst of a brilliant entertainment, at the house of the great actor, Talma. His own account of the interview, which he gave in his newspaper, differs somewhat from that of Dumouriez. The latter is doubtless nearest correct. The general eyed the intruder for a moment with a look of cold and contemptuous curiosity. "Aha!" said he, "so you are the man they call Marat!" at the same time turning his back disdainfully upon him and walking away.*

During all the time Marat was a member of the Convention, he con-

* Marat says, in his published account of the interview, that Dumouriez appeared disconcerted, and when too hotly pressed with his questions, left him without any satisfactory answer. The whole account is written with the bitter invective and pungent sarcasm of a pen dipped in venom and gall.

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finued, as before, editing his journal with his own hand. His industry was ceaseless and untiring; his nervously-active mind was scarcely ever in a state of repose. He passed all his time in a state of feverish excitement—in the tribune—in the Convention—editing his newspaper—declaiming at the Jacobins—ransacking the offices of the ministers, and collecting materials for denouncing his enemies. In one of the numbers of his newspaper, he says of his mode of life at this time, that out of the twenty-four hours he allowed but two for sleep, and one only to the table and his domestic concerns; that besides two hours devoted to his duty as deputy, he regularly spent six in collecting the complaints of a multitude of unfortunate and oppressed persons, and in endeavoring to obtain redress for them; that he passed the remaining hours in reading and answering a multitude of letters, and in writing his observations on public events—in receiving denunciations—in ascertaining the veracity of the denouncers; lastly, in editing his paper, and in superintending the printing of a great work. He had not taken a quarter of an hour's recreation, he said, in three years.

It is not a little singular to note the many efforts made, even in the Convention, for the impeachment of Marat, and the constant difficulty attending his being brought to trial. On the first of November, 1792, some new placards of his, inciting to sedition and murder, having been brought to the notice of the assembly, a deputy proposed that both Louis XVI. and Marat, whom he stigmatized as a "man worthy to be king," should be brought to trial. Nothing, however, was done on the subject, save to appoint a committee to investigate these denunciations. The committee's report was delayed until long afterwards. In the mean time the king was brought to trial, and Marat voted for his death.

After this event, his paper became still bolder in tone, and more startling in its doctrines. On the morning of the 25th of February, in the midst of the dearth and famine which then overspread Paris, and while the city was ringing with denunciations of the "forestallers" and the rich, the *Journal de la Republique* appeared to excite the frantic multitude to pillage, as it had heretofore excited it to insurrection and murder. "In every country," said this atrocious publication, "where the rights of the people are not empty titles, ostentatiously recorded in a mere declaration, *the plunder of a few shops, and the hanging of the forestallers at their doors*, would soon put a stop to these malversations, which are driving five millions of men to despair, and causing thousands to perish from want." Accordingly, in the afternoon of that very day, a mob collected in the streets of Paris, and commenced the work of breaking open and plundering the shops of the grocers. The rioters were finally dispersed by the soldiery; and Marat, when he saw the outrage condemned even by the Jacobins, had the shameless effrontery to come up in the evening to that club, and impute the disorders of the day to the Girondins.

The next day the Girondin, Lasource, denounced him in the Convention, and proposed a new decree of accusation. Buzot followed upon the same side of the question, in an eloquent harangue, which was interrupted by the shrill voice of Marat, "Well, then, since you have lost all sense of decency, pass your decree of accusation!" Amid the tumult which followed, the decree was passed; but the accused again found the means, for the time, of eluding the law.

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The Girondins, however, pressed the accusation of Marat with great vigor, and finally, on the 11th of April, 1793, on the occasion of some new and outrageous publication of the agitator against the Convention, the decree was passed, and he was sent before the revolutionary tribunal, which had then just been created. But Marat's enemies had unconsciously prepared for him a popular triumph. The revolutionary tribunal acquitted the "Friend of the People;" and on the 24th of April he was borne back to the Convention, over the heads of the crowd, and covered with garlands. That evening, at the Jacobins, Marat was received almost as a divinity. Crowns of flowers were placed upon the brow of the people's champion, which he laid aside with disdain. He had now reached the summit of his power. Never before had he spoken with such an air of command and insolent assurance: "Send me that list!" he exclaimed; "I will pick out the names of such persons in the departments of the administration as ought to be dismissed, and such as ought to be retained, and signify the result to the ministers." Even Robespierre was cowed by his audacity. He suggested to Marat that the society could not, without compromising itself, communicate with the ministers; and Marat coolly replied: "A patriot so pure as myself may communicate with the devil."*

By the violence of his writings, Marat contributed greatly to the downfall of the Girondins. Regarded since his acquittal as an oracle of patriotism, he exercised a fearful influence over the populace. He openly preached insurrection, and secretly plotted with the conspirators to accomplish it. On the night of the 1st of June the "People's Friend," himself, stole with swift footsteps through the halls of the Hotel de Ville, and clambered alone into the clock tower. It was his shrunk, yet still nervous arm, which that night woke the peal of the tocsin, that roused once more into Babel-life the thousands of the capital, and sounded the death-knell of the Girondins. And on the following day, while the cannon of the Faubourgs were pointed against the Convention, and the populace were loudly demanding the heads of the twenty-one deputies, Marat mounted the tribune with the list of the proscribed Girondins in his hand, and with scowling eye and frantic gesture, dictated to the assembly what names to erase and what to insert among the victims. "The list is faulty," he exclaimed; "strike out the names of that old gossip Dussaulx, of the weak-minded Lanthenas, of Ducos, guilty only of some erroneous opinions, but incapable of becoming a counter-revolutionary leader, and add Fermont and Valazé to the list, who ought to be and are not there!" The Convention listened without a murmur to the oracle of the mob, and obeyed. Amid the shouts of the lowest rabble in Paris, at the bidding of Marat, the decree of accusation was passed against the Girondins.

But the days of the miscreant were already numbered. The horror that his principles and his very name excited among all save his own adherents, the worst class of the populace, raised up an avenger. A young and beautiful girl, of a romantic nature and a dauntless heart, whose enthusiasm, it may be said, bordered almost upon insanity, conceived the idea of putting an end to the troubles of her country by destroying, with her own hand, the monster who had overthrown the Girondins, and was

* Thiers' Hist. Rev., vol. II., p. 146.

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filling France with terror. The name of this young enthusiast was Charlotte Corday. With a loftier spirit than that which nerved the steel of Brutus,* she resolved, at the certain sacrifice of her own life, to strike him to the heart in his place in the Convention.

Charlotte Corday left her father's family and her residence in Caen, on her stern mission, on Tuesday, the 9th of July, 1793. Her secret was locked in her own bosom. Barbaroux had given her a letter to the deputy Duperrèt, with whom she pretended she had some matter of business to transact. Arriving in Paris, she delivered her letter, transacted her business, and having secretly purchased a large sheath knife, repaired to the Convention. Marat was not present, and she learned that he was confined at home by sickness. Returning to the inn where she lodged, she addressed a note to him, stating that she was from Caen, the seat of the rebellion, where some of the proscribed Girondins had fled—that she would "put it into his power to do France a great service," and earnestly requested an interview. To this letter no answer was received. She addressed him another, and still no answer. But though obstacles intervened, though unexpected difficulties spring up on every side, the stern resolve of Charlotte Corday does not for an instant waver. And that resolve will be accomplished. The doom of Marat is written—the remorseless finger of destiny is already pointing out the spot where shall meet, face to face, the avenger and the victim!

The residence of Marat was in the *Rue de l'Ecole de Medicine.* His establishment consisted of himself and a housekeeper, a young woman whom, as was said by one of his adherents, "he took to wife one fine day before the face of the sun." He lived in a style of severe simplicity—even poverty. After the events of the 2d of June, when he found that the Girondins were not immediately sent to the scaffold, he took it into his head, through some extravagant and ridiculous freak, to stay away from the Convention. He did so for a fortnight, but seeing that very little concern was manifested on account of his absence, he again resumed his seat. But disease had laid hold of him, and since the beginning of July he had been obliged to remain at home. Part of his time was spent in his bath, where he lay, with writing materials on a three-legged stool beside him, never for a moment relaxing his restless activity—preparing articles for his journal, and composing letter after letter, filled with the most arrogant complaints to the Convention, which he accused of not paying him a respectful attention.

It was on Saturday evening, the 13th of July, 1793, that the strange scene was enacted, which the pencil of the Jacobin painter, David, subsequently transferred to the canvass—the death scene of Marat. The "Friend of the People" lay in his bath, with pen and paper before him. He was engaged upon the last act of his life—denouncing to the Convention Biron and Custine, the generals at the head of the Republican armies. Upon the loose leaves scattered around him were imprinted the bitter maledictions of a pen whose letters were traced in blood—the pen of a dying man—dying "as by a slow fire," like Mirabeau, kindled up in his veins by his revolutionary excesses;—and these last bitter maledic-

* Young Adam Lux proposed that a statue should be erected to her with the inscription, "Greater than Brutus." His enthusiastic admiration cost him his life. He died on the scaffold for Charlotte Corday.

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tions of his were destined, like poisoned arrows, to rankle in the wound they inflicted, even unto the death of the victim, when the withered hand that penned them should lie mouldering.*

About 8 o'clock in the evening, a gentle rap was heard at the door, and the low, sweet voice of a woman, requesting instant audience with citizen Marat. The housekeeper refused admittance, but the quick ear of the invalid had detected that his visitor was from Calvados, the seat of the insurrection, and he at once ordered her to be admitted. Charlotte Corday stood in the presence of Marat. Calm and beautiful as a marble statue, her cheeks all roseate with the flush of youth and health, the child of enthusiasm confronted the shrivelled form and ghastly features of the man of blood. "Be seated, my child," said Marat; then eagerly inquired the names of the proscribed deputies at Caen. The girl gazed intently at him, and related what she had seen and heard. "*Barbaroux, Petion, Louvet,*" slowly repeated Marat, turning aside to his paper, and writing their names. "Very well: their heads shall fall in a fortnight. They shall all go to the guillotine!" "To the guillotine!" exclaimed Charlotte Corday, her eye blazing with intense excitement, as she drew the knife from her bosom. The bright blade flashed in the dim light which flickered through the sick man's chamber; and the next instant it was buried to the haft in his bosom. "*A moi, chére ami!*" shrieked the dying man—"Help, dear!" but help came too late. The terrified housekeeper hastened to the chamber, but only to find Marat in his death agonies, while over him bent the beautiful form of his destroyer, serene and motionless, awaiting with composure the prison and the scaffold. One of Marat's messengers entering the room, knocked the girl down with a chair; the housekeeper trampled upon her; but she arose, and replied to this ill usage only with a smile. Some gens-d'armes now appearing upon the scene, she surrendered herself into their custody, and was conducted to prison.

We leave Marat for the moment, to follow Charlotte Corday to the judgment bar and the scaffold. His fate sinks into insignificance when compared with that of his beautiful destroyer. Even our interest in the great revolutionary drama itself is merged in this striking and tragic episode. Calm and serene in the conscious rectitude of her purpose, beautiful in the high enthusiasm of her nature, the young woman stood at the bar of the tribunal before her merciless judges. "All these details are useless," she said, interrupting the public prosecutor, who had commenced examining his witnesses—"It is I who killed Marat!" "What induced you to commit this action?" "His crimes," answered Charlotte, calmly, but firmly; "I killed one man to save a hundred thousand; a villain, to save innocents; a savage, wild beast, to give repose to my country. I was a republican before the Revolution, and never wanted energy." There was no hope of acquittal. Her counsel, Chaveau Lagarde, spoke a few moments in her defence, but in vain. That same evening she was conveyed, in the red frock of a murderess, from the Conciergerie to the scaffold. A serene smile played about her features which betrayed no emotions at sight of the guillotine. A blush

* The accusations of Marat rarely failed to anticipate the ruin of the accused. Only a few months after this the heads of the two Republican generals rolled from the guillotine!

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of modesty tinged her cheeks as the executioner moved the handkerchief which covered her bosom, but she uttered no word of complaint, and laid her head with serenity upon the block. Her last letter to her father, indited just before her execution, closed with this touching passage:—"Farewell, my beloved father! Forget me, or rather rejoice at my fate, for it has sprung from a noble cause. Embrace my sister for me, whom I love with all my heart. Never forget the words of Corneille—the crime makes the shame and not the scaffold."

The funeral of Marat was celebrated with the greatest pomp and magnificence. The most extraordinary honors were paid to his memory, such as no man, save the great Mirabeau, had yet received. Robespierre pronounced his eulogy in the Convention; his body lay in state several days; young girls strewed his coffin with flowers; his heart was placed in an urn, and deposited in a chapel in the Place du Carrousel; his bust was set up in the Jacobins' and the hall of the Convention, and thousands of his images were seen all over France. Even the honors of the Pantheon were decreed to him, and Mirabeau's tomb was ruthlessly violated to make room for the "Friend of the People." The delirium of popular fanaticism could rise no higher. Jacobinism having canonized the bones of its saint, and deified its sanguinary apostle, determined to place his ashes by the side of Descartes and Rousseau in the Pantheon. And thus Marat reached his apotheosis! The festival, however, though ordered long before by the Convention, was not celebrated until after the fall of Robespierre, more than a year after Marat's death. Public opinion had then undergone a great change, and the pageant of conveying the "People's Friend" to the Pantheon, though conducted with much pomp, was lifeless and cold. Four months of immortality was all that the swift indignation of the people allotted him. His bust was torn down from the Theatre Feydeau and other public places, and consigned to the sewer of Montmartre, amidst shouts of derision. The same Convention which had decreed him almost divine honors, by another decree, deprived him of his immortality. That body perceiving the rapid change in the public mind, ordered his bust to be removed from their hall, and his bones from the Pantheon. His tomb, as Mirabeau's had been, was rifled, and his ashes were consigned to an ignominious grave. The time had again come when the voice of THE PEOPLE could be heard above the hootings of the mob, and when humanity and justice triumphed over brute violence and terror.

It is no easy task to analyse a character like Marat's. The dark workings of such a mind are inscrutable; the mysterious depths of a nature like his no one can pretend to fathom. A cynic, and a misanthrope, he possessed a spasmodic and diseased intellect, which fluttered somewhere about that indefinite boundary line which separates eccentricity from insanity. A philosopher in his speculations, he was a monster upon system, whose ideas of extermination were based upon theory, and regulated by scientific calculation. Meditating long upon the frightfullest political abstractions, he became the high priest of anarchy and bloodshed, not from a mere appetite for blood, or to gratify hatred against individuals—for his cold philosophy and his lofty disdain of men had raised him above these vulgar passions—but to realize a political theory, and to carry out a system which none but such a mind as his could have conceived.

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Nor were the elements of this strange nature wholly of unmixed evil. Even that wild chaotic mind was not utterly depraved, nor shut out from the light of every human sympathy. What man, born with human faculties, and created in the image of his Maker, ever was! The faint gleamings of a better nature at times broke over that dark abyss of soul, like a straggling sun-beam stealing in upon the thick night of some rayless cavern. We find one instance, at least, recorded by Madame Roland, in which the stoicism of Marat's nature was not proof against the gentle impulses of humanity. A woman of Toulouse, who was desirous of obtaining the liberty of a relative, resolved on soliciting Marat. On going to his house, she was informed that he was absent, but he heard the voice of a female, and came out himself. After describing the person and squalid appearance of Marat, Madame Roland goes on to say, that he took the lady's hand, and leading her into a very pleasant room, furnished with blue and white damask, decorated with silk curtains, elegantly drawn up in festoons, and adorned with china vases, full of natural flowers, which were then scarce and dear, he sat down beside her on a luxurious couch; heard the recital she had to make him; became interested in her; kissed her hand, and promised to set her relative free. In consequence, he was liberated from prison within twenty-four hours.

And, if not wholly inaccessible to the appeals of humanity and the promptings of a better nature, so too was Marat not destitute of a certain firmness and consistency of principle, which in our day may well be called the *virtue* of incorruptibility. At the height of his fearful power as a journalist, and when every arrow from his terrible quiver came charged with the poison of death, he could boast of his rags and his poverty. He, who in all respects, save this, might be well called the merciless pirate of journalism, scorned to lay his harpy hand upon the reputation and good name of his fellows for gold, or set a price upon his silence. The sanguinary apostle of *Sansculottism*, the daring mutineer of society, all covered with calumnies, and steeped to the lips in blood, could yet utter with truth upon the floor of the Convention his disdainful boast:—"*Had I but condescended to set a price upon my silence, I might have been gorged with gold—and I am poor!*"

Thus ended the life of this man, one of the most singular of a period so fertile of strange and striking character. His political history was no less remarkable than his character. One mighty billow of the tempestuous ocean raised him aloft upon its foaming crest, but its reflux plunged him deeper than before into the profound abyss; one throe of the dread convulsion elevated him from the cellar to the Pantheon; but the next hurled him down from the Pantheon to the cess-pool of Montmartre!

> "The evil that men do live after them;
> The good is oft interred with their bones."

Little of good had Marat to be buried with him in his coffin; much of evil to live after him—to live in a blackened and a blighted name, and a memory execrated by all mankind.

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MELVILLE'S MARDI.*

THERE are few men whose scope of vision extends over the area of human existence. The view of most is confined to their trade, profession, or sect. Success in the lowest uses of life, in the competitive sphere in which we live, has made this limitation of sight a necessary fact. The boy's advice to the clergyman is too commonly quoted to need explanation, viz.: "Every one to his trade—you to your preaching, and I to my mouse-traps." A man cannot be expected to till his farm, build his house, and make his shoes, and his clock. He is a useful member of society, and a man of most respectable acquirements, if he does either one of these things well, and keeps a sharp look-out upon those who engage in the remainder of these occupations, that they do not make poor work, and thus cheat him out of his earnings in his particular vocation; for all must exchange work; and whoso does his work ill steals from his fellows, and is a leech upon the body politic. Competitive industry does not compel this kind of theft, but gives ample allowance for it. There seems a sort of necessity that men should not see all over the field of human economy, or philosophy, when engaged to the limit of their strength, in making pegs, or shoes, heads or points of pins, six days out of the week, and getting a little not very refreshing sleep at church on the seventh, and watching the above-mentioned thieves, who snatch openly, and abstract secretly from their honest labor. And when their sight is thus abridged and confined, it would be gratuitous cruelty to blame them if they do not recognize and accept, as belonging to this mundane sphere, world-pictures made in high places, by the few of far-sight. There is such a thing as being too near for a good view; and bad odors are not perceived by those who live among them. Swedenborg says the devils delight in the fetor of their hells. When men bury money, they walk to all points of the compass, and look back at the spot from each point, that they may know the place from whatever direction they may happen to approach it.

Mr. Melville has given us in his work a sort of retina picture, or inverted view of the world, under the name of Mardi. The different countries are represented by different islands in the South Sea. Thus Dominora represents England; and the hump-backed King Bello represents the British monarchy, with the load of the national debt. Those who have not looked at the world, and the kingdoms of it, from all Mr. Melville's points of sight, will not recognize his pictures, and will find no buried treasure. It is not strange that many will not accept this work as a fair showing of their world. What is fetor to the author is fragrance to them; and they have never beheld the view that his pencil has delineated. They could not see it if they would—they would not if they could.

The beginning of the book is accepted by most, perhaps all, readers. It is in the style of Omoo and Typee—books that made the multitude crazy with delight. These works were to Mardi as a seven-by-nine sketch of a

* Mardi; and a Voyage thither. By Herman Melville. 2 vols. Harper Brothers, 82 Cliff-street, New-York.

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sylvan lake, with a lone hunter, or a boy fishing, compared with the cartoons of Raphael.

Once upon a time a certain married couple were litigating for divorce. The lady possessed great literary talent, more artistic skill, was highly accomplished, and, in fine, had almost all sorts of ability. We need not describe the husband, only by calling him a gentleman. Having large sympathy for women and wives, we enquired of a friend as to the character of the husband, hinting that we opined he was no better than he should be. Our friend answered: "There is nothing to condemn, only the mistake of marriage. There is incompatibility of character—nothing worse. The husband likes a breeze—the wife gets up a storm; he loves a flute—she wants a full orchestra."

We were reminded of this explanation when we saw those who rejoiced in the flute-like music of Melville's Typee and Omoo, and had not the slightest conception of the meaning of his magnificent orchestra in Mardi. Is it our misfortune, or Sivori's fault, that we do not understand or love the harmonies that he educes with Paganini's bow?

Typee and Omoo were written for the multitude, and consequently had no deep philosophy; and, being a true record of simplistic life, had not high harmonic beauty. They were pictures of earth's loveliest vallies, rich with green fields, and flowers, and golden-fruits, with a warm, mellow light glowing over all. The shadows upon the picture were a gross preponderance of the sensual life, occasionally a dead man's head, and the fact that the author was imprisoned in this lap of beauty. We believe it is not in human nature—we *know* it is not in Yankee human nature—to live in heaven, without liberty to leave any hour in the twenty-four, and a night-key in the bargain to make return equally feasible. So we must confess to the slightest possible prejudice against the Paradise of Typee. But we would give all due credit to books that won the plaudits of the people so widely. Now, every one who had read Typee and Omoo, anxiously expected Mardi—and more, they expected a work of similar character. The man who expects and asks for loaf sugar will not be satisfied with marble, though it be built into a palace.

An honest man who had read Mardi, expecting another and more beautiful Omoo, said to us: "I am disappointed. I feel much as I did, when, a good many years ago, I came a long distance from the country to see an elephant on the stage, at the Chatham Theatre. I went home *sick*, from disappointment, *for he looked just like any other elephant.*"

The fact that Mardi is an allegory that mirrors the world, has thus far escaped the critics, who do notices for the book-table on a large scale. Pilgrim's Progress and Gulliver's Travels were written so long ago, that they seem to have dropped through the meshes of the memory of critics, and they have ceased to think any reproduction or improvement of that sort of thing possible in the future, because they have forgotten its existence in the past.

The first half of the first volume of Mardi is the world of a far-seeking and high-aspiring youth, afloat on the ocean of life, which as yet is lashed by no storms, but bright with the rainbow of hope and beauty. On a green isle he finds his heart's first love, his Yillah, a shadowy sort of semi-divinity, as dreamy, and beautiful, and unsubstantial as the lady love of a boy-poet usually is. At length he comes into this actual world of ours, where he loses his Yillah. It is not quite clear whether she dies as natural a death as such a supernatural could; whether she is translated,

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or whether she exhales like gems of dew in the morning sun, or fades out of the hardening heart of the young world-wanderer, like other brilliant evanescent fancies. And then he seeks her through all Mardi, and finds wherewithal to make his book.

The manner of the book is unique, and like all new things must take the chance of being considered ugly, because it is uncommon. Some minds delight in mystery. "Darkness heightens the sublime," says our old Rhetoric. Nobody asks why; but we venture to say it is because the spirit within us is greater than the world without us, and can create more of beauty and more of terror. The creative spirit is the highest of God's works. The veil of mystery thrown over Mardi enhances its beauty to those who have sympathy with the author, and can finish his creation with a corresponding or heightened sublimity.

In these volumes, youth with its pure, deep love, its fervent aspirations, its heavenly visions, is personified. The hard, rugged world, full of politics, trade, and theology, and a good many other things quite as real and unlovely, passes in review before our voyager; and everywhere he seeks that the shine of his Yillah may fall again on his soul. If he loses any of his love for his ideal, which we think he does not, evermore grows more holy his love for humanity. This mighty love that wells up always in his heart, whether his hand guides the knife through the foul fungus of a false religion, or his eye flashes in scorn at the meanness of the men of mark in Mardi, this love is the boon of Heaven to him, and through him to his fellow-men. Whoso wishes to read a romance—a novel of the sentimental or satanic school—has no business in Mardi. He need not open the book. But whoso wishes to see the spirit of philosophy and humanity, love and wisdom, showing man to himself as he is, that he may know his evil and folly, and be saved from them, will be reverently thankful for this book. There is an immortality in love. It is indeed the only immortality—and the author, whose heart burns within him like a live coal from God's own altar, need take no care for his fame. Such an one is Herman Melville.

We do not despise criticism, nor do we believe that there is much for sale that a man would care to buy; but there are honest men who are petty in their strictures upon works of genius. They do not believe in poetry unless it is fettered with feet, or with rhymes. Like the old lady, they know that "poetry begins with capital letters, and has the lines of a length;" and an author who should write a book full of poetic fire, without regard to their rules, is an insubordinate officer, who must be disciplined, or broke, but most likely the latter. To them genius is irregular. It does not curvet according to their patterns, which they assure us are highly ornamental, and very proper. These men would pluck the eagle's quills, and sell them at "a penny a piece," and reduce the royal bird to a respectable barn-yard fowl.

We have small respect for authors who are wilful, and cannot be advised; but we reverence a man when God's *must* is upon him, and he does his work in his own and other's spite. Portions of Mardi are written with this divine impulse, and they thrill through every fibre of the reader with an electric force. The chapter on dreams is an example.

DREAMS.

"Dreams! dreams! golden dreams; endless and golden as the flowery prairies, that stretch away from the Rio Sacramento, in whose waters Dana's

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shower was woven; prairies like rounded eternities; jonquil leaves beaten out; and my dreams herd like buffaloes, browsing on to the horizon, and browsing on round the world; and among them I dash with my lance to spear one, ere they all flee.

"Dreams! dreams! passing and repassing, like oriental empires in history; and sceptres wave thick as Bruce's pikes at Bannockburn; and crowns are as plenty as marigolds in June. And far in the back-ground, hazy and blue, their steeps let down from the sky, loom Andes on Andes, rooted on Alps; and all around me long-rushing oceans, roll Amazons and Oronocos; wave-mounted Parthians; and to and fro toss the wide woodlands; all the world an elk, and the forest its antlers. But far to the south, past my Sicily suns and my vineyards, stretches the Antarctic barrier of ice: a China wall, built up from the sea, and nodding its frosted towers in the dun, clouded sky. Do Tartary and Siberia lie beyond? Deathful, desolate dominions those; bleak and wild the ocean, beating at that barrier's base, hovering 'twixt freezing and foaming; and freighted with navies of ice-bergs,—warring worlds crossing orbits; their long icicles projecting, like spears, to the charge. Wide away stream the floes of drift-ice, frozen cemeteries of skeletons and bones. White bears howl as they drift from their cubs; and the grinding islands crush the skulls of the peering seals. But beneath me, at the equator, the earth pulses and beats like a warrior's heart, till I know not whether it be not myself. And my soul sinks down to the depths, and soars to the skies; and, comet-like, reels on through such boundless expanses, that methinks all the worlds are my kin, and I invoke them to stay in their course. Yet, like a mighty three-decker, towing argosies by scores, I tremble, gasp, and strain in my flight, and fain would cast off the cables that hamper. And, like a frigate, I am full with a thousand souls; and as on, on, on, I scud before the wind, many mariners rush up from the orlop below, like miners from caves; running, shouting across my decks; opposite braces are pulled; and this way and that, the great yards swing round on their axis; and boisterous speaking-trumpets are heard; and contending orders, to save the good ship from the shoals. Shoals, like nebulous vapors, shoreing the white reef of the milky-way, against which the wrecked worlds are dashed; strewing all the strand with their Himmaleh keels and ribs. Ay, many, many souls are in me, in my tropical calms, when my ship lies tranced on eternity's main, speaking one at a time, then all with one voice; an orchestra of many French bugles and horns, rising and falling, swaying in golden calls and responses. Sometimes, when these Atlantics and Pacifics thus undulate round me, I lie stretched out in their midst: a land-locked Mediterranean, knowing no ebb nor flow. Then again I am dashed in the spray of these sounds; an eagle at the world's end tossed skyward on the horns of the tempest. Yet, again, I descend, and list to the concert. Like a grand ground-swell, Homer's old organ rolls its vast volumes under the light frothy wave-crests of Anacreon and Hafiz; and high over my ocean sweet Shakespeare soars like all the larks of the spring. Thoned on my sea-side, like Canute, bearded Ossian smites his hoar harp, wreathed with wild flowers, in which warble my Wallers; blind Milton sings bass to my Petrarchs and Priors, and laureats crown me with bays.

"In me many worthies recline and converse. I list to St. Paul, who argues the doubts of Montaigne; Julian the Apostate cross-questions Augustine; and Thomas à Kempis unrolls his old black letters for all to decipher. Zeno murmurs maxims beneath the hoarse shouts of Democritus; and though Democritus laugh loud and long, and the sneer of Pyrrho be seen, yet, divine Plato, and Proclus and Verulam, are my counsel; and Zoroaster whispered me before I was born. I walk a world that is mine; and enter many nations as Mungo Park rested in African cots. I am served like Bajazet—Backus my butler, Virgil my minstrel, Philip Sidney my page. My memory is a life beyond birth—my memory my library of the Vatican, its alcoves all endless perspectives, eve-tinted by cross-lights from middle-age oriels.

"And as the great Mississippi musters his watery nations, Ohio with all his

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leagued streams, Missouri bringing down in torrents the clans from the highlands. Arkansas his Tartar rivers from the plain, so with all the past and present pouring in me, I roll down my billow from afar.

"Yet not I but another. God is my Lord; and though many satellites revolve around me, I and all mine revolve round the great central truth, sunlike, fixed and luminous in the foundationless firmament.

"Fire flames on my tongue, and though of old the Bactrian prophets were stoned, yet the stoners in oblivion sleep. But whoso stones me shall be as Erostratus who put torch to the temple; though Genghis Khan with Cambyses combine to obliterate him, his name shall be extant in the mouth of the last man that lives.

"My cheek blanches white while I write; I start at the scratch of my pen; my own mad brood of eagles devours me; fain would I unsay this audacity, but an iron mailed hand clenches mine in a vice, and prints down every letter in my spite. Fain would I hurl off this Dionysius that rides me. My thoughts crush me down till I groan. In far fields I hear the song of the reaper, whilst I slave and faint in this cell. The fever runs through me like lava. My hot brain burns like a coal, and, like many a monarch, I am less to be envied than the veriest hind in the land."

Beside the majestic poetry, which reminds us of the Hebrew, there are in Mardi passages of a sweet and gentle beauty, that seem like brief snatches from the melody above.

"Over balmy waves still westward sailing! From dawn to eve, the bright, bright days sped on, chased by the gloomy nights; and in glory dying lent their lustre to the starry skies. So long the radiant dolphins fly before the sable sharks; but seized and torn in flames, die burning. Their last splendor left in sparkling scales that float along the sea.

"The next morning's twilight found us once more afloat. A bright mustering is seen among the myriad white Tartar tents in the Orient; like lines of spears defiling in the upland plain, the sunbeams thwart the sky. And see! amid the blaze of banners, and the pawing of ten thousand golden hoofs, day's mounted Sultan, Xerxes-like, moves on—the dawn his standard, east and west his cymbals.

"'Oh, morning life,' cried Yoomy, with a Persian air, 'would that all time were a sunrise, and all life a youth.'"

There is very sharp satire for the three professions—law, physic, and divinity—and some tough lessons for politicians and republicans. There is a chapter for gold-hunters, one for surgeons, and one for slave-holders. We think they will be about equally acceptable to those for whom they are intended.

We give a few specimens of Mardian proverbs:—

"Fame is an accident—Merit a thing absolute.

"No gold but that comes from dark mines.

"The catalogue of true thoughts is small. They are ubiquitous—no man's property—and unspoken or bruited are the same.

"Fame has dropped more rolls than she displays.

"Freedom is the name for a thing that is not freedom.

"Your Federal Temple of Freedom, sovereign kings, was the handiwork of slaves.

"It is not crown jewels alone that make a people servile.

"Anywhere the wise will lord it over the fool."

To obtain a clear conception of the character of Mardi the book must be read carefully, and by those measurably imbued with the author's philosophy. To those who believe that ours is the best of all possible worlds, this book will be a senseless homily, as impertinent as it is to them untrue. To those who believe that the world is bad, and cannot

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be made better, and that they have only to take care of themselves and their families, and thus prove that they are orthodox in faith and practice, Mardi will have been written in vain. The world is the least of their concerns. They are themselves the centre of gravity.

As an illustration of the style and thought of the work, we give a portion of a chapter, entitled—

ODO AND ITS LORD.

"Time now to enter upon some description of the island and its lord.

"And first for Media: a gallant gentleman and king. From a goodly stock he came In his endless pedigree reckoning deities by decimals, innumerable kings, and scores of great heroes, chiefs, and priests. Nor in person did he belie his origin. No far-descended dwarf was he, the least of a receding race. He stood like a palm-tree; about whose acanthus capital droops not more gracefully the silken fringes, than Media's locks upon his noble brow.

"Thus much for Media. Now comes his isle.

"Our pleasant ramble found it a little round world by itself; full of beauties as a garden; chequered by charming groves; watered by roving brooks; and fringed all round by a border of palm-trees, whose roots drew nourishment from the water. But through abounding in other quarters of the Archipelago, not a solitary bread-fruit grew in Odo—a noteworthy circumstance, observable in these regions, where islands close adjoining, so differ in their soil, that certain fruits growing genially in one, are foreign to another. But Odo was famed for its guavas, whose flavor was likened to the flavors of new-blown lips; and for its grapes, whose juices prompted many a laugh, and many a groan.

"Beside the city where Media dwelt there were few other clusters of habitations in Odo, the higher classes living here and there in separate households, but not as hermits. Some buried themselves in the cool, quivering bosoms of the groves—others, fancying a marine vicinity, dwelt hard by the beach in little cages of bamboo; whence of a morning, they sallied out with jocund cries, and went plunging into the refreshing bath, whose frothy margin was the threshold of their dwellings. Others still like birds, built their nests among the sylvan nooks of the elevated interior; whence all below and hazy green, lay steeped in languor the island's throbbing heart.

"Thus dwelt the chiefs and merry men of mark. The common sort, including serfs and helots, war captives held in bondage, lived in secret places hard to find—whence it came that to a stranger the whole isle looked care-free and beautiful. Deep among the ravines and the rocks these beings lived in noisome caves, lairs for beasts, not human homes—or built them coops of rotten boughs—living trees were banned them, whose mouldy hearts hatched vermin Fearing infection of some plague born of this filth, the chiefs of Odo seldom passed that way, and looking round within their green retreats, and pouring out their wine, and plucking from orchards of the best, marvelled how these swine could wallow in the mire, and wear such sallow cheeks. But they offered no sweet homes—from that mire they never sought to drag them out. They open threw no orchard; and intermitted not the mandates that condemned their drudges to a life of deaths. Sad sight! to see those round-shouldered helots stooping in their trenches; artificial, three in number, and concentric; the isle well-nigh surrounding. And herein fed by oozy loam, and kindly dew from heaven, and bitter sweat from men, grew as in hot-beds the nutricious taro.

"Toil is man's allotment—toil of brain, or toil of hands, or a grief that's more than either—the grief and sin of idleness. But when man toils, and slays himself for masters, who withhold the life he gives them, then, then the soul screams out, and every sinew cracks. So of these poor serfs—and few of them could choose but be the brutes they seemed.

"Now needs it to be said, that Odo was no land of pleasure unalloyed, and plenty without a pause. Odo, in whose lurking-places infants turned from breasts whence flowed no nourishment—Odo, in whose inmost haunts dark

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groves were brooding, passing which you heard most dismal cries, and voices cursing Media. There men were scourged—their crime a heresy; the heresy that Media was no demi-god. For this they shrieked. * * * *
To look at, and to roam about of holidays, Odo seemed a happy land. The palm-trees waved, though here and there you marked one sear and palsy smitten; the flowers bloomed, the dead ones mouldered in decay; the waves ran up the strand in glee—though receding, they sometimes left behind bones mixed with shells."

The life blood that belongs to the poor of this world, and that now stagnates in the plethora of the rich, must get somewhat of an equalized circulation before sentiments like the above will be thankfully accepted at church or on 'change. Those who are rebuked in this chapter, may be sufficiently shrewd and politic to keep silence, lest they be known to the people, but this is all the grace that can be expected of them.

We claim not perfection for our author—we have a few things against the author of Mardi even. He has given us real pictures of a very bad world; and its worthless babble, its vulgar smoking and drinking, appear very natural and life-like in the reflection. Perhaps we ought not to complain of the frequent turning up of the calabashes, any more than of the politics and religion described. Both these are often of a very hard kind; but we get good evidence that the author has little sympathy with either, whilst he describes the drinking and smoking as his own act. We do not believe they are in his actual life, though we confess that there is a little murkiness in Mardi, that smells of the smoke of the vile weed. But the pure human love of the great Heart that has conceived and executed this work must, ere long, purify the *whole* life of its author.

We have found much in Mardi; we have given due credit for it, and yet we have been saddened that we did not find more. With all his humanity, Mr. Melville seems to lack the absolute faith that God had a purpose in creating the world. He seems to think that the race is in a vicious circle, from which we cannot escape—that what has been must be again forever.

We believe in God, and therefore we cannot accept the doctrine that this world can be a failure. It is a doctrine born out of poverty and want, material and spiritual, and there are enough of both at our present period of progress, to insure a plentiful crop of barren unbelief. Mr. Melville must emerge from this evil state, with those for whom he has labored in bonds, bound with them; for, as he has most truly said, "to scale great heights we must come out of lowermost depths. The way to heaven is through hell. We need fiery baptisms in the fiercest flames of our own bosoms. We must feel our hearts hot and hissing in us. And ere their fire is revealed, it must burn its way out of us, though it consume us and itself."

Wherefore these baptisms by fire, if they purify us not? And wherefore is one made strong and washed white, if not for others—for all; and can any *one* be holy and happy until all are? Can the plague-spot live in one heart, or in one spot of earth—can it live here, there, or *anywhere*, and exhale its pestiferous influence, and not affect the whole globe? If we have faith for one, we must have faith for all—African or Caucasian, Italian, American, Jew, or Kalmuck Tartar. There is on the earth but one man. "We are all members one of another." For what was this MAN and this EARTH created? Will God save, or destroy his Earth-Son, and the world that he has given for his abode?

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COOPER'S WORKS.*

With so able and enterprising a publisher as Mr. Putnam, the vague idea, indistinctly entertained by a few individuals among us, that there is no American literature, is likely soon to be extinguished, and American authors may find a profitable sale for their works to an American publisher, entirely independent of English aid or foreign endorsement. The United States are slowly but gradually and surely emerging from their colonial state, and the time is now not distant when they will have attained a distinct nationality. Seventy years ago, political independence was achieved, but our national industry struggled vainly in the bondage of paper credits, until the Revolution of 1837 destroyed the connection, and suffered the capital of America to accumulate upon its soil, preserving the commercial circles from revulsion and disaster, while bankruptcy and famine have overwhelmed the British islands. The next step now apparently being taken is literary emancipation; and Americans are about to recognize the fact, that a thing may be good in itself even if it has never been noticed across the Atlantic. That reading and thinking men in England, should, under such a government as they possess, have been reluctant to see that North America had ceased to be a colony, or to admit the people of this country to a participation of those honors which belong to the civilized world, and the great family of Christian communities, is perhaps natural. They have hitherto written *about* America, but not to America. They have not taken the people of the United States into the account of those who are to read their works, and judge of them. They have not acknowledged the reading and thinking men on this side of the Atlantic as a part of that great public tribunal to which they are responsible. In all this they have committed a great error, of which they are now becoming sensible, and as a consequence, the tone of their writers is fast changing. English literature is no longer confined to an aristocratic patronage. The majority of readers in the English language are already republicans, and the proportion of these to the whole number is annually increasing. The scorn with which English scholars regarded American productions is becoming subdued; their prejudice is giving way, and their jealousy, if not eradicated, is lowering its tone. We, of the United States, have numbers, power, wealth, a most extensive country, and also, what many of us have hesitated to believe, some portion of that intelligence and spirit which belongs to our more cultivated neighbors, and gaining confidence in this latter respect, we are daily becoming less subservient to English dictation. Our colonial position in respect of literature, has been to a considerable degree prolonged, by the fact that our public press has been, and is to this day, not only influenced by Eng-

* The Spy; a tale of the Neutral Ground. By the author of the Pilot. Revised, corrected, and illustrated; with a new introduction, notes, &c. By the author. G. P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

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land, but actually owned and edited by Englishmen. Thus. of nine daily papers in the city of New-York, four are owned and edited by British subjects; of eight weeklies, six are owned and edited in the same manner; and the proportion of English editorship is probably less now than ever before. All these papers are, as is quite natural, deeply imbued with that national prejudice, for which the English are famous above all other nations. That strong nationality is doubtless an honorable trait, but it is in this case diametrically opposed to the development of a national feeling in the land of their adoption, and that public opinion has received a strong bias against what is American by the course of those prints, it is useless to deny, and manifests itself whenever an international question is presented. This bias has been countenanced and supported by the fact, that almost all the learning of our schools and colleges is drawn from English sources. If we turn to any of the books in common use in our schools, we find only extracts from high-toned English tory writers, and the ideas so instilled into our youth, clash strangely with its common sense when it comes in contact with the world as it is. Politically, the mischief is soon weeded out, but no effort has been made to eradicate the blind literary dependence upon English authors inculcated by such a course of reading. This manifests itself in the puerile attempts of our authors to follow in the style of writers in by-gone ages. Critics, poetasters, and *quasi* literati, prattle of style as of a thing of first consequence, and will, with profound gravity, deliberately condemn the most masterly conceptions, because the style is not monotonous like Gibbon, or as faultlessly inane as the Spectator. The taste of the age is now changed, and shrewd men discover that to be possessed of ideas is the first great requisite; the next, to express them as clearly and correctly as possible. From a mind surcharged with knowledge, digested and generalized by mature reflection, the ideas will flow in a clear and rapid stream, arranging themselves in a style at once expressive and attractive, varying with the passions elicited and the excitement of the theme. Hence, to create an American literature, there must be a profound knowledge of everything American. There must be less worship of English models, less imitation of English writers, and less deference to English criticisms. If our statesmen and politicians had never undertaken anything here but on the English model, and scrupulously avoided all that tory critics would condemn, we should still be as colonial politically as we are provincially literary. Cooper struck a new course. He made himself independent; possessed himself of American ideas, and threw his picture before the public with an original clearness and impressive force seldom equalled.

It is in vain that American genius strives for distinction, when the American public, distrusting its own judgment, and led by prejudiced prints, requires an English endorsement, and a scornful jealousy refuses that endorsement to the most meritorious productions. It is humiliating to reflect, that the great genius of our own Cooper would scarcely have forced itself into notice but for an accident. His first work, "Precaution," displayed so much genius as well as knowledge of English society, that it was alleged none but an Englishman could have written it—and it was re-published in London as an English novel, without, however, the English re-publisher ever dreaming that he was robbing

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the author, as English authors allege they are robbed by American publishers. Mr. Cooper tells us, however, that he experienced some compunctious visitings for introducing his young countrymen into society so different from their own, and that these reflections partly induced the writing of the "Spy," which has now been presented to the public by Mr. Putnam, as the first of a new and admirable edition, uniform with the standard edition of Irving's works, now in process of issue from the same press. As a contrast to this enterprise, we may recur to the anecdote which Mr. Cooper himself tells of the first publication of the same work. An incident of the American war, forcibly told by one of its principal actors, formed the thread from which the story was to be woven. So little inducement was then, however, held out to American authors, that the first volume was printed several months before the author felt it worth while to commence the second. He did so, however; and as it was slowly printing "from manuscript barely dry when it went into the compositor's hands," the publisher became uneasy as to the probable length of the work. "To set his mind at rest, the last chapter was written, printed and paged, several weeks before the chapters which precede it were even thought of." Such were the difficulties with which an author like Cooper had to contend with twenty-five years ago; and the work which so struggled into existence, has been universally popular in almost every living language. Probably no novels, not even the best of Scott's, have been so widely circulated as those from the pen of Cooper. We well remember, when walking among the flower-gardens upon the walls of Hamburg, with what a thrill of patriotic pride we regarded a young stranger lady sitting in the ample shade and reading a German translation of the "Last of the Mohicans." Months subsequently, in the Park at Baden, we encountered a lad engaged with the "Spy," and that we were the countryman of Cooper, was at once the source of conscious pride and a warm reception. While the citizens of every nation of Europe were thus doing homage to his genius, the countrymen of Mr. Cooper were the last to acknowledge his worth. Germans, and even English, frankly awarded the merits which the press of his own country but reluctantly admitted. It may be remarked, however, that the press, from causes partly indicated, by no means represented public opinion in this respect. Mr. Cooper had touched a responsive chord in the hearts of the people long before a cringing and toadying press and dilettanti were induced to recognize the fact. When Mr. Cooper went to Europe, after the publication of the "Last of the Mohicans," he was received with the honors due to one of the greatest writers of the age; but neither the coldness of his countrymen, nor the warmth of his reception abroad, for a moment shook his unwavering patriotism. He frankly and boldly jeapardized his fortune and position to vindicate his country from the aspersions cast upon her by royal minions in the French Chamber of Deputies, and most effectually did he vindicate his country and her institutions. The venerable Lafayette, struggling for the popular cause, could neither procure nor desire an abler supporter.

Perhaps no man before the public has, however, been pursued with a more vindictive and untiring malice by a portion of the public press, than this pure-minded man, than whom the country boasts not a more

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brilliant genius, or a more disinterested patriot. So universal has been the fame of Cooper, that it has been well said, "wherever the name of Washington was never spoken, our country has been known only as the home of Cooper." This, indeed, is an American literature. But neither his sterling worth as a man, his pure patriotism, nor his commanding genius, could preserve him from venomous attacks, nor his works from hypercritical assaults. On his return, he was basely assailed by the press of his own country, echoing the attacks upon him by foreign prints, elicited by his acts in defence of his country abroad; and if he chose to appeal to his countrymen from a corrupt and servile press, and to point out the vice of "quoting the opinions of foreign nations by way of helping to make up its own estimate of the degree of merit which belongs to its public men," surely no one could utter a manifest truth with more grace or better justice. He had himself obtained faint praise, after ruthless abuse, from the press of his country, only through the medium of foreign patronage. He had himself no longer any reason to complain; but his bold, manly, and patriotic spirit, wished to see his country really independent, and to have eradicated that controlling foreign influence over our literature, which was "destructive of those sentiments of self-respect, and of that manliness and independence of thought, that are necessary to render a people great, or a nation respectable." With the same fearless, self-sacrificing independence with which he entered the arena in Paris in defence of his country on the appeal of the venerable Lafayette, did he point out and seek to remedy what he conceived to be errors and abuses at home. Although the motive was misrepresented, and the manner ridiculed by a press that disgraced its own country, and earned the contempt of the judicious abroad, who saw it willing to malign one of America's greatest men, for the poor guerdon of foreign smiles, Mr. Cooper was content to do right for the sake of right.

It is a trait of American genius to give pictures with astonishing clearness and reality, and Cooper exhibits this trait in its greatest perfection. His actors are living and breathing men, whose future we divine as clearly as that of our relatives and acquaintances of long standing. In his nautical scenes, there are none of those anomalies that mark similar scenes in the best of the English writers, even Scott. While the landsman follows him with intense interest into battle, or breathlessly awaits the issue of nautical perils, the seaman detects no evidence of the "land-lubber," and so far from being shocked by any anomalies of situation, may derive useful hints in general seamanship from imaginary illustrations. On board his ship, Mr. Cooper is surrounded by his mates, superior to them, alike in genius and in knowledge of their profession. He is master alike of his story and the ship, which is the scene of its action. Long Tom Coffin has come from Cooper's hands an historical character. He is the embodyment of that bold class of American seamen which grew up silently under the folds of the stars and stripes, and whose skill and courage tore down the broom which England had nailed to her mast-head on the day that she wrenched it from Van Tromp, and made vain his boast that he would "sweep the English channel." The living and breathing truth of those nautical sketches found a response in every youthful bosom in the New-England sea-ports, and wonderfully excited the taste, natural

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in those localities, for nautical enterprise and adventure. It is an admitted fact, that one such novel as Cooper's did more for the increase of American seamen, than did all the bounty and protective laws ever passed. The works of Cooper have been carped at by those hypercritical worshippers of the school of the Spectator and the Guardian, who still continue to regard the most solemn stupidities expressed with precision in well-turned sentences as the standard of excellence. With the present century commenced a new era, and men required ideas clearly expressed in place of musical sentences which leave no impression. With rare power of genius, he occupied two entirely new fields, introducing entirely new persons; and no author has surpassed him in the number of original and striking characters he has given to the world of imagination. He has invested the prairies of the west with a romance of which few believed them capable, and the red man vanishes from the continent amid a halo, for which he is entirely indebted to the masterly genius of Cooper. Driven across the Mississippi, and now surrounded by the settlements of the whites that have hemmed him in, and which are from the Pacific as well as from the Atlantic—from Canada as well as from Mexico, narrowing the circle, which for a moment he calls his own, he may almost count the hours of his existence. And history, when it recounts the deeds of King Philip and Tecumseh, will not more interest posterity in the people that shall have passed away, than will the palpable and truthful Uncas. If the necessities of the American race have deprived the poor Indians of their temporal existence, the genius of Cooper has given them a hold upon the feelings of posterity.

The demand for American books has become a fact, and publishers derive from it a profit, which, shared with the author, leaves a greater gain than in most cases remains from the republication of foreign books not shared by the authors. There have been, this spring, many instances of the very successful production of books, in the avails of which both author and publisher mutually and largely participated. That a stupid book will not sell to an extent to reimburse the expense of paper and print, is a fact deeply impressed upon the understandings of many. There are, nevertheless, those who cling to the notion, that a copyright which should check the publication of readable books of foreign origin, would force the public to buy those stupid books rather than read nothing. We apprehend the result would be to discourage all reading, and that the publisher might shut up shop amid a totally degenerate community. The cheap manner in which the most valuable foreign works have been put before the community, has been a source of great intellectual gain to the public; and that marked change in the state of the trade, as manifest in the anecdotes told by Mr. Cooper, in relation to his own publishing experience, is an evidence of the fruits of that gain.

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MINNA VON BARNHELM;

A COMEDY, IN FIVE ACTS.

FROM THE GERMAN OF G. E. LESSING.

ACT V.—SCENE I.

SCENE.—MAJOR VON TELLHEIM, (*from one side,*) WERNER (*from the other.*)

Major. Ha! Werner! I have been looking for you everywhere; where did you hide yourself?

Werner. And I have been seeking you, Herr Major; so does it often happen to seekers. I bring you some very good news.

Major. Ah! at present, I do not need your good news, but your gold. Quickly, Werner, give me what you have; and then get as much more for me as you can.

Werner. Herr Major! Now, by my poor soul, did I not say he would borrow money of me, when he had it himself to lend?

Major. You are not seeking evasions?

Werner. In order that I may have nothing to reproach him with, therefore he takes from me with his right hand, and gives it back again with his left.

Major. Do not stand parleying with me, Werner. I intend to return it to you again; but when and how—God only knows?

Werner. You do not then know that the king's treasurer has received orders to pay back to you your money? I just learned this from—

Major. What are you talking about? What have you let them make you believe? Do you not then understand that, if this were true, I should know it first of any one? In short, Werner—gold! gold!

Werner. Certainly, with pleasure! here is some! There are the hundred Louis d'ors, and there are a hundred ducats. (*Giving him both.*)

Major. Carry the hundred Louis d'ors, Werner, to Jocelyn. He must immediately redeem the ring, upon which he borrowed some money early this morning. But where will you obtain more for me, Werner? I need much more.

Werner. Do not trouble yourself about that. The man who purchased my estate lives in the city. The first instalment does not, indeed, become due under fourteen days; but the money is ready, and the deduction of half per cent.

Major. Now, then, good Werner! Do you not see that I have recourse only to you? I must also confide all to you. The young lady here—you have seen her,—is unfortunate.

Werner. What a pity!

Major. But to-morrow, she becomes my wife.

Werner. O, joy!

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Major. And the day after to-morrow, I shall leave with her. I must go; I will go. Better leave everything here as it is! Who knows, but elsewhere a better fortune is in reserve for me? If you wish, Werner, you can accompany us. We will enter the service again.

Werner. Indeed! But then, where there is a war going on, Herr Major?

Major. Where else? Go, kind Werner, we will speak farther of this.

Werner. Oh, my heart's Major! The day after to-morrow? Why not to-morrow? I will get all things in readiness. In Persia, Herr Major, there is a capital war going on; what think you?

Major. We will think of it! But go now, Werner!

Werner. Hurrah! Long live Prince Heraclius! [*Exit.*

SCENE II.—MAJOR VON TELLHEIM.

How is it with me? My soul has received a new impulse. My own misfortune cast me down—made me irritable, short-sighted, discouraged, sluggish; her misfortune raises me up. I look around freely again, and feel myself willing and strong to undertake all for her,—what shall hinder me? (*Going towards the Fraulein's room, from which Francisca comes out.*)

SCENE III.—FRANCISCA, MAJOR VON TELLHEIM.

Francisca. Are you still here? I thought I heard your voice. What do you wish, Herr Major?

Major. What do I wish? Where is your mistress? Come!—

Francisca. She will ride out presently.

Major. And alone? Without me? Whither?

Francisca. Have you forgotten, Herr Major?

Major. Are you not wise, Francisca? I provoked her, and she became angry; I will ask her pardon, and she will forgive me.

Francisca. How? After you have taken back the ring, Herr Major?

Major. Ha!—That I did in my confusion. Now first I think upon the ring again. Where have I hid it? (*seeking it.*) Here it is.

Francisca. Is that it? (*aside, while he puts it up again.*) If he should examine it more closely!

Major. She urged it upon me with expressions of bitterness. This bitterness I have already forgotten. A full heart cannot weigh words. But she will not, at any moment, refuse to take the ring back again. And have I not her's still?

Francisca. Which I wait to receive back again. Where is it, then, if you have it, Herr Major? Show it to me.

Major (*hesitating a little.*) I have forgotten to put it on. Jocelyn! Jocelyn will bring it to me shortly.

Francisca. It is, perhaps, very similar to the other; however, let me see this; I am so fond of looking at such things.

Major. Another time, Francisca. Come, now—

Francisca (*aside.*) He is determined not to discover his mistake.

Major. What say you? Mistake?

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Francisca. It is a mistake, I say, if you suppose that the Fraulein would still be a good match. Her own property is by no means considerable; by bringing in a few accounts of their own, her guardians can easily consume the whole. She expected everything from her uncle; but this cruel uncle—

Major. Let him go! Am I not able to compensate her for all.

Francisca. Hark! She rings; I must return.

Major. I will go with you.

Francisca. For Heaven's sake, no! She expressly forbade my speaking to you. Come in, at least, somewhat after me. [*Goes in.*

SCENE IV.—MAJOR VON TELLHEIM, (*calling after her.*)

Announce me! Speak for me, Francisca! I will follow you soon! What shall I say to her? Where the heart may speak, no preparation is needed. This only would need a studied arrangement—her reserve, her hesitation to throw herself, thus unfortunate, into my arms; her effort to deceive me by a show of wealth, which she had lost for my sake. This distrust of my honor, of her own worth—to excuse this to herself,—to me it is already excused! Ha! here she comes.

SCENE V.—MINNA, FRANCISCA, MAJOR VON TELLHEIM.

Minna (*entering, and not apparently noticing the Major.*) Is the carriage at the door, Francisca?—My fan.

Major (*addressing her.*) Whither, my Fraulein?

Minna (*with affected coldness.*) I am going out, Herr Major. I suppose the reason why you trouble yourself to return hither was to give me back my ring. Very well, sir; have the goodness to leave it with Francisca. Francisca, take the ring from Major Tellheim. I have no time to lose. (*Going.*)

Major (*stepping before her.*) My Fraulein! Ah! what have I heard, my friend? I was not worthy such love.

Minna. So, Francisca? You have—

Francisca. Revealed all.

Major. Be not angry with me, my Fraulein, I am no traitor. You have, in the opinion of the world, lost much for me; but not in mine. In my estimation, you have gained infinitely by this loss. It was still so new to you, you feared it might make an unfavorable impression upon me. You wished, at first, to conceal it from me. I do not complain of this distrust. It arose from the desire of retaining my affections. This desire is my pride! You found me also unfortunate; and you wished not to heap distress upon distress. You could not be aware how much your misfortune would outweigh mine.

Minna. All very well, Herr Major! But it is now past. I have released you from your engagement; you have, by taking back the ring—

Major. Consented to nothing! Rather do I now consider myself more solemnly bound than ever. You are mine, Minna—forever mine, (*drawing forth the ring*) Here, receive a second time this pledge of my constancy.

Minna. Shall I receive that ring again? that ring?

Major. Yes, dearest Minna, yes!

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Minna. What do you demand of me?—that ring?

Major. You took this ring from my hand first, when the circumstances of both were equal and prosperous. They are no longer prosperous, but are again equal. Equality is ever the strongest bond of love. Allow me, dearest Minna!—(*takes her hand in order to place upon it the ring.*)

Minna. How? By force, Herr Major? No; there is no power in the world which will make me take back again that ring! You think, perhaps, that I have no ring? See, then, (*showing her ring,*) that I have one, which will not yield to yours in the least!

Francisca. If he does not now notice it!

Major (*letting fall her hand.*) How is this? I see the Fraulein Von Barnhelm, but I do not hear her. This is affectation, my friend. Pardon me, that I imitate you in the use of that word.

Minna (*in her natural tone.*) Did that word offend you, Major?

Major. It grieved me very much.

Minna. This should not be. Pardon me, Tellheim.

Major. Ah! that familiar tone says to me that you have come to yourself again, my Fraulein; that you still love me, Minna.

Francisca (*hastily.*) Soon might the joke have gone too far!

Minna (*in a commanding tone.*) Let us not have your interference, Francisca, if you please!

Francisca (*aside and astonished.*) Not enough yet?

Minna. Yes, my friend, it might be the part of womanly pride to remain cold and scornful. Away with it!—you deserve to find me as truthful as yourself. I love you still, Tellheim—I love you still; but notwithstanding this—

Major. Nothing more, dearest Minna, nothing more! (*taking her hand again to place upon it the ring.*)

Minna (*withdrawing her hand.*) Notwithstanding this—so much the less will I ever allow this to be again; never! What are you thinking of, Herr Major? I supposed that you had enough in your own misfortune. You must remain here; you must by obstinacy—(I cannot in my haste think of any other word)—by obstinacy, obtain for yourself complete satisfaction—even should the utmost calamity consume you before the eyes of your calumniators!

Major. So I thought, so I said, when I knew not what I thought and said. Chagrin and peevish anger had darkened my whole soul; even love itself, in the full splendor of prosperity, could not create light therein. But it sent its daughter Pity, who, familiar with sad Melancholy, dispersed the clouds, and opened again every avenue of my soul to the impressions of tenderness. The impulse of self-preservation awoke, when I had that which was more precious than myself to support, and by my own efforts. Let not the word pity offend you, my Fraulein. From the innocent cause of our misfortunes, we may hear it without humiliation. I am that cause. Through me, Minna, you have lost friend and kinsman, home and country; through me, in me, must you find them all again, or I shall have the destruction of the loveliest of her sex resting upon my soul. Leave me not a future to think of, wherein I shall hate myself. No, nothing shall detain me longer here. Henceforth, I will oppose the injustice, which has met me here only by contempt. Is this land the world? Does the sun rise only here? What office can they

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withhold from me? And must I seek for it under a distant sky; follow me only with confidence, dearest Minna, and there shall nothing be wanting to us. I have a friend who will gladly assist me.

SCENE VI.—A MESSENGER. MAJOR VON TELLHEIM. MINNA. FRANCISCA.

Francisca (*observing the Messenger.*) Hush!

Major (*to the Messenger.*) Whom do you wish for?

Messenger. I seek Major Von Tellheim. Ah, you are he, himself. Major, I come to bring to you this royal message. (*Taking a letter from his pocket-book.*)

Major. To me?

Messenger. According to the address—

Minna. Francisca, do you hear? The Chevalier has spoken truly.

Messenger, (*while Tellheim takes the letter.*) I ask your pardon, Herr Major; you should have received this yesterday; but I was not able to find you. Not until this morning did I learn where you were, from Lieutenant Riccant upon parade.

Francisca. Gracious Fraulein, do you hear! That is the Chevalier's minister. "What is de name of de ministre in de broad place."

Major. I am much indebted to you for your trouble.

Messenger. It is my duty, Herr Major. [*Exit.*

SCENE VII.—MAJOR VON TELLHEIM. MINNA. FRANCISCA.

Major. Ah, my Fraulein, what is this? What does this letter contain?

Minna. I am not entitled to extend my curiosity so far.

Major. How? Do you still separate my fortune from yours? But why do I hesitate to break it open? It cannot make me more unfortunate than I am; no, dearest Minna, it cannot make us more unfortunate; but it may make us more fortunate! Allow me, my Fraulein, (*opens and reads the letter, while the landlord comes slyly on to the scene.*)

SCENE VIII.—LANDLORD. MAJOR VON TELLHEIM. MINNA. FRANCISCA.

Landlord, (*to Francisca.*) Hark! my pretty one! A word with you!

Francisca, (*approaching him.*) Herr Landlord, we do not yet know, ourselves, what is in the letter.

Landlord. Who wants to know anything about the letter? I came on account of the ring. The gracious Fraulein must give it back to me immediately. Jocelyn is here; he wishes to redeem it again.

Minna, (*who, in the meantime, also approaches the landlord.*) Just say to Jocelyn that it has been redeemed already; and tell him also by whom; by me.

Landlord. But—

Minna. I will take it all upon myself; go! [*Exit Landlord.*

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SCENE IX.—MAJOR VON TELLHEIM. MINNA. FRANCISCA.

Francisca. And now, gracious Fraulein, let it be well with the poor Major.

Minna. Oh, the intercessor! As if the knot would not soon untie itself.

Major (*after he has read the letter, with the liveliest emotion.*) Ah! he has not denied himself! Oh, my Fraulein, what justice!—what condescension! This is more than I expected—more than I deserve! My fortune—my honor—all is again restored! Do I not dream? (*looking into the letter again, as if to assure himself.*) No; no delusion of my heart! Read it, my friend; read it yourself!

Minna. I am not so indiscreet, Herr Major.

Major. Indiscreet? The letter is for me; for your Tellheim, Minna. It contains—what your uncle cannot take from you. You must read it; do read it!

Minna. If it will give you pleasure, Herr Major—(*takes the letter and reads*):—"My dear Major Von Tellheim: I would inform you, that the business which made me concerned for your honor, has cleared up to your advantage. My brother was the best informed in regard to it, and his testimony has declared you more than innocent. The treasury has orders to deliver to you again the acknowledged notes, and to pay to you the advanced money; also, I have commanded that all the charges which the war-office may have against you shall be set aside. Let me know whether your health will allow of your entering the service again. I would not willingly lose a man of your bravery and intelligence. I am your well-wishing king," &c.

Major. Now, what say you to that, my Fraulein?

Minna (*folding the letter and returning it to him.*) I? Nothing.

Major. Nothing?

Minna. Or yes; that your king, who is also a great man, is also, perhaps, a good man. But what is that to me? He is not my king.

Major. And do you say nothing more? Nothing in regard to ourselves?

Minna. You will enter the service again; from a Major you will become Lieutenant-Colonel, or, perhaps, Colonel. I congratulate you with all my heart.

Major. And do you not know me better? No—since fortune restores to me sufficient to satisfy the wishes of a reasonable man, it will depend upon my Minna only whether I shall henceforth belong to any one but her. To her service alone shall my whole life be devoted! The service of the great is dangerous, and does not repay the trouble, the constraint, the humiliation, which it costs. Minna is not one of those foolish ones, who esteem their husbands for nothing but titles and honors. She will love me for myself; and I, for her sake, will forget the whole world. I became a soldier for—I know not what—political principle, and from the fancy that it was well for every honorable man to seek, in this situation, for a time, to make himself familiar with everything called danger, and in order to acquire coolness and courage. Extreme necessity alone could have compelled me to make, of this experiment, a fixed destiny: of this transient employment, a permanent profession. But now, no longer compelled by circum-

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stances, my only ambition is again to become a contented and peaceable man. This, with you, dearest Minna, I shall certainly become; this, in your society, I shall unchangeably remain. To-morrow, let the holiest of bonds unite us, and then we will look about us, and seek out the quietest, brightest, most smiling corner in the whole wide, habitable world, to which only the happy pair is wanting to make it a paradise. There will we dwell; there shall our every day—What ails you, Minna? (*deeply moved, she turns away, and endeavors to conceal her emotion.*)

Minna (*recovering herself.*) You are very cruel, Tellheim, to place before me so attractive a prospect, which I must renounce. My loss—

Major. Your loss? What do you call your loss? All which Minna could lose is not Minna. You are still the sweetest, loveliest, kindest, best creature under the sun; all goodness and generosity—all innocence and joy! Now and then, a little petulance; here and there, a slight touch of caprice. So much the better!—so much the better! Minna would otherwise be an angel, whom I might worship with trembling, but whom I could not love. (*Seizing her hand to kiss it.*)

Minna (*withdrawing her hand.*) Not so, sir! How! so altered all at once! Is this flattering, passionate lover, the cold Tellheim? Could merely his returning fortune infuse into him so much ardor? He will permit me, during this his transient excitement, to retain consideration for both of us. When he could himself consider, I have heard him say, that it is an unworthy love, which would not hesitate to expose its object to contempt. True, but I also aspire to a love as pure, as noble as this. Now, when honor calls, when a great monarch even solicits him—shall I allow that he yield himself to lovely dreams with me? —That the renowned warrior degenerate into the idle swain? No, Herr Major, follow the hint of your better destiny.

Major. Well, then! if the great world is so attractive to you, Minna, then let the great world retain us! How poor—how miserable is this great world!—you know it only on its bright side. But surely, Minna, you will. It may be! Even to this, well! There will not be wanting admiration of your accomplishments and envy of my good fortune.

Minna. No, Tellheim, I did not mean thus. I directed you back to the great world—to the path of honor, without wishing to accompany you thither myself. There Telheim will need a wife, who is above reproach! A runaway Saxon maiden, who has thrown herself upon his generosity—

Major (*passionately, and looking wildly around.*) Who dares to speak thus? Ah, Minna, I should fear for myself if I could think any one but you had said that. My rage against him would have been without bounds.

Minna. There, now! That is what I fear. You would not endure the least mockery concerning me, and yet you would daily receive the bitterest taunts. In short, hear now, Tellheim, what I have firmly resolved upon, from which nothing in the world shall dissuade me—

Major. Before you speak, Fraulein—I entreat you, Minna!—consider, yet for one moment, that you will pronounce upon me the sentence either of life or death!

Minna. Without farther consideration! So surely as I have given

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back to you the ring, with which you formerly plighted your troth to me—so surely as you have taken back that ring, so surely shall the unhappy Barnhelm not become the wife of the fortunate Tellheim!

Major. And hereby you break the bond, Fraulein?

Minna. Equality is the only firm bond of love. The fortunate Barnhelm would have wished to live only for the fortunate Tellheim. Also, the unhappy Minna would at length have been persuaded to allow the misfortune of her friend to become, through her, either increased or alleviated. You noticed, perhaps, that, before this letter came which removed all equality between us, it was in appearance only that I refused.

Major. Is this true, my Fraulein? I thank you, Minna, that you have not yet broken the bond. You wish only for the unfortunate Tellheim? He is to be had (*coldly.*) I perceive now that it would be unbecoming for me to accept this late justice; that it will be better that I do not, by any means, wish again for that which has been disgraced by so shameful a suspicion. Yes, I will not have received the letter. Let this be the only answer which I will make! (*attempting to tear it in pieces.*)

Minna (*seizing his hand.*) What would you do, Tellheim?

Major. Make you mine!

Minna. Stop!

Major. Fraulein, this will surely be torn in pieces unless you explain yourself in some other way. Then we will see what farther you have to bring against me!

Minna. How? In this tone? Shall I then—must I then become contemptible in my own eyes? Never! She is an unworthy creature who would not be ashamed to owe her whole fortune to the blind tenderness of a lover!

Major. False! entirely false!

Minna. Will you dare to rebuke your own words upon my lips?

Major. Sophist! Is the weaker sex then disgraced by everything which would not be becoming to the stronger? Shall man allow himself in every thing which befits woman? Which did Nature intend for the protection of the other?

Minna. Be not alarmed, Tellheim. I shall not be entirely without protection, if I must decline the honor of yours. I shall always have as much as necessity demands. I have caused myself to be announced to our ambassador. He will speak with me to-day. I hope he will be favorable to me. The time is passing. Permit me, Herr Major—

Major. I will accompany you, gracious Fraulein.

Minna. By no means, Herr Major; leave me—

Major. Sooner shall your shadow leave you! But go, my Fraulein, whither you will—to whom you will. Everywhere—to acquaintances and to strangers, will I declare in your presence—a hundred times a day will I declare, what bonds united you with me, and by what a cruel caprice you would sever these bonds.

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SCENE X.—JOCELYN. (*The rest as before.*)

Jocelyn (*earnestly.*) Herr Major! Herr Major!
Major. Well?
Jocelyn. Come quick, quick!
Major. What do you wish? Come to me! Speak!—what is it?
Jocelyn. Hear, then—(*whispers to him.*)
Minna (*aside to Francisca.*) Do you obseve anything, Francisca?
Francisca. Oh, you merciless creature! I have stood here upon coals!
Major (*to Jocelyn.*) What do you say? It is not possible! She? (*looking wildly at the Fraulein.*) Speak it aloud!—say it in her hearing! Hear him, my Fraulein.
Jocelyn. The landlord says, that the Fraulein Von Barnhelm has taken the ring which I pledged to him; she has claimed it as her own, and will not return it to him.
Major. Is this true, my Fraulein? No, it cannot be true!
Minna (*smiling.*) And why not, Tellheim? Why can it not be true?
Major (*passionately.*) Then it may be true! What fearful light has at once broken upon me? Now I know you, false, treacherous one!
Minna (*alarmed.*) Who? Who is treacherous?
Major. She whom I will never more name!
Minna. Tellheim!
Major. Forget my name!—you came hither on purpose to break your engagement with me. It is clear! Since an accident was so gladly made use of by the treacherous one! It brought your ring again into your hand. You knew how, by artifice, to make me accept my own again.
Minna. Tellheim, what kind of a phantom have you conjured up? Recover yourself, and listen to me.
Francisca (*aside.*) Now may she have it!

SCENE XI.—WERNER (*with a purse of gold.*) *The rest as before.*

Werner. Here I am again, Herr Major!
Major. (*without looking at him.*) Who wants you?
Werner. Here is gold! A thousand pistoles!
Major. I do not want them!
Werner. To-morrow, Herr Major, you can command as much again more.
Major. Keep your gold!
Werner. It is your gold, Herr Major! I believe you do not see with whom you are speaking?
Major. Away with it, I say!
Werner. What ails you?—I am Werner.
Major. All goodness is dissimulation; all kindness a cheat.
Werner. Does this refer to me?
Major. As you please!
Werner. I have only obeyed your commands.
Major. Obey this then, and be off!
Werner (*offended.*) Herr Major, I am a man!

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Major. You are right there!

Werner. Who have gall also?

Major. Good! Gall is the best thing we have.

Werner. I beseech you, Herr Major——

Major. How many times must I tell you? I do not want your money!

Werner (*angrily*). Let who will, have it then! (*throwing down the purse, he goes to one side.*)

Minna (*to Francisca.*) Ah, dear Francisca, I should have followed your advice. I have carried the joke too far. Still he might just hear me—(*approaching him.*)

Francisca (*who, without answering Minna, goes up to Werner.*) Herr Sergeant!

Werner (*morosely*). Go away!

Francisca. Ho!—what men you are?

Minna. Tellheim!—Tellheim!—(*biting his nails with anger, he turns away his face, and will hear nothing.*) No—this is too bad! Do hear me! You are mistaken! It is only a misunderstanding, Tellheim! Will you listen to your Minna? Can you entertain such a suspicion? Would I break our engagement? Have I come hither for that purpose? Tellheim!

SCENE XII.—TWO SERVANTS (*running in, one after the other, from different sides of the hall. The rest as before.*)

First Servant. Gracious Fraulein! His Honor, the Count—

Second Servant. He is coming, gracious Fraulein!

Francisca (*running to the window.*) It is he! It is he!

Minna. Is it he? Oh, now, quickly, Tellheim!

Major (*recovering himself at once.*) Who? Who is coming? Your uncle, Fraulein? That cruel uncle? Let him come! Only let him come! Fear nothing; he shall not dare to harm you, even by a look! He has to do with me. Truly, you do not deserve it from me.

Minna. Embrace me quickly, Tellheim, and forget all.

Major. Ah, if I knew you could repent of this—

Minna. No, I cannot repent, having obtained a view of your whole heart!—Ay! what a man you are!—Embrace your Minna—your happy Minna; but happier in nothing than in possessing you! (*Embracing.*) And now let us go and meet him.

Major. To meet whom?

Minna. The best of your unknown friends.

Major. How?

Minna. The Count, my uncle, my father, your father. My flight, his anger, my disinheritance; do you not understand that I invented all this? Credulous knight!

Major. Invented? But the ring? The ring!

Minna. Where is the ring which I returned to you?

Major. Will you take it again?—Oh! then shall I be so happy!—Here, Minna. (*Drawing it forth.*)

Minna. But you had better look at it first. Oh! who so blind as those who will not see?—Whose ring is that? The one which I gave to you, or the one which you gave to me?—Is it not that one which I would not leave in the hands of the landlord?

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Major. Heavens! what do I see? What do I hear?

Minna. Shall I take it back again now? Shall I?—Give it to me, give it to me! (*Snatches it from his hand and places it upon his finger.*) Now is all right?

Major. Where am I? (*Kissing her hand.*) Oh! you wicked angel! to torment me thus!

Minna. Let this be a warning, my beloved spouse, that when you play me a trick, you may expect one yourself in return. Think you did not also torment me?

Major. Oh, you actress! I should have known you!

Francisca. No, truly, I should make but a poor actress. I have trembled and shook, and have been forced to stop my mouth with my hand.

Minna. Neither has my part been easy to maintain. But come, now.

Major. I cannot yet recover myself. How happy, how anxious I am! As when one awakes suddenly from a frightful dream!

Minna. We are lingering; I hear him already!

SCENE XIII.—COUNT VON BRUCHSAL, (*accompanied by several Servants and the Landlord. The rest as before.*)

Count (*entering.*) You have arrived then in safety?

Minna (*springing towards him.*) Ah! my father!

Count. Here I am, dear Minna! (*Embracing her.*) But what, child—(*observing Tellheim,*) have been here only twenty-four hours, and so soon acquaintance—so soon intimacy?

Minna. Can you guess who this may be?

Count. Not your Tellheim?

Minna. Who else but he?—Come, Tellheim, (*leading him to the Count.*)

Count. My friend, we have never seen each other; but, at the first glance, I believed that I knew you. I wished that it might be you. Embrace me. You have my highest esteem. I would solicit your friendship. My niece, my daughter loves you.

Minna. You know this, my father! And is it blind—my love?

Count. No, Minna, your love is not blind; but your love is—dumb!

Major (*throwing himself into his arms.*) Allow me to come to myself, my father!

Count. All right, my son; I understand it: if thy mouth cannot prattle, still thy heart can speak. Heretofore, I have not been partial to officers of this color, (*pointing to Tellheim's uniform.*) Still, you are an honorable man, Tellheim; and such men will be esteemed, let them appear in what garb they will.

Minna. Oh! if you knew all!

Count. What hinders that I should learn all?—Where are my rooms, Herr landlord?

Landlord. Will your honor have the goodness to walk in hither?

Count. Come, Minna; come, Tellheim. (*Exit, with landlord and servants.*)

Minna. Come, Tellheim.

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Major. I will follow you in a moment, my Fraulein. One word, however, with this man. (*Going up to Werner.*)

Minna. And with good reason; I think you have occasion for it.—Francisca, is it not true? (*Follows the Count.*)

SCENE XIV.—TELLHEIM. WERNER. JOCELYN. FRANCISCA.

Tellheim (*pointing to the purse which Werner had thrown down.*) Here, Jocelyn, take this purse and carry it home. Go! (*Exit Jocelyn.*)

Werner (*who is still standing sullenly in the corner, appearing to take no notice of anything when he hears this.*) There, now!

Tellheim (*approaching him, familiarly.*) Werner, when can I have the other thousand pistoles?

Werner (*restored at once to good humor.*) To-morrow, Herr Major—to-morrow.

Tellheim. I need not become your debtor, but I will be your treasurer. You, good-hearted people, of all men, need a guardian. You are, by nature, a spendthrift.—I made you angry, just now, Werner?

Werner. By my poor soul, yes! But then, I need not have been such a blockhead. Now I see it all plainly. I deserve a hundred blows. Let me receive them from you now; only no further grudge, dearest Major.

Tellheim. Grudge! (*Pressing his hand.*) Read it in my eyes, what I cannot express to you. Ha! who has a better maiden, and a more honest friend than I, I would wish to see him!—Francisca, is it not true? [*Exit.*

SCENE XV.—WERNER. FRANCISCA.

Francisca (*aside.*) Yes, truly, he is far too good a man! Such an one I shall not meet with again. It must come out!—(*Timid and embarrassed, she draws near to Werner.*) Herr Sergeant!

Werner (*wiping his eyes.*) Well?

Francisca. Herr Sergeant—

Werner. What do you wish then, little maiden?

Francisca. Look at me once, Herr Sergeant!

Werner. I cannot yet. I know not what has got into my eyes.

Francisca. Yet look at me!

Werner. I fear I have looked at you too many times already, little maiden!—Now, there, I see you! And what then?

Francisca. Herr Sergeant, do you not want a *Frau Wachtmeisterin?

Werner. Are you in earnest, maiden?

Francisca. With all my heart!

Werner. You are then perhaps willing to accompany me to Persia?

Francisca. Whither you will!

Werner. Indeed?—Hurrah! Herr Major, not much to boast of! Now have I at least as good a maiden, as honest a friend as you!—Give me your hand, little maiden! Agreed! Ten years hence, you shall be the wife of a general, or a widow!

FINIS.

* The meaning of this word is, Sergeant's wife, but seemed untranslatable.

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IPHIGENEIA IN TAURIS.

A DRAMA OF GOETHE.

ACT I.—(*Concluded.*)

Iphig. How may I venture on this impious step?
Has not the goddess, who protected me,
Alone a right to my devoted head?
She sought me an asylum, she preserves me
Perchance to soothe an aged father's cares,
Whom my apparent loss enough has punish'd.
Perchance my glad return is now approaching:
And shall I, mindless of the ways of heaven,
Bind myself here without Diana's sanction?
Was I to stay I ask'd a signal of her—

Thoas. That signal is that thou art still detain'd.
Seek not so many vain pretences, maid:
He, that refuses, needs not many words,
The other hears, among them, only *no.*

Iphig. They are not words intended to mislead.
I 've laid the bottom of my heart before thee.
Dost thou not feel how I, with anxious bosoms,
Pant to reclasp my father, mother, brethren;
That in the halls, where Mourning's still small voice
Has lisp'd my absence, Joy, with fragrant hand,
May hang the garland for my glad return.
Ah! wouldst thou send me thither in thy ships,
To me and them thou gave a second life.

Thoas. Return then—do whate'er thy wishes prompt—
Despise the voice of good advice and reason—
Be quite the woman, rul'd by each desire
That draws the wavering soul to right or wrong.
If haply lust within her bosom burn,
No sacred bond retains her from the traitor,
Who from the faithful long-protecting hand
Of father or of husband, would allure her;
And when the blaze of passion does not prompt,
The golden tongue of eloquence in vain
Assails her deafen'd ear.

Iphig. Remember, prince,
The noble promise which thy lips have made.—
And wilt thou thus repay my trust? Thou seemedst
Prepar'd to let me pour out my whole soul.

Thoas. I was not arm'd for so unhop'd an answer;
But 't was to be expected, for I knew
It was a woman that I had to deal with.

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Iphig. Prince, be not angry with our hapless sex.
Our weapons are not dignified as yours,
Yet are they not ignoble. Thou mayst trust me,
I am not blind unto thy happiness.
Thou thinkst, unknowing both thyself and me,
That closer union would in bliss connect us,
And boldly asks of me tame consent;
I thank the gods that they have given me firmness
Thus to decline what they have not approv'd.
Thoas. 'T is not a god, but thy own heart denies me.
Iphig. The gods address us only thro' our hearts.
Thoas. And have not I an equal right to hear them?
Iphig. The storm of passion drowns a gentler voice.
Thoas. Can none beside the priestess lend attention?
Iphig. The prince, above all others, should attend.
Thoas. Thy holy office, thy ancestral claim
To sit at Jove's own board, may well, I ween,
Have made thee more familiar with the gods
Than earth-born savages.
Iphig. And must I then
Thus—thus—atone the confidence extorted?
Thoas. I am but man, 't is better we conclude.
I keep my word: meanwhile continue priestess
Of our Diana, as herself appointed.
The goddess pardon me that I thus long
Unjustly and with inward disapproval
Allow thee to withhold the ancient offerings.
From immemorial ages not a stranger
Lands on our fatal shore unsacrific'd.
Thy blandishment (wherein I sometimes read
The soft affection of a loving daughter,
Sometimes with inward joy the secret wishes
That fitly vest a bride) have held me back,
With magic bondage from the walk of duty.
My senses, lull'd by thee to artful slumber,
Heard not the angry murmurs of the people:
To this, my weakness, loudly they ascribe
The early fall of my unhappy son.
For thee I brave no more a nation's curse,
But reinstate the ritual of my fathers.
Iphig. On my account I never ask'd it of thee.
He knows the immortals not, whose soul believes
That they delight in slaughter; but attributes
His own dark, cruel wishes to their natures.
Did not the goddess snatch me from the priest?
She chose my services rather than my death.
Thoas. 'T is not for us to judge and to reform
The sacred rites by our uncertain reason.
Perform the duty, I accomplish mine.
Two strangers, whose arrivel bodes no good,
Are found among the caverns on our coast,
Arndow in bonds. With these resume the goddess

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Her ancient pious long-lost sacrifice!
I send them hither strait: thou knowest the service. [*Goes.*
Iphig. Those whom fate unjustly dooms,
Thou, Diana, my protectress,
Canst in veiling clouds inwrap,
On the wings of mighty winds—
Canst across the widest kingdoms
Or the widest ocean bear
From the iron arm of fate.
To thy all-beholding glance
Distant ages still are present,
Long futurity is known.
O'er the children of thy care
Rolls thy mild and guarding look;
As thy orb, the life of night,
O'er the silent-thanking world.
O preserve my hands from blood!
Peace and blessings go not with it;
Even round the unwilling murderer
Roves the spirit of the slain
To infest the lonesome hour
And the watches of the dark—
For the kind immortals never
To the scatter'd sons of men
Grudge the fleeting day of life:
But allow them willingly
Their delighted looks to raise
To their own eternal skies.

ACT II.

ORESTES AND PYLADES BOUND.

Orest. It is the path of death that we are treading:
At every step my troubled soul grows calmer.
When I besought Apollo to remove
This grisly band of vengeful spirits from me,
He seem'd in clear and hope-infusing words
To promise me deliverance at Tauris,
Here in his sister's temple. Now I find
That all my woes shall terminate with life.
How readily does he, whom gods oppress,
Resign the aspect of the golden sun!
And must the blood of Atreus not obtain
A glorious end in fight—like Agamemnon,
Must I, a slaughter'd victim, fall defenceless—
So be it; rather at the altar here
Than by the knives of an avenging kindred.
Spare me this gasp of life—infernal gods,
Who dog-like track my footsteps, to lap up
With hellish thirst this parricidal blood,
Leave me—I soon shall be your own for ever.

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The light was neither made for you or me;
Nor should the verdant carpet of the earth
Be stalk'd upon by fiends. Below, below,
I seek your dwellings, and an equal lot
Shall bind us there in everlasting darkness.
'Tis thou, my Pylades, 'tis thou alone,
The innocent copartner of my curse,
Whom to the comfortless abode I grieve
To drag with me so soon. Thy life or death
Alone excites my hope or apprehension.

Pyla. I am not yet, Orestes, like thyself,
Dispos'd to wander to the realm of shades:
Nor am I hopeless, from this tangled path,
That seems to lead us to the endless vale,
To find an upway back to light and life.
I think not yet to perish; but would fancy
That destiny prepares a way for flight.
Fear'd or unfear'd the stroke of death must come;
But it may yet be distant. Had the priestess
Already cut from our devoted heads
The consecrated locks; my only study
Should still be our escape. Despond not thus,
Thy doubts can but accelerate the danger.
Apollo said, that, in his sister's temple,
Relief, return, were both provided thee:
The promises of gods are ne'er ambiguous,
As the oppress imagine in despair.

Orest. Dark and ill-boding was the web of life
My mother coil'd around my infant head;
For as I grew, my likeness to my father
Frown'd mute reproof on her, and her adulterer.
How often, when Electra by the fire
In our deep hall sat silent, I have thrown
My troubled arm around her bending neck,
And with broad eye explor'd her secret sorrow.
Then would she tell me of my father's greatness—
And I have wish'd to see him, to be near him,
To follow him to Troy—then would I pant
For his return.

Pyla. Let dæmons of the deep
Nightly discourse of that: the recollection
Of brighter hours shall fire our souls to daring.
The gods have need of many a virtuous man
To work their kind intentions here below,
And on thy aid they reckon; for they sent not
Thee with thy father to unwelcome Orkus.

Orest. O had I seiz'd his garment and gone with him!

Pyla. If so—the gods, who sav'd thee, thought of me.
What I had been, if thou hadst not surviv'd,
I cannot think; since with thee and for thee
Alone I've liv'd and wish'd to live till now.

Orest. Remind me not of those pure days of bliss,

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When my asylum was beneath thy roof:
When the nipt blossom of my helpless youth
Thy noble father's kind and prudent care
Protected, shelter'd, sav'd: when thou, my friend,
My first companion, like a butterfly
Round a *dark* flower, wouldst play and sport about me,
Transfuse thy cheerfulness into my bosom,
Make me forget the sorrows of my soul,
And bask with thee in youth's delightful sunshine.

Pyla. 'Twas then my life began when first I lov'd thee.

Orest. Say rather it was then thy woes began.
O 'tis the hardest of the pangs I suffer
That, like a plague-infected vagabond,
I bear destruction secretly about me,
And, when I enter the most wholesome place,
The blooming cheek grows pale, the writhing feature
Betrays the coming agony of death.

Pyla. If such contagion from thy presence flow'd,
I had been first to feel it, my Orestes:
Yet I am full of spirits still and courage,
And these are Execution's wings, on which
She reaches mighty actions.

Orest. Mighty actions!
I recollect the time we thought about them.
When we had chas'd the game o'er hill and dale,
Hoping hereafter, like our ancestors,
So to pursue, with undegenerate strength,
The monster or the robber, and at twilight
Together sat upon the beachy shore
Leaning against each other, where the waves
Would sport and flicker to our very feet—
And the wide world so open lay before us—
Oft we have seiz'd our swords with glowing hand,
While future deeds of glory burst upon us,
Like countless stars from the surrounding gloom.

Pyla. The task is infinite, Orestes, which
The soul aspires to accomplish. We would do
Each deed as greatly as the poet shapes it,
Roll'd by the swelling tempest of his song
Adown the stream of time from land to land.
What our forefathers did appear so splendid,
When in the silent shades of evening stretch'd
We hear it warbled to the stricken harp,
What we do is, as it was to them,
A painful piece-meal work. Thus we run on
Pursuing what's before—of what's beside
Unmindful—nor observe the obvious traces
Of our forefathers' earthly drudgery;
But chase their shadows, which like gods adorn
A mountain-summit on a golden cloud.
Him I esteem not, who can prize himself
High as the multitude may chance to lift him:

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But thou, young man, be thankful to the gods
That they have done so much thro' thee already.
Orest. Let him be thankful thro' whose favor'd hand
Misfortune from his family is warded,
His kingdom is enlarged or made secure,
His ancient foes defeated or destroy'd;
For he obtains the sweetest bliss of life.
But me they have made choice of for a butcher,
Have made the murder of an honour'd mother,
And lay'd me low in unremoving woe,
The guilty 'avenger of a deed of guilt.
O hardly-fated house of Tantalus!
Not thy last remnant would the gods destroy
Unsoil'd by crime and infamy.
Pyla. The gods
Avenge not on the son the father's crimes.
The good, the wicked, earns his own deserts
By his own deeds. The blessings of a parent,
But not his curses are hereditary.
Orest. Methinks it is no blessing brings us hither.
Pyla. It is at least the order of the gods.
Orest. Their order then destroys.
Pyla. Obey in patience.
When thou hast borne his sister to Apollo,
And both receive fit reverence at Delphi,
They shall be gracious to thee for the deed,
And banish thy infernal followers.
Beneath these hallow'd shades their feet impure
Presume not.
Orest. Then my death will be the calmer.
Pyla. My hopes rise higher: thoughtfully combining
The past and future, one may penetrate,
Methinks, the plans that fate is ripening.
Diana wishes from this savage coast,
And from its human offerings to escape:
We are selected for the 'auspicious theft,
And destiny has led us to the threshold.
Orest. Dost thou not cunningly mistake thy wishes
For the predestination of the god?
Pyla. What is all human prudence, if neglectful
To seek the will of heaven? The gods call forth
A man of many sins, but noble soul,
To difficult and dangerous undertaking—
Lo, he succeeds! The pardon'd penitent
Heaven and mankind conspire to bless and honour.
Orest. If my doom were a life of active service,
Some god would from my darken'd front roll back
This cloud of gloom, thro' which I only scan
The path all clotted with a mother's blood,
Down which I slide to Orkus—he would dry
The fountain that from Clytemnestra's wounds
Defiles me with its ever-springing gore.

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Pyla. Wait patiently. Thou dost augment thy evils,
And take the Furies' office to thyself.
Let me contrive our conduct; at the last,
When there is need of our united daring,
I'll claim thy succour to achieve the project.
Orest. I hear Ulysses speak.
Pyla. No mockery now.
Yet every one must fix upon some hero
On whom to model his pursuit of glory:
And I acknowledge to thee, in my eyes
Prudence and art so seldom misbecome
The man who aims at shining enterprize.
Orest. I like him best, who 'is bold, sincere and open.
Pyla. And therefore have I not requir'd thy counsel.
One step is already taken, from our guards
I learn there dwells a godlike woman here,
Who checks the execution of the law
That threats us, only offering to the gods
Incense and prayer and a pure spotless heart.
All love her, and they think that she descends
From Amazons, and hither fled for refuge
Against some great impending woe.
Orest. It seems
Her gentle sway lost all its lenient power
When guilt and I approach'd, whom Jove's displeasure
With midnight horror every where surrounds.
Relentment ceas'd from pity when I came,
And custom whets again the rusted knife.
The king is angry, and has doom'd our end;
How should a woman save us from his rage?
Pyla. I'm glad it is a woman we look up to.
The best of men learns cruelty at length
And grows accustom'd to the deed he hated;
Women retain whatever bent of mind
They first contract. As well in good as evil
One may more surely reckon on their sameness.
Hearken—she comes. She must not know at once
And unreserv'd our names and our adventures.
Retire awhile, and let me speak with thee,
Before she sees thee. [*Orestes goes.*

IPHIGENEIA AND PYLADES.

Iphig. (*unbinding him.*) Tell me whence thou art?
I think thou wearst the semblance of a Greek,
Not of a Scythian. Freedom is not safety—
The gods avert impending danger from thee!
Pyla. Blest sound! thrice welcome in a foreign land
Thou well-known accent of my native tongue.
Thy voice calls up before the captive's view
The azure mountains of his mother-country.
O let my joy convince thee I'm a Greek,
And plead for my forgiveness, if awhile

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I have forgotten what is due to thee,
And bent my fancy toward the fond idea.
O say, if no superior power forbid,
From which of our heroic families
Thy noble birth derives is origin.

Iphig. The priestess, by Diana's self appointed,
Discourses with thee, and let that suffice.
But tell me who art thou? what evil star
Hath guided hither thee and thy companion?

Pyla. That thou could'st dart the ray of hope upon us
As easily as I relate our woes!
We are from Crete, the sons of brave Adrastus.
He is the first-born, nam'd Laodamas;
I, Cephalus, the youngest; but between us
A rude wild youth grew up, whose very sports
Had often torn our bonds of love asunder.
While yet our father at the siege of Troy
Was busied, we obey'd a mother's prudence:
But when enrich'd with plunder he return'd
And died ere long, a contest for his wealth
And for the vacant sceptre parted us.
I join'd the elder: he has slain his brother.
For fratricide the Furies haunt his path.
The Delphian Phœbus promis'd us in Tauris
A termination to the louring curse.
Our capture and our threatened sacrifice,
Thou knowest.

Iphig. And is the fall of Troy accomplished?
Dearest of men, repeat, repeat that word.

Pyla. It is. Be thou our guardian and protectress.
Accelerate the promis'd help of heaven,
Take pity on my brother and console him;
But spare him, I beseech thee, in thy speech.
His feeling soul, by painful recollection,
Is torn too easily; and feverish madness
Will often seize him in her vulture-claw
And give him up to the unpitying Furies.

Iphig. Great as his sufferings are, I must conjure thee
Forget them for awhile and satisfy me.

Pyla. The haughty city, which for ten whole years
Withstood the might of Greece, is now a ruin;
But many a Grecian tomb will long arrest
Our fond remembrance on the Trojan shore.
There fell Achilles and his beauteous friend.

Iphig. So crumble e'en the images of gods?

Pyla. Nor Pelamede nor Telamonian Ajax
Review'd the sunshine on their native hills.

Iphig. (*aside.*) He does not name my father with the slain.
He lives, he lives! and I again may see him—

Pyla. Yet happy are the thousands that have sunk
By hostile hands in honorable combat:
For horrid slaughters and a mournful end

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Some angry god prepar'd to the returning
Instead of triumphs. Does the voice of man
Not reach this land, that thou hast yet to learn
The complicate misfortunes that befell,
And art a stranger to the woe that fills
Mycene's hall with ceaseless lamentation.
Assisted by Ægisthus, Clytemnestra
Slew, on the day of his return, her husband.
I see thou honourest this royal house.—
Thy bosom vainly labours to throw off
The unexpected weight of my sad words.—
Art thou the daughter of some friend or kinsman,
Or born perchance within that unblest city?—
Hide it not from me; and detest me not
For bringing hither first the hated tidings.

Iphig. Say further how the horrid deed was done.

Pyla. The day the king arriv'd, as from the bath
Refresh'd he was ascending, and awaited
A change of raiment from his consort's hand,
She flung, with cunning arm, a tangled robe
Across his shoulders and majestic head.
While from its many and confusing folds,
As from a net, he strove to disentangle
His prison'd limbs, the vile Ægisthus smote him,
And veil'd, the prince descended to the shades.

Iphig. What was the cursed traitor's recompense?

Pyla. A bed and kingdom he possess'd already.

Iphig. 'T was lust then prompted to the guilty deed?

Pyla. Lust and long-harbour'd wishes of revenge.

Iphig. How had the king offended Clytemnestra?

Pyla. With harshness, which if aught might plead for murder
Would lessen the atrociousness of this.
He had allur'd the queen to come to Aulis,
There seiz'd her first-born dear Iphigeneia,
And stain'd the altar with a daughter's blood;
Because the gods denied a prosperous wind.
Hence sprang the heat, that to Ægisthus' tongue
Unlock'd her easy bosom, and induc'd her
To weave this woof of mischief for her husband.

Iphig. (*veiling herself.*) Captive, enough. Thou 'lt see me yet again. [*Goes.*

Pyla. She seems affected deeply by the fate
Of Agamemnon. Whosoe'er she be,
She must have known him well, and have belong'd
To some high family before her capture
And sale to these barbarians. Now, my heart,
A twinkling star of hope is risen anew,
And we may steer our course with growing spirit.

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POPULAR PORTRAITS WITH PEN AND PENCIL.

EDWARD D. INGRAHAM, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The subject of this sketch was born at Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, in February, 1793. His earliest impressions were connected with the progress of the American republic, his father having participated very early in the revolutionary contest with Great Britain, and his maternal grandfather, Mr. Duffield, the friend, and afterwards the executor, of Dr. Franklin, having been a very determined and efficient supporter of the cause of his country in that struggle. He received his education at the University of Pennsylvania, and found opportunity to acquire the French and Spanish languages, and devote himself to the literature which belongs to them, particularly that of France, with an ardor that does not seem to have abated.

He commenced the study of the law in the office of Alex. James Dallas, Esquire, in the year 1811, a period of unusual excitement in the political history of the country. The position which Mr. Dallas occupied in the democratic party is well known—and the political principles of his pupil, received, from his example and opinions, a confirmation to which experience and subsequent observations has added strength. Mr. Dallas was the District Attorney of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, during the time Mr. Ingraham was in his office, and many of the incidents which arose out of the war, in which the country was then engaged, from 1812 to 1815, were the subject of his official attention and duty. The energetic and cordial support he gave to the administration, and his distinguished ability as a lawyer, induced the government often to call for his services; and the promptness and ability with which they were rendered, and his views of the justice and policy of the war, excited the interest and formed the opinions of those to whom his instructions were given.

Upon his admission to the bar, in 1814, Mr. Ingraham devoted himself to his profession with much attention, and entered into the political contests of the day with considerable interest. The city of Philadelphia, however, has been almost always under Federal rule, since the period referred to; and though several times a candidate for elective offices, he has always been defeated. It is true, that on no one occasion did he anticipate success; but he did not, on that account, decline the contest—his doctrine always having been, that a candidate who would serve, if elected, owes it to his party to take the field and sustain defeat, when that party calls upon him to do so for its interests and its honor. His devotion to his profession was shown in various editions of English law writers, and in some original works of a local nature; and, with a special view to his aid as a lawyer, he was appointed, by the Secretary of the Treasury, a commissioner, under the act of Congress of the 2d of March, 1831, in relation to certain insolvent debtors, the duties of which were entirely of a professional character. The same year he was elected a delegate

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from the city of Philadelphia, to the "Free Trade Convention," which assembled in that city, and took an active part in its deliberations. He supported the doctrines held by that assembly on the subject of free trade, because of their democratic connection and tendency, and from a thorough conviction of the fallacy of the tariff and protection policy.

The period has not long passed away since the Bank of the United States waged a war upon the government, peculiarly vindictive in its character; but such is the energy with which the affairs of this country are conducted, that the traces of such a conflict are soon effaced from the public mind. As a matter of history, it is well known, that systematic violations of the charter of the institution, added to mismanagement and corruption of an extraordinary character, terminated in the ruin of many of the stockholders, and the prostration of the bank. The various passions developed by the mortal struggle of the vast monied monopoly against the freedom and virtue of the country, produced effects even upon the social relations of the scene where the war was going on. Every man who approved of the course of President Jackson, and distinctly supported his measures, became the subject of an influence of which exasperation may be said to have been one of the elements—it is difficult in more quiet terms to realise the violence of the feelings of those days. On the 4th of April, 1833, a committee was appointed by a resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States, to investigate the affairs of the Bank of the United States; and on the 22d of April, of the same year, the committee, of which Mr. Thomas, of Maryland, was the chairman, proceeded to Philadelphia to enter upon their duties. Among their first acts was the appointment of Richard Rush, Esquire, now American Minister of the United States to the French Republic, to be their Secretary, who accepted the office, and entered upon its duties, which he continued to fulfil until the 5th of May following, when he resigned—having found that his residence out of the city interfered with his attendance upon the committee. Mr. Ingraham was appointed Secretary in the place of Mr. Rush, on the 6th of May, 1834, and continued to act in that capacity until the committee adjourned to meet at Washington. The bank, it is well known, refused to allow the committee to investigate the institution—a significant prognostic of its subsequent fate.

In connection with a powerful political party, the bank exerted itself to produce confusion and distress throughout the commercial and industrial system of the United States, as part of the means of controlling the government after the re-election of General Jackson. The government directors of the institution were assailed with every variety of systematic opposition, and every possible measure was resorted to by the Board of Directors, to prevent their having any participation in, or knowledge of, the general business of the bank, or in any way fulfilling their duties. This course did not pass unresisted—no set of men could have been more true to themselves and to the country than the government directors of 1833. They made known to the government and the people the violations of trust and the abuses committed by the bank; and they sustained with spirit, firmness, and success, the assaults made upon their motives, characters, and conduct, by all those—and they constituted a numerous and vindictive body—who were interested in defending the abuses of a great monied corporation. The Senate of the United States, however, was federal; and on the expiration of the term for which Government

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Directors had been appointed, they were again nominated by President Jackson for another year. Vehement debates arose in the Senate, when the appointments were sent in; and on the 27th of February, 1834, the rejection of Messrs. Gilpin, Wager, Sullivan, and McElderry took place. These gentlemen were again nominated by President Jackson on the 11th of March following; and on the 1st of May they were again rejected. Mr. Henry Horn and other gentlemen were subsequently nominated, and upon the rejection of Mr. Horn, by the Senate, Mr. Ingraham was nominated, and his nomination was—unanimously we have been assured—confirmed, on the 27th of June, 1834. He continued to be re-appointed and confirmed until the charter of the bank expired. It is not to be supposed that his career, and that of his colleagues in office, was without difficulty in such an institution. On the 14th of October, 1834, President Jackson addressed a letter to the Government Directors, desiring them to obtain certain information from the books of the Bank, to enable the Executive to ascertain what deductions were made from the profits of the stock of the bank held by the government. Notice was immediately given to the Board of Directors of the call for information, and that when obtained it would be laid before the President. The application for the books necessary for the purpose required was refused, and Mr. Ingraham and Mr. Macalester, the two Government Directors, by whom it was made, at once proceeded to take possession of the books, from one of which they proceeded to make suitable extracts, and then adjourned at the close of the bank hours. The next day they again presented themselves, and found the books of the bank locked up, and all access to them denied. The proceeding was reported to the President, and became the subject of a resolution of the House of Representatives, calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for information in relation to it, which was duly communicated and made public. No action was taken upon the information communicated to the House—and none was necessary. The closing scene of the institution was at hand. Upon the expiration of its charter, its downward career, under its Pennsylvania incorporation, began—its ignoble fall is matter of history, and warning to the future.

Since the year 1836, Mr. Ingraham has devoted himself almost exclusively to his profession; his relaxation is found in the study of, and in an occasional contribution to, American History To the cause of the democratic party his attention is constant, and his efforts unremitting, as they have always been heretofore. He devoted himself with much zeal to secure the election of General Cass, whose defeat has in no respect diminished the confidence he has always felt in the party which gave the General such honorable support, nor impaired his trust in its final triumph.

As a speaker at the bar, Mr. Ingraham is remarkably distinct and concise. His law arguments are technical and precise, and abound with references to authority, for which he is a great stickler; not so, however, are his addresses to juries, where the facts, testimony, and evidence, give a latitude to the advocate. In such cases his efforts are not always addressed to the judgment of his hearers; and the severity of some of his concluding speeches have been supposed to justify the value which is placed upon the last word before a jury. He has been accused, too, of insisting that ridicule is the test of truth, and of being occasionally rather liberal in his application of its power. Before the assembled peo-

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ple his manner and style are altogether different. He makes no pretensions to oratory or to eloquence—but displays great warmth and earnestness, and a conviction, the effect of which upon his hearers is not easy to describe. We have never seen greater effect produced than by his address at a very late hour at night, after a long session, and a number of speeches, to the Town Meeting, held at Philadelphia, in support of the Mexican War, unless it were by the one he delivered at the Philadelphia Museum, on the 22d of March, 1848, before the citizens of Philadelphia, without distinction of party, assembled to congratulate the French nation upon its return to democratic principles, and again taking its station as a republic, and becoming one of the free nations of the world.

THE SONG OF THE COSSACK.

FROM THE FRENCH OF BERANGER.

NOBLE friend of the Cossack, my courser, come forth
At the signal the trumpets proclaim from the North!
Swift to fly to the pillage, and fierce to attack,
Let Death borrow thy wings when I leap on thy back.
Though thy saddle and bridle with gold may not shine,
As the price of my conquests, all, all shall be thine.
O my faithful courser, proudly neigh!
Trample down people and kings in thy way!

Peace has fled from the earth; she has thrown me thy reins:
Lo, the ramparts are crumbled on Europe's old plains!
Come, my greedy hands fill, there, where treasures abound!
Come, repose thee where Art an asylum hath found!
Thou hast twice in the waves of the turbulent Seine,
When all bloody, refreshed thee—come, drink there again!
O my faithful courser, proudly neigh!
Trample down people and kings in thy way!

Princes, nobles, and priests, all as pent in a fort,
See their subjects oppressed to besiege them resort.
They have cried to us, "Come, be our masters to day;
We'll be serfs, to resume our tyrannical sway."
I have levelled my lance, and before it I vow
To see sceptre and cross in humility bow.
O my faithful courser, proudly neigh!
Trample down people and kings in thy way!

Of a giant I saw the huge phantom arise,
On our bivouac ardently fixing his eyes:
And he shouted, "My reign recommences anew!
And his battle-axe pointed the West to our view.
'Twas the undying shade of the king of the Huns:
We obey his command, we are Atila's sons.
O my faithful courser, proudly neigh!
Trample down people and kings in thy way!

All the pomp, in which Europe so proudly is decked;
All the knowledge she boasts, though it cannot protect,
Shall be lost, overwhelmed in the whirlwind of dust,
That around me shall rise from thy footsteps, I trust.
Then efface, aye efface, in these on-coming wars,
Temples, palaces, manners, old land-marks, and laws!
O my faithful courser, proudly neigh!
Trample down people and kings in thy way!

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FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

THE abundance of money, which was becoming manifest at the date of our last number, has continued to develope itself. Specie flowed in from Europe, and important sums have arrived from California, swelling the reserve of the precious metals in bank, at a moment when the payments from the country have been more freely made, and the demand for money for business purposes much subsided, and there is but little speculation in any particular branch of business. There is, indeed, some disposition to buy stocks and hold them by borrowed money; but these operations are mostly by persons of small actual means, and who are at the mercy of the lenders, and may at any moment be crushed, when an advance of money to 6 per cent., may make it advisable to call in loans on stock. In produce the situation of affairs is unfavorable to speculation. The large supplies of cotton, in view of the favorable state of the growing crop, give rise to the question whether the present rates can be sustained; and this depends upon the slender hope of continued tranquillity in Europe. The view taken last year, that low prices for food, with low rates for money, would so promote consumption as to sustain the value of the raw material under a greatly-increased crop, has been justified. The exports to Great Britain from the United States, September 1, to this date, are 1,406,719 bales, against 1,051,871 bales last year—an increase of 354,848, or thirty-five per cent. The stocks of United States description in Liverpool, at the latest dates, were 541,930 against 320,380—an increase of 220,550—showing an increased consumption of 134,000 bales, at prices which stand 16 per cent. higher than on the same day last year. The continued considerable exports of breadstuffs from the United States aid in keeping down the level of food prices in a degree that promotes the consumption of cotton; while the general abundance of money continues unabated in England.

The quantities exported to Great Britain and Ireland, from the United States, are as follows:

EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, SEPT. 1ST TO JUNE 6TH.

	Flour. bbls.	Meal. bbls.	Wheat. bush.	Corn. bush.
1848	155,782	91,651	215,139	2,787,856
1849	874,964	71,653	1,026,789	10,021,176
Increase	719,182	—	811,650	7,233,320

This continued ease in the market is doubtless influenced by that disposition of capital to emigrate from the disturbed atmosphere of European countries to London, and thence to the United States, as evinced in the continued rise of United States securities in the London market under an effective demand. This rise is indicated in the advancing quotations, as given from time to time in the circular of the Messrs. Barings:

PRICES OF UNITED STATES STOCKS IN LONDON.

	U. S. 6's, 1868.	N. Y. 5's, 1860.	Penn. 5's.	Ohio 6's, 1860.	Mass. 5's, Sterling.	La. 5's, 1850.
April, 1848	—	—	63½a66	85 a 87½	92 a —	76a80
Dec. "	96 a —	90 a 91	67 a68	90 a 91	94 a 96	85a86
Jan. 26, 1849	104 a105	92 a 93	71½a72½	93 a 94	98 a 99	87a87½
Mar. 9, "	105 a106	94 a 95	75 a76	96 a 96½	103 a —	87a88
April 20, "	106 a106½	—	— a78	.....	.....	....
May 11, "	106½a107	94 a 95	78 a79	97 a 99	101½a —	87a—
May 25, "	108½a110½	96 a 96½	80 a81	100 a100½	101½a102	88a—
June 2, "	110 a110½	95 a 96	80 a81	100 a100½	101½a102	88a89

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The advance in United States stock from the close of January to the close of May was 5½ per cent., and as there had accumulated 2 per cent. interest in that time, the real advance was 3½ per cent., closing in demand. All the stocks within the year have risen from 10 to 15 per cent. under the European demand, and this curious fact presents itself, viz: that vituperated, abused and insulted Pennsylvania 5's sold on the London Stock Exchange at 80*a*81 on the same day that 5 per cents of the French government sold on the Bourse at 80¼. The difference is, that the Pennsylvania are payable at par in 25 years, while the French are not payable at all. The buyer of the State bond who holds it will therefore realize $1,450 over the cost of his investment of $810. Under the rapid rise which has taken place abroad, stocks have been a favorable remittance in addition to the considerable exports of produce at well-supported prices. Under these circumstances, with reasonable prospect of fair remittance of gold from California, the prospect of an immediate important rise in the value of money is not strong, notwithstanding the amount of capital being invested in railroads and other corporate stock—that is to say, the quantity of circulating being sunk in fixed capital.

In the routine of commercial affairs, it results that a complete recovery from a disastrous revulsion is marked by a renewal of enterprise, a relaxation of the caution inculcated by a season of adversity, by a desire to procure the greatest command of means, and a greater degree of boldness in risking them on the chance of gain. The manifest tendency of this state of affairs is to accumulate in the hands of non-producers the wealth which has resulted from the industry of others, and, in the long run, to impoverish the mass of producers, in order to create an appearance of imposing wealth in the hands of a few. Indirect taxes and overwrought credits have made England what she is—viz.: abounding in wealth, with an impoverished people. In the United States there is less ostentation of wealth, but more comfort among the many. The operation of steady industry has created great abundance, and the comparative paralyzation of credit in the last few years, has prevented its accumulation by the few at the expense of the many. Actual capital has freely circulated under the influence of the Independent Treasury, and there has been no unreasonable volume of credits given in exchange for industrial products. Equivalents have been interchanged, and no paper bubbles have been inflated, to be exploded under the pressure of a collapse in the London market. Amid revolutions and revulsions, American prosperity has been steady and progressive. The restless desire of the non-producing few to get possession of inordinate shares of the general wealth, prompts the continued projection of new paper schemes, by which that end may be attained, and a systematic attempt manifests itself in various directions to reproduce a government national bank with a new name. The first official announcement of the plan was by the Vice-President elect, in his report as comptroller of the State of New-York. The plan was simply to authorize the receipt for dues to the government of all notes issued by State banks, secured by United States stock; that is to say, when any bank, in any state, deposites with the treasurer of that state an amount of United States stock, it shall receive an equal amount of circulating notes, previously registered and countersigned in the Treasury Department at Washington. The stock deposited to be sold only by the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, when the bank shall have failed to redeem its notes in specie. This is the plan now in operation in New-York, under the law of 1838, authorizing free banking.

The comptroller seemed to have no very accurate idea of any good to be obtained from this increase of the duties and patronage of the Treasury Department. It would, indeed, allow the stockholders to "have their cake, and eat it, too." That is, while they drew the 6 per cent. interest regularly, they would have the amount of the stock in paper money, with which to buy more stock, or to lend it at 7 per cent.; thus earning 13 per cent. per annum, when the most laboriously-worked farms will scarcely yield 6 per cent. The expenses of the Treasury Department would be increased some thousands of dollars per annum, for the privilege of receiving paper dollars instead of gold ones. This

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plan has been the basis of much small shaving in New-York, with very little good resulting. The idea of making property the basis of paper-money is claimed by many paper financiers. It was first acted upon in the law of New-York, passed in 1838, making stock and mortgages the security for notes issued. The idea, however, so far from being a step in advance, is only going back to first principles, as a consequence of the utter explosion of all attempts to make a *credit* paper currency. The first paper that performed the functions of money were bills of exchange. These represented actual money. Thus, a man in Genoa having a sum of money due him in Marseilles, gave an order for it to another person, who wanted to receive money in Marseilles, for the money on the spot. This practice was soon universally adopted in the early ages of commerce. Its convenience was great. The paper was based upon actual existing property. It soon came to be abused by persons selling orders, or bills of exchange, when no money was due them, in order to raise capital to speculate with. These were called "kites."

This abuse soon ran into another—that of issuing notes to circulate as money on the credit of the issuer; that is, on the belief that he was able to pay if demand was made. The issue of credit bills of exchange, or kites, has long been exploded, and in Europe the credit of the most stable house would be injured if it offered to sell a bill not accepted. The plan of credit paper money in England, France, and the United States, was pursued in every possible form; multitudes of theories were applied, and legal restrictions were imposed, in the hope of making them safe. These all alike failed, and the conviction remained that they must not be issued on credit, but upon actually existing property, like original bills of exchange. On this conviction the law of 1838 in New-York was based, and the Bank of England charter in 1844 followed the same principle, which was not a new one, but only going back to an old one. On the assumption, however, that this is a new principle, many fantastic schemes have been projected. Among the most remarkable of these is that of John Grey, Esq., of Edinburgh. He proposes to abolish the use of gold and silver as money, to establish a "national standard bank," which shall issue paper called "pounds sterling," of which the foundation shall be a week's factory labor at some arbitrary rate fixed by law—say 10s. Hence two weeks' labor would be a standard pound—this money to be issued, without interest, to every possessor of property of all descriptions at his own valuation. When he sells the property he will receive standard notes, and these he must then return to the bank. Hence, paper would be created as fast as production, and be dismissed as fast as consumption went on. No tightness in the money market would ever result from inability to sell, because the holder of property would always get what he wants from the standard bank. A little reflection shows the utter impracticability of such notions. Nevertheless, this plan was pirated in France by Prudhon, who changed the name from "Standard Bank" to "Exchange Bank," and the system from "equality of exchange" to "mutalism of credit." For the rest, his propositions were nearly those of Mr. Grey, viz: that every man having property might go to the bank and get bank notes at a nominal interest. He supposed that in consequence of this ability to get paper for nothing, the owners of real capital would get nothing for the use of it, viz: that if a shoemaker could get paper money from the bank without interest, he would not pay any rent for a house to live in, and rents would be abolished. It is hardly worth while to follow the reasoning. M. Prudhon, after organizing the Exchange Bank, was sh ewd enough to perceive its impracticability, and abandoned it on the pretence that his theory was spoiled by the views of his associates. To those who recognise the great truth that all wealth results only from industry, and that to the increase and availability of real capital, and not its paper representative, is industry indebted for its facilities, the fallacy of those attempts to avert disaster and prevent the evil consequences of deficient harvests or improvident consumption, is easily made apparent. It is remarkable, that at the moment when these schemes for paper money are being revived in the United

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States, gold is becoming daily more abundant, as if in mockery of the puerile attempts to supplant its agency in the operations of commerce. In New-York, notwithstanding the advantages that the free-banking law holds out for the circulation of notes, the operation of the clause of the new constitution making stockholders individually liable for the debts of a bank issuing notes, has induced some of the banks—the Bank of Commerce of New-York in particular—to relinquish the issue of notes, and confine its operations to discount and deposite. This might look like distrust of its soundness when directors decline to endorse it beyond the stock paid in. The Manhattan Bank, however, which has not issued any notes for many years, has now commenced a reissue. That bank has a perpetual charter, and does not consider itself liable to the restrictions imposed upon others. Hence, if the example of the Bank of Commerce should be generally acted upon, that institution might become the only bank of issue in the city. With the abundance of gold likely to flow from California, the operations of the mint, and the influence of the Independent Treasury, which is daily gaining favor, the difficulties of creating a new system of paper money must be enhanced.

It is, however, the case that credits in the interior are rapidly expanding towards a point that may make adverse exchange to be dreaded. As an instance, the leading features of the Ohio banks may be quoted.

OHIO BANKS.

	No. banks.	Capital.	Loans.	Specie.	Circulation.	Deposites.
May, 1837	32	$10,299,165	$19,505.662	$2,311,614	$7.697,261	$6,503.369
Jan., 1844	8	2,567,176	2,845,315	778,348	2,234,420	602,377
May, 1847	39	5,078.229	10,936,661	2,026,551	7.281,029	3,356.837
" 1848	41	6,430,176	12,130,286	2.323,629	7,771,769	4,170.824
" 1849	56	6,914,943	14,981,133	3,026,374	9,251,259	4,330,233

May, 1837, was the date of suspension. The process of resumption destroyed all but eight banks; of these, three have since failed, leaving but five old chartered banks. The law of 1845 created two new systems: one, the "independent," which was required partly to secure its bills by deposits of state stock; the other, "the state bank," has neither responsibility nor stability. There were consequently but eleven independent banks created, while forty state bank branches have sprung into existence. Of the aggregate circulation, these state banks furnish $7,227,342 without security. The bank circulation of Ohio is now larger than at the moment of suspension. There is this difference, however:—the operation of the Independent Treasury on the Atlantic border has prevented the revival of the old plan of selling goods on long notes, payable at the local banks, which notes were discounted in New-York, and when paid at the Ohio bank, were taken up by a discount of an accommodation note to the merchant; and the Ohio bank, consequently owed a balance to the city bank, which it could not pay; and the $19,505,000 of loans then made were of this character. At present the discounts have run more upon bills against produce shipped, the value of which has been supported by the foreign demand. The moment this class of paper becomes supplanted by storekeepers' notes and speculators' "kites," a fatal turn in the exchanges will be inevitable.

The passage of the bill repealing the navigation acts of Great Britain is, by the late accounts, made highly probable, although an effort to restore the objectionable feature will be made in the shape of amendments to permit the restoration of restrictions on the requisition of any colonial assembly. The international trade has long been on an equal footing by virtue of reciprocity treaties; and mutual commerce has, in consequence, greatly extended itself. The permitting of colonial produce and merchandise to come and go freely, must have the effect of not only extending the field for American freights, but, by carrying more directly, and under more favorable circumstances, supplies to the colonies, and more promptly supplying them with a market for the products of their

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industry, increase their sales and their consumption. Since the partial openings of colonial trade to American vessels by the proclamation of Gen. Jackson in 1830, coming in aid of the tariff modifications in England and the north of Europe, operating under reciprocity treaties the tonnage entering the United States has varied as follows:—

TONNAGE ENTERING THE UNITED STATES.

	1830.	1842.	1845.	1848.
American	967,227	1,510,111	2,035,486	2,393,482
British	81,231	599,502	760,095	1,177.104
Hanseatic	9,653	48,728	51,683	82,805
French	11,256	15,876	11,536	24,970
Spanish	12,299	11,677	13,418	29,342
Swedish	4,136	19,383	38,670	30.797
Danish	1,234	6,080	4,363	11,100
Dutch	630	3,471	2,576	12,758
Prussian	287	1,973	3,279	5,116
German	—	199	834	4,257
All other	5,174	25,886	24,109	26,942
Total	1,099,127	2,242,886	2,946,049	3,798,673

Since 1842 the increase in American tonnage has been 883,371, and in British 577,602. The suspension of the British navigation laws in respect of corn during the famine had the effect of bringing many foreign vessels to our ports to buy grain for the English markets, and thus swelled the proportion of foreign tonnage at a time when all the American shipping was fully employed at high rates. The effect of that prosperous year was a great increase in ship-building, and the increased tonnage so brought about may now find additional employment in the colonial freedom.

The largest proportion of British tonnage is entered from the North American colonies, from which, to England, British shipping has enjoyed peculiar facilities, as, by naturalizing American produce in the colonies, it has passed to England in British bottoms free of duty, when the same produce from the United States in American or British bottoms would be charged with duty. This has in some degree counteracted the effect of the high freights, which the monopoly enjoyed by British tonnage in the colonial trade has produced. But, notwithstanding all the supposed advantages enjoyed by the British vessels, it will be observed that in every instance American vessels have enjoyed a larger share, when now American vessels may clear from the North American and West India colonies for England with freights, the field of competition will be widely extended. The general fall in freights that may result between England and her dependencies, and which it is the design of the modifications of the law to bring about, will be fatal to the clumsily-built monopoly British vessels and American ship-builders. Hemp-growers and sail-makers may be called up to supply the demand which will result from the new privilege of buying and naturalizing foreign-built ships. In the direct trade between England and the United States, in which, under treaty, equal privileges are enjoyed, the American tonnage exceeds the British by 30 per cent., and the freights in American vessels as five to one in the British. The effect of the modified tariffs of England has been largely to extend the consumption of produce; and the United States is called upon to supply a very considerable portion of this. The removal of the restraints from the colonies must be followed by similiar results, enhancing the demand for western produce. Notwithstanding that the supplies furnished by Europe for British consumption have been so considerable as to cause a low figure to rule for most descriptions of breadstuffs and farm produce, there is a steadily increasing demand for those of the United States.

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FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

It will be impossible for posterity to believe, that at the beginning of the present age there existed a princely conspiracy, called by Jesuitical diplomatists, the Congress of Vienna—that the infernal policy of this monstrous cabal has ruled for thirty years, with an iron sway, over civilized Europe, and that in the middle of this century of progress, we had to witness the most barbarous and bloody butcheries, committed in the name of a God of love, and for the glory and triumph of despotism! Should kings depart from the stage of the world with the memory of their crimes, and condemn to a perpetual silence the glorious names of their victims—could they bury with the martyrs of Liberty even their struggles and heroic deeds for emancipation—certainly our young generation would care little for their forefathers, or for their life and times. But in spite of tyrants, history will stand as an eternal and imperishable monument; those sacred pages will transmit the past to the future; they will teach mankind to learn from the brave men of our age how to govern themselves; history will serve to condemn to an everlasting infamy the names of the enemies of humanity and the independence of nations. Let despots at the present moment try their last attempt of success; let them turn the whole of Europe into a field of battle and death;—the people shall be victorious at last; the thrones of these modern Quirites, built over the hecatombs of freemen, shall be turned to dust; justice and liberty shall reign, while despotism, with all its horrors, shall come to an end. The nineteenth century has seen all the sacred rights of nations insolently trampled upon—has seen revolutions almost in every part of Europe. The massacres of Gallicia, in which *one hundred thousand victims* perished under the sword of the Austrian emissaries; the butcheries of Lombardy, by General Assassin Radetsky; the destruction of Messina, by King *Lazzarone* of Naples; the bombardment of Rome by the Croats of France—all are and will be recorded as the great scourges of our century, and an eternal stain upon the authors of these evils. But, notwithstanding all these butcheries of human beings, in spite of all the blood shed to gratify the vengeance and thirst of tyrants, new leaders have succeeded each other, and when powerful brutes could destroy one of the apostles of freedom, ten more were already in the field of action to follow the noble example of their worthy companion.

Only a few years past, who would have dreamed of an Hungarian and Roman Republic—that Austria would be compelled to beg armies from Russia to prevent her imminent dissolution—that the Pope would be a prisoner at Gaeta, and the Vatican occupied by a Democratic Triumvirate? By the enemies of freedom it was believed that Italy and Hungary were but two families of vile and timorous slaves; that they would never attempt their emancipation; that they had to be *educated* at the Austrian school before they could become free. But as it was the Supreme will of God that they should achieve such a political state, and acquire new power and rank among the nations, the race of their great men never became extinct, and successive events have brought out new and extraordinary geniuses, who, animated with the true democratic spirit of our age, have appeared in those two countries as bright stars in a nebulous firmament. Kossuth, from Pesth, in Hungary, was an editor from his youth; he suffered three years of imprisonment in an Austrian dungeon, but tortures and persecutions could not deter him from his noble mission; he continued to advocate the cause of his nation until Hungary succeeded in throwing off the Austrian yoke, and proclaiming herself a Republic. Kossuth, like Cincinnatus and Washington, when his country shall be at peace, and the republic established, promises to retire to a private life with the consolation of having achieved his

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grand and patriotic scheme. MAZZINI, after twenty years of exile, persecuted in every corner of Europe, and even in England, is at present the first Triumvir of Rome. When in London, we found him in a room in Greville-street, Leather-lane, imparting knowledge to the ignorant Italians resident in that neighborhood; aiding with spirit in the enlightenment of itinerant hurdy-gurdy boys and plaster-image men, endeavoring, with the assistance of other patriotic friends, to raise their minds to a just appreciation of their faculties. These circumstances, coupled with his return to Rome, and his leading of the popular will, his opposition to the shameful mediation of the French, stamp him a great and remarkable man. But let us cast a look over the European continent, and while all Europe *est en feu*, let us see what is the present political life of this vast hemisphere; and beginning with Russia, we shall slowly descend to unfortunate and oppressed Ireland.

The autocrat of all the Russias, maddened to the quick by the successes of the brave Hungarians, has issued an Imperial ukase, unparalleled for its bloodthirstiness, its insolence, and its blasphemy. He makes known to his faithful subjects that "he is Nicholas I. by the Grace of God; that being informed of the turmoils of western Europe, he has invoked the Lord of armies, *who promises to favor his* diabolical projects, to crush the liberty of nations, and with the help of many thousand bayonets and hundreds of cannon, he shall obtain the victory!" Think of such a monster as this Nicholas reigning "by God's grace," making of a God of love and peace, a Lord of armies and human butcheries, and threatening to involve many nations in a bloody war! Certainly if his power were derived at all from any supernatural source, it must have assuredly sprung from Satan; for nothing can be more blasphemous—nothing more shockingly impious, than to believe that the Deity would entrust any vicarious mission to a man who has proved a very Attila towards the noble and enlightened nation of Poles, who has so much persecuted the Jews and Catholics of his empire with a rancor the most diabolical, and a ferocity the most atrocious. So we should believe that God has two vicars on earth, Nicholas at St. Petersburg, and Pius *No-No* in the Fortress of Gaeta, both desirous of shedding Christian blood for their temporal dominions! But while the Autocrat of all the Russias was in Warsaw with the boyish Emperor of Austria, in the capital of his vast empire has roused a question, whether it is right that the Russians should intervent in favor of Austria? His Highness was certainly much irritated; but the President of the Senate, the venerable Jermoloff, feared not to expose the opinion of the Council, and told the Emperor that Napoleon, by his obstinacy, ruined himself, and his Majesty might meet the same fate. A conspiracy against the autocrat was discovered, the chief leaders were hung, and the others were transported to Siberia. The Russian army made quite a disgraceful appearance on the frontiers of Hungary; they were beaten everywhere they showed themselves, and their defeat acquired new laurels to the many victories of the Hungarian legions.

The victory in the Rothenthrum Pass is confirmed even by the Austrian papers; 28,000 men were attacked by General Bem, some thirty miles from Cracow, and were obliged to abandon their artillery, horses and equipages, with all the materials of war. Bem allowed the enemy to penetrate even into Transylvania, and when near the Read Tower, he assailed them, and instantly there appeared in the Russian army a terrible confusion, and they were totally defeated. Bem has fought the advance of the Russian troops from Tenzin to Kublo, and he wisely avoided any pitched battle. At first this valiant Pole had but a handful of insurgents, now he has under his command an army of more than 60,000 men and 200 cannon.

Dembinski passed with his army in Gallicia, and when near JORDANOW he came in collision with a Russian avanguard; he attacked and destroyed them after a few hours of fierce combat. More than 2,000 Russians were left on the field of battle, and 20 cannon fell into the hands of the victors. It is quite certain, however, that Dembinski's intention is to pass into Poland, and to carry

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war into the heart of the Russian empire. It is stated that several foreign officers have arrived at the Hungarian head-quarters, and *many Americans* offered their services in such a noble cause. The war of Hungary will be long and terrible; the Magyars are decided to resist to the last, and the Russians will advance with greater difficulty than the Czar seems to suppose. Many regiments have already deserted, and the soldiers ask nothing better than to be disarmed as soon as they are away from the authority of their generals. In the mean time that Nicholas published his manifesto to his barbarians, Georgey, the Hungarian General, ambitious not to remain behind the other chieftains in the glory of their sentiments, has accordingly spoken out manfully to his Hungarian legions: "*Do not think, my dear friends,*" he has said, "*that when we have delivered Hungary and Sclavonia, we shall rest. Our part is only just commenced. You have voluntarily enrolled yourselves under the banner of freedom and deliverance; and you and I, and all our chiefs, would be cowards, were we not to march from Hungary into Austria, and thence into Russia.*"

Dembinski, after his victory over the Russians, near Jordanow, retreated towards the Danube, and stormed the city of Buda, on the right of the river. Many of his brave army fell under the walls, but the assault was kept up with such a living and murderous fire, that the Imperialists surrendered, and the city fell into the hands of Dembinski. Thus this general is master of Buda. Bem makes fortunate excursions from the side of Orsow, and his eagle keeps watch upon the whole Banat. The thrêshed Croat Jellachich is powerless; the disgraced Windischgratz is far away. Kossuth and his Ministers, now standing before the whole world in the glorious character of Republicans, refuse all negotiations with Austria. It is truly a wonderful spectacle to behold this fine democracy combatting for its rights, and that Deity, to whom we respectfully allude, but whom the monster Nicholas blasphemously invoked, will help this righteous cause!

Austria, although backed by Russia, has but misfortunes to deplore; and the majority of the democratic ticket in the French Assembly has caused a terrible panic in the Austrian capital. If Louis Napoleon should follow a better policy, more adapted to the honor of France and to the principles of the Republic, Austria would yet see the Gauls trampling her bloody flag, and demolishing forever her tottering power. But nothing is to be expected from this bastard Prince which may advance the progress of republicanism. When Ledru Rollin becomes the head of France, that day will mark the end of Austrian rule over Italy and other countries. The Austrian armies are everywhere defeated by the Hungarians; new generals have been named to take the field, but this will be of no advantage to the Emperor, if we reflect how the strong city of Buda fell into the hands of the Hungarians. In regard to Italy, it seems that the Austrian Cabinet has a strong likelihood of coming to a sudden end, with further intervention in the Roman States, as it is feared that a violent popular outbreak may rise suddenly in Lombardy. Austria is also excluded from the present arragements of a German Confederacy and Constitution. It is the last blow carried against this infamous government.

The Frankfort Parliament has transferred its session to Stuttgard, and its influence will be exercised to form a Republic after the French model, to be composed of Baden, Wirtemburg, Rhenish Bavaria, &c., &c. The king of Prussia, although he was made the prominent leader in the German Union, has proved to be a traitor to his country when he entered in the Northern Alliance of Russia and Austria. There is no more compromise between his royal person and the friend of German independence; he has abjured his liberal promises, and has, besides, shed the blood of his republican subjects. The German patriots have no more faith in him than in the person of the Archduke John of Austria. He has now no other way to save his crown than to throw himself into the arms of Nicholas, or to desert the league of the other despots. This he will never do, as it would facilitate republicanism to overthrow all the kings of Germany, himself connected. The war between Denmark and the

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Dutchies continues as fiercely as ever; hostilities still continue in the neighborhood of Aarhus, and the Danish blockade is rigidly enforced. From tumultuous Germany, passing over Italy, we find at first the barbarians of Austria blockading Venice, and the gallant inhabitants of this glorious commonwealth greatly distressed. It was calculated that the city could not last long against the attacks of the enemy unless provisions became cheaper and more plentiful. The fortress of Malghera was bombarded for two whole days, and the Venitian garrison retired into the city. The latest accounts from Venice left the Austrians, under Radetsky, commanding the town, which, it is said, was closely invested on all sides. But as we, who write these lines, know well the situation of Venice, we may say that the bombardment is a mere invention of the *London Times*, as it is impossible to approach the city either by land or by sea. Venice may sustain herself longer; and if new events should happen in France, it would, perhaps, oblige Assassin Radetsky to abandon his bloody project. Lombardy is conspiring against her tyrannical oppressors, and if a revolution should rise in that unfortunate country, it would be a general insurrection, and would bury in her soil all the troops of the Emperor, Joseph II. The Dutchies of Parma and Modena are occupied by Austrian troops, to keep down the spirit of rebellion and vengeance among the people. Bologna, after eight days of bombardment, fell into the power of General Winkelfield, and Monseignor Bedini undertook to govern the city in the name of the Pope's priestly power. The inhabitants protested, and in Ferrara the cardinal Archbishop *refused to acknowledge the authority* of Pius IX., and proclaimed himself and all the citizens in favor of the Roman Republic. The Vandals, having conquered these cities, have marched against Ancona, carrying terror and destruction all over Romagna. General Garribaldi has set out from Rome to meet them, and should he hasten to the passage of La Cattolica before the Austrians, he would contest bravely their march, and would perhaps destroy the whole hostile army. Thus Rome was to be attacked by four foreign armies, all desirous to rob more or less the riches of the Eternal City, and to trample over the republican flag. When the pusillanimous and double-dealing Pope, afraid of the probable consequences of his treachery, ran away from Rome, the *virtuous* Queen Isabelle instantly sent to offer him the assistance of "the navies, the armies, and the treasury of Spain!" This proposal was enough to lead *this patriotic and Christian* holiness to believe that splendid fleets were riding at anchor in the bay of Cadiz; that immense numbers of troops were lounging idly in their barracks all over the country; and that there was a perfect glut of gold in the strong-box of the Minister of Finance. The Pope accepted the royal offer; an expedition took place, and a few ragged troops, landing at FIUMICINO, *possessed themselves of a village*, not larger than Hoboken, *consisting of four houses, a windmill, a watch-tower, and a pig-stye*. But the great Spanish Armada, as soon as they discovered a few scores of Roman soldiers approaching their new possessions, gave up the village with its pig-stye, and asking the help of the Madonna, left the Roman shores to take a pleasant sail over the Mediterranean. Not aware of the miserable success of her royal troops, the Queen wishing to celebrate this far-famed expedition, invited all the noblemen and bishops of Spain to witness at Madrid a most barbarous spectacle. It was the fight between a Spanish bull and a Bengal tiger. The latter would not offer any resistance to the attack of its adversary, which accordingly despatched it with one thrust of its horns. Such are the sports in which royalty delights in Spain, and that royality represented by a *chaste* female, so anxious of restoring a Pope to his temporal power! The king of Naples, better known under the name of *Bombardatore*, set out from Gaeta, and with a good dose of indulgences in his pockets, and after having taken communion by the hands of Pius IX., marched for the Holy-War, and at the head or behind 12,000 men, he easily possessed himself of the ancient city of Velletri. The Pope on this occasion pronounced in the conclave of his cardinals a pompous eulogism in honor of this royal assassin, who turned the whole of Sicily into fire and death. This caused a great

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scandal all over the Catholic world, and injured much more the papal cause. The Pope says, that "we have besought the aid of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where we have received hospitality from that king, *who applying himself with all his power to consolidate the true and substantial good of his subjects, throws around religion so much splendor by the piety he offers as an example to his people.*" And now ye people judge by yourself whether Pius IX. was a liberal and good man, or if he is the true friend of despotism. Let Father McMasters answer it. The Neapolitan army, in spite of all the blessings of the Pope and Cardinals, after having invoked after the Nicholas' fashion the help of the Lord of armies; the Swiss and royal troops were totally defeated and returned in haste to Gaeta, to carry such consoling news to His Holiness. Now is the turn of France. General Oudinot, after having been beaten by the Romans—after having rescued gratuitously his prisoners, who were kindly treated—at the head of 27,000 men is attempting to reduce Rome into submission, *coute qui coute* to bombard the city, and to take possession of it. We thought that the president of France would reason better, and acknowledge at last his great crime in destroying the freedom of another Republic which was established by the universal suffrage of the people, who are ready to defend their independence to the last drop of their blood. There is no warning in history of so inconsistent and rascally a cut as that of the present government of France. Although General Oudinot denounced the armistice, the Romans have announced their firm resolution to defend to the death the expected assaults of the French, and have an efficient force of 80,000. The star-spangled banner is their trust, and I have faith that the modern Romans will not prove inferior to their ancestors, and will persevere with all their courage. The Pope, notwithstanding all the human blood which will be shed, *persists in demanding the succors of French Croats*, and the unqualified renewal of his powers as a temporal ruler; but this the Roman Triumvirate, backed by the people, declare they will never concede.

"There is at the bottom of every heart," says Mazzini, "a determination the most profound, to accomplish the destruction of the temporal power of the Pope. All bear the same hatred to the government of priests under whatever form it may be presented. We shall fight to the last against all projects and means of a restoration." When we read these glowing sentiments, we feel an ineffable contempt and a strong loathing for those *American* journalists, who, totally ignorant of European affairs and of the cause of the Roman people, could possibly undertake to "write down" such generous-hearted Republicans. But no language can convey an idea of the disgust which all the civilized world experience, when we call to mind the fact, that the president and the ministry of France could have dared to send an armed force against the sacred fane of freedom established in the Eternal City. That expedition will, however, prove useless in the long run. If it should take Rome, it may expel the Triumvirate; it may restore the Pope; but all this reaction can only last for a few days, a few weeks, a few months at the outside. A Red Republican ministry must sooner or later take office in France; and when Ledru Rollin shall seat himself in the cabinet or will be named dictator of France, the Roman Republic will revive again, and raise all the Italian Peninsula against her oppressors.

In France, already a change of ministry has taken place, and the first opening of the new French Assembly marked exactly what will be result of future sessions. The majority is composed of Red Republicans, and of a great number of Socialists. The Red Republicans will give some trouble to the President and his Ministry; they will defend the rights of nations, and oppose the intervention of foreign powers in the internal affairs of each people. Ledru Rollin is called to accomplish great destinies; he is the idol of true French democracy, who found at last in Louis Napoleon a miserable servant of foreign powers, and the mere tool of the European financiers. A great and stormy debate occurred the first day of the new legislature. Ledru Rollin asked why Colonel Cornin had been dismissed from the service, and insisted that General Changarnier and the ministry should be impeached. The president's message on foreign

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affairs is a mere mockery, and an insult to the Romans, who are decided to raze down the church of St. Peter before the French enter the city. Indeed, there is nothing more sacrilegious than the attempt of the French government against the new Roman Republic. The true mission of France was to ally herself with other nations struggling for their independence. France had not only to respect the will of the Roman people, but even to encourage that its dominion should be extended all over the Italian Peninsula; and to protest against the intervention of Austria in Italy, and that of Russia in Hungary. Should Russia and Austria succeed against the republican legions of Hungary, they would throw their hordes of barbarians into Western Europe, and France would gather the fruits of her infamous and anti-democratic policy. From ENGLAND we have nothing new or interesting; British North America has been placed at the absolute disposal of the Hudson's Bay Company; the colonial minister pretends that this has been done to accelerate the settlement of that region. The conduct of Lord Elgin in Canada has been much praised in Parliament; and the government seems decided to support his lordship against the tory-Canadian party. Lord Napier has arrived at Calcutta, when all is at an end.

The potato crop in Ireland inspires great alarm among the people. Nothing has been done to improve the social state of the poor class in this country. They die away by starvation and sufferings; others leave for a better country, and the Green Island of Erin offers the sad spectacle of a field of dead after a severe battle. Her noble and heroic children, the best men of whom Ireland can be proud, having not been "executed and quartered," they are transported to a far dungeon, under a burning African sky, or at Australia. But the radiant sun of peace and union shall not always shine over barbarous Albion; she will be called soon to war, and then unfortunate Ireland shall rise, and cast the last blow on her oppressors. O'Brien, Meagher, Mitchell, and many other Irish patriots, shall return to their country. But, in order that Ireland should be truly free, and take a rank among other civilized nations, she must free herself, not only from British influence, but also from priest-craft. While the true patriots preached rebellion to English tyranny, the clergy preached a passive obedience to the *divine* laws of the government; the people die with starvation, and the priests take away from these destitute beings their last penny, to send to the Pope, to pay bandits of all nations to crush Italian freedom, and to assassinate the republican children of the Eternal City. Better for Irishmen to die by the bayonet, than to perish slowly by famine and a long suffering.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

1.—KALOOLAH; or, JOURNEYINGS TO THE D'JEBEL KUMRI. An Auto-Biography of Jonathan Romer. Edited by W. S. Mayo, M. D. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

This is decidedly the book of the season, having produced a sensation quite as extended as did the works of Mr. Melville, and has placed Dr. Mayo at once among the most successful of American authors. The taste of the public runs decidedly, at the present time, in favor of travels and adventures. It is probable that the wonderful conquest of China, with its hundreds of millions of people, by a few thousand British troops, laying open the secrecy of an empire sealed through tens of centuries, largely contributed to awaken this feeling; and the course of events since, involving the wonderful discoveries in the plains of Assyria, in the valleys of the Nile, the mountains of California, and the regions of Central America, exciting the imagination of the contemplative, and the activity of the enterprising, strongly interested the public mind in the localities and manners of remote countries. This chord vibrated fully and deeply in response to Typee, which threw an unexpected halo of romance over the theretofore unattractive islands of the Pacific, followed by the less popular publication of

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Omoo, with others of a similar stamp, by different authors. The book of Dr. Mayo is inferior to none of these in interest, and superior to all in truthfulness of delineation, and in the power of successfully interweaving the wonderful with the probable. The story purports to be the adventures of Jonathan Romer, who, descended from a Nantucket whaler, and born in northern New-York, commenced his spirited adventures as a hunter amid the verdant hills and degenerate savages of his native state. These early adventures, although trenching on ground already appropriated, loses nothing in the comparison; nor does American scenery or its native inhabitants lose aught in his hands, of the interest excited in them by the original pen of Cooper. Some of the American traits are national, and no peculiarity is given with more force and truth than the picture of the "revival of religion," as it is somewhat impiously called, by those who make a trade of divine things. Overzeal in the pursuit of knowledge in his profession of surgeon, brought his studies to an abrupt termination, and sent Jonathan on his travels. Outward bound his schooner was upset, leaving the hero alone on the dismasted wreck. Some of the finest points are made in describing the sensations and shifts of the adventurer under these circumstances. He is taken thence by a slaver, bound into the African rivers for a cargo. Here opens a field altogether new, and the matter is wrought up with great skill. Among the slaves, are discovered and purchased by the hero, two of a white race, which inhabit the unexplored interior of Africa. The female, "Kaloolah," gives her name to the book. The escape from the slaver into the British man-of-war is well-conceived, but justice is not done upon the wretch Monté, with sufficient promptness for the passion of the piece; in fact, the reader has only to infer that an English capture is synonymous with the halter. Separating from his two African companions on the arrival of the man-of-war at Sierra Leone, the hero takes passage in an English brig, which, through the drunken brutality of the captain, is wrecked on the African coast, and our hero, with one surviving seaman, Jack Thompson, taken captive by the Arabs. From them he ultimately escapes into the interior, and on the attack of a caravan by the tribe with whom he becomes allied, he discovers among the captives his Kaloolah, once more a slave. Escaping from the tribe with Kaloolah, he discovers and liberates his friend Thompson; and the party, increased by an Irishman, also liberated, proceed towards the native country of Kaloolah; and the adventures of the hero are concluded amid the exciting and altogether new scenery of the interior of Africa. The novelty of the situations, and the power and skill with which they are managed, impart a fascination to the book seldom possessed by the publications of the day. There are some minor points of the story which, had we more space, we should be disposed to criticise, but none which affects its general high character.

We are pleased to hear, as an indication of the manner in which our views are sustained by the public, that a few days sufficed to exhaust the first edition, and a new and larger one is rapidly disappearing from the shelves of the enterprising publisher, Mr. Putnam. When such success attends our native authors, the complaint that we have no national literature must be without foundation. The story of Dr. Mayo was prepared for, and accepted by Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, but was withdrawn and published by the author in its present shape, in the neat and justly-appreciated style in which Mr. Putnam produces his books.

2.—The History of the United States of America, from the discovery of the Continent to the organization of Government under the Federal Constitution. By Richard Hildreth. In 3 vols. New-York: Harper Brothers.

A clear, practical history of the progress of the American colonies in a religious, political, economical and financial point of view, has long been a great desideratum. It is not alone the story of our political progress, interesting though it be, and the instructive detail of the public virtues of those remarkable men who wrought out the great problem of self-government; but it is the social condition, the physical circumstances, the habits, manners and personal motives of the people at large, as influenced by the peculiarities of location and political position, that we want. This seems to have been supplied to a considerable extent in the noble volumes of Mr. Hildreth. He has wrought up the dry details and multifarious incidents of colonial history in a narrative at once picturesque and lifelike. The work has the peculiarity that it describes the men of those days as they were, not all of them as they are sometimes represented, as pure and self-sacrificing patriots, but mortal men, of strong sagacity, clear practical sense, and if not altogether destitute of bigotry, at least so far philosophical as finally to admit the principle of toleration in religious and political matters. There is

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no more interesting story to the republican than to trace, in the working of the strong practical sense of the sturdy pilgrims, in their jealousy of all attempts upon their rights as freemen, in the moderation with which they exercised them when undisputed, and the firm determination with which they resisted all encroachments—the gradual developement of that system of government which is the basis of our present prosperity. When, however, we reflect upon the sturdy nature and strong sagacity of the men that first settled these colonies—the firmness of temper and the steadiness of purpose with which they pursued the object in view, as conditions of the growth of republicanism, we have less confidence in the speedy success of attempts to create such institutions among the conflicting passions, political vices and demoralized conditions, resulting from monarchical institutions of many of the countries of Europe.

The animated page of Mr. Hildreth renews in a remarkable degree that interest in colonial story which palls somewhat under frequent repetition by mediocre writers; and as new views are presented, we feel again drawn towards the pilgrim fathers as to the hearth of a homestead. We appreciate the difficulties of individuals in their contests with nature and the aborigines, and the embarrassments of communities, composed of struggling individuals, whose natural sagacity is almost their only protection from the snares of intriguing rulers across the Atlantic, as their dauntless courage is their only bulwark against enemies upon the spot. Frequently, after strife with the savages, had the bold leaders to meet in convention, to examine into the encroachments upon their rights, by royal rulers. These incidents are described with great force and effect by Mr. Hildreth, whose great merits are wonderful researches, accuracy of detail, and conciseness of style; and we trust his volumes will find general circulation.

3.—Posthumous Works of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. Sermons by the late Thomas Chalmers, illustrative of different stages in his ministry. New-York: Harper Brothers.

This volume, comprising the sermons of Dr. Chalmers, forms the VI. of the valuable edition of his Posthumous works in course of publication by the Messrs. Harper. To the general reader it is probably more interesting than those which have preceded it. Dr. Chalmers, it is known, was licensed as a preacher of the Gospel by the Presbytery at St. Andrew's, on the 31st July, 1799. He was ordained as minister of the parish of Kilmany in May, 1803, and finally resigned the pulpit for the Professor's chair in 1823, at the age of 43. His ministry thus extended over a period of 20 years. From this long series of pulpit preparation have been selected such as would seem to answer a literary as well as a religious object, and the present volume is the result. As a powerful thinker and an original writer, few can compete with Dr. Chalmers, and the present edition of his works is indispensable to all libraries.

In press, and will shortly be published—

4.—A Chronological History of the year 1848; comprising the principal Events and Facts which have occurred and transpired during the past eventful year. With an Appendix, containing a Chronological Table of the Battles fought during the Mexican War. Vol. I.—To be continued annually. Compiled with great care, by Richard S. Fisher. M. D., author of "The Book of the World," &c, &c. New-York: Berford & Co., Stringer & Townsend, and De Witt & Davenport.

This is a small volume of 108 pages, and contains a chronological arrangement of the principal events which have occurred during the past eventful year. It is the first of an annual series, which promises to be of a very useful character as a book of reference. We believe it to be generally correct and reliable, and think it ought to be in the hands of every one. An appendix at the end of the volume gives a brief chronology of the principal events of the late war with Mexico.

5.—New and Correct Map of New-York City. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

This is an exceedingly useful pocket-map of the city, containing all the streets, public buildings, wards, districts, steamboat-landings, ferries, &c. &c., and is quite as convenient and necessary to the citizen as to the stranger.

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6.—Historical Sketch of the Second War between the United States and Great Britain. By Charles J. Ingersoll. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1849.

If Congress has lost the services of a most able representative, history has gained an able pen, and the country has lost nothing; on the other hand, we are rather glad that Mr. Ingersoll has been relieved from what, to his noble nature must be, the disagreeable bickerings of Congressional politics, to prosecute the nobler duties of his country's historian. As no public man more thoroughly understands the workings of that party-machinery, which has plunged the nation into difficulties, sided with its enemies, and uniformly sought, in its disasters and distresses, the means of building up a despicable aristocracy on the model of the British oligarchy, so no pen more forcibly depicts the phases of that party, more sagaciously lays bare its springs of action, through all its traitorous sinuosities, or thrills with a more patriotic strain when foreign foes and their intestine allies are alike foiled in the brilliancy of our nation's triumphs. That so bold and unsparing a writer should be pursued with shafts from British weapons, pointed with traitorous malice, is not surprising; but he finds a response in the public opinion, which is "never wrong, and always efficient." The first part of Mr. Ingersoll's history closes with the first eighteen months of the war. The portion now published embraces the events of 1814, when the tide had turned in our favor, and fortune was culminating. It is an advantage in Mr. Ingersoll's mode of treating his subject, that the matter in hand is, on its introduction, epitomised in its whole range. Its introduction is accompanied by a statement, which indicates its origin, and traces to its remotest consequences. In this way, in the record of the year 1814, having introduced John Quincy Adams to his readers, he does not leave him until he has given a complete memoir of his subsequent career, winding up with a sketch of his "death, character, and obsequies." In the same way, the attempt to charter the Bank of the United States in 1814, calls forth a concise statement of its subsequent history, including the removal of the deposits, and the career of Mr. Biddle, and down to Tyler's veto.

Although the reader's attention is by this mode drawn from the immediate period of the history, he is furnished, as it were, with a lamp which sheds light upon the future path, as he pursues the general course of events. The work is so just in its general views, and so free from that bias which may be supposed almost inseparable from a contemporaneous historian, an actor in the great scenes he describes, as to command admiration. Yet there will be no lack of vituperation. We see that even the history by Mr. Macaulay of events 150 years ago, are accused by party writers of party bias, although the great merit of the work is, perhaps, strict party justice. The history of Mr. Ingersoll will, we doubt not, be widely circulated.

7.—The Democracy of Christianity; or an Analysis of the Bible and its Doctrines, in Relation to the Principles of Democracy. Vol. I. By a Citizen of the United States. Cady & Burgess, 60 John-street.

This appears to be the first volume of a work on the subject indicated in the title. It is well-handled, and justly pressed upon the observation of the reader. The political conduct of the Jews in demanding a king, and departing from those democratic institutions, which were clearly in accordance with the Divine will, carried the seeds of its own severe punishment. The appearance of the Saviour renewed, in an oppressed world, the principle of democracy, which has since been developing itself in an increasing ratio; and the events of the present year are fraught with important lessons. The cause of aristocracy has been sustained hitherto only by its alliance with a corrupt hierarchy. In so far as the Church has deviated from Christianity, to meet the wishes of temporal rulers, the more the latter have gained strength. The tendency of the present age is to go back to first principles, to the divine precepts of the founder of the Church; and as progress is made in this direction, and a separation takes place between ecclesiastical and political rulers, the latter fall into decay, and the voice of the people, which is the will of God, resumes its potency.

8.—History of Wonderful Inventions. Illustrated. Harper Brothers.

This is an admirable addition to the "Boys own Library," published by the Messrs. Harpers. It gives concisely the history of the great inventions of the modern world, and is as useful as a means of ready reference to the advanced in life, as for the instruction and amusement of youth.

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9.—The Book of the World: being an account of all Republics, Empires, Kingdoms and Nations, in reference to their Geography, Statistics, Commerce, &c.; together with a brief Historical outline of their rise, progress and present condition, &c. By Richard S. Fisher, M. D. In 2 vols., royal 8vo., pp. 622–711. Illustrated with Maps and Charts. New-York: J. H. Colton, 86 Cedar street.

These large and elegant volumes contain a succinct digest of all the most recent information we have respecting the material and social condition of the several countries of the world, and comprise a vast fund of most valuable and instructive knowledge on the geography, natural productions, resources, manufactures, trade, commerce, &c., of every nation. No work of a similar character, or on so magnificent a scale, has been issued from the American press since the volumes of the veteran Morse. Depending solely on facts, it is one necessarily of extensive utility, and to many, especially to the merchant and statesman, as well as to those who are desirous of extending their recognizances to foreign countries, it must be indispensable. The author has omitted nothing that could at all add to the perfection of his work; and in his arrangement and the treatment of his subjects, has happily combined, with a perfectly correct and scientific system, a lucid and pleasing diction, which renders his meaning intelligible to the most ordinary capacities. The "Book" is highly recommended by S. W. Seton, Esq., Public School agent, as a valuable addition to our school libraries, and Dr. Anthon has pronounced it "a very valuable contribution to American literature." We unhesitatingly concur in the conclusions of these well known gentlemen, and recommend it to every class of readers. The typography and illustrations are unexceptionable, and the general appearance of the volumes creditable to the mechanical genius of our city.

10.—Hydropathy; or the Water Cure: Its principles, processes and modes of treatment. Compiled in part from the most eminent authors, ancient and modern, on the subject. Together with an account of the latest methods adopted by Priessnitz, &c. By Joel Shew, M. D. Third edition. John Wiley, 161 Broadway.

Hydropathy, as a curative science, has certainly made greater progress in the last few years than has either Allopathy or Homœpathy, and we think for the general preservation of health, as well as a remedy for most disorders of the system, its growing reputation is deserved. That the medical science has been so backward in improvement in an age when all others have made such rapid advances, may be taken as evidence of the existence of some radical error in principles, and want of confidence in its professors—certain it is, that when personally afflicted, none show so great distrust of the efficacy of remedies they daily prescribe others, as physicians themselves. That many acute diseases will temporarily yield to a certain course of treatment, and that experience in relation to the physical condition of the patient as a guide to the application of those remedies seems to be the sum total of medical science as it exists. Beyond that there is no help in medicine. How helpless does the profession appear in the presence of the prevailing epidemic, which now for the third time is devastating the country! That Hydropathy, which eschews all drugs, is the true system, we do not assert; on the other hand, with many constitutions it does not agree at all. In very many, however, it is of great service, and few can read the work of Dr. Shew without being attracted by its merits.

11.—Dante's Divine Comedy. The Inferno. A literal Prose Translation, with the ext of the original. Collated from the best editions, with explanatory notes. By John A. Carlyle, M. D. New-York: Harper Brothers.

The great genius of Dante has distinguished itself through subsequent ages as the richest flowering of the mediæval ages—the ages of Thomas Aquinas, of Arabian poetry and Provencal song, and which witnessed the rise of Chaucer, the "morning star" of English poetry. The great mystic allegory of "The Inferno" has attracted in all languages the attention of kindred genius, although it has not been universally appreciated. Leigh Hunt has not been backward in vituperation; and Sir Walter Scott, whose strong mind was rather practical than sentimental, threw the work down in disgust, after reading a few pages. On the other hand, Robert Hall learned Italian for the sole purpose of reading Dante in his own tongue. Macaulay thinks that he alone may be compared with Milton; and Carlyle remarks, "I know of nothing so intense as Dante. His painting is not graphic only, but brief and true, and of a vividness as of fire in a dark night. On the whole, it is an utterance, this mystic song, at once of one

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of the greatest of human souls, and of the highest thing that Europe had hitherto realized for itself." The attempt is apparently to depict the progress of man through all the forms of wretchedness, to the final glory of the celestial state. He begins his progress under the guidance of Virgil; passes the regions of hell, where he meets his own countrymen suffering for their crimes. Hence he gradually ascends to a purer region, under the care of a symbol of divine wisdom, and finally arrives in the beatific vision of God. Although he died in exile and misery, the highest honors were subsequently bestowed upon his memory. Florence restored his property to his family, erected a bust at the public expense, and appointed a public lecturer to expound the beauties and mysteries of "The Inferno." Many other cities of Italy founded similar institutions, and his reputation seems to have increased in later centuries. The present edition of his great work appears to be to give a prose translation of his real meaning as briefly as possible, accompanied by the Italian text; collected from all the editions, the earliest and best, and forms an exceedingly valuable work.

12.—The Seven Lamps of Architecture. By John Ruskin, author of "Modern Painters." With Illustrations Drawn and Etched by the author. John Wiley, 161 Broadway.

A year or two ago, the appearance of the "Modern Painters," by an "Oxford Student," produced an immense sensation in the world of art, and its publication is not yet completed. Its original views, force of description, and power of arrangement, created, as it were, a revolution in the state of the art, and fastened public attention upon the author as a most remarkable man. The present volume, the author informs us, is the result of memoranda, thrown together during the preparation of a part of the third volume, is not an essay upon European architecture, but is composed of chapters, in which are stated the principles of science, illustrated by one or two examples from the most perfect buildings. These examples were procured by the author from personal research, in order to preserve models fast passing away; or, as he informs us, he took "sketches of one side of a building, while the masons were knocking down the other." The whole forms a work of great merit and usefulness. It is published uniformly with the beautiful edition of the "Modern Painters," by Mr. Wiley.

13.—Life in the Far West. By George Frederick Ruxton, author of Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains. Harper Brothers.

This is a collection of the highly-interesting series of papers that appeared in the columns of Blackwood, descriptive of hunting scenes in the western mountains. They have been read with much interest, and the author, in several letters to the publishers, strongly asserts that none of the incidents are fictitious; that all actually occurred somewhere to some parties. Notwithstanding these assertions we are, from internal evidence, strongly inclined to doubt. The unfortunate author, who was highly regarded by his personal acquaintance, died at St. Louis last autumn, on his way to new adventures; and part of these scenes are posthumous papers.

14.—The Earth and Man: Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, and its Relations to the History of Mankind. By Arnold Guyot, Professor of Physical Geography and History at Nieuchatel, Switzerland. From the French, by C. C. Felton. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 59 Washington-street, Boston.

The study of Geography is not, as has been, and is generally supposed, a mere nomenclature of localities; it has far higher aims, and is connected with the destinies of the whole human race, as indicated in the influence of climate and soil upon the physical being. This subject is new, and in the able hands of Guyot becomes a most interesting science, and one that has received far less attention than it deserves.

15.—American Biographical Panorama. By William Hunt. Joel Munsel.

This is a second volume of Sketches with "Pen and Pencil," of American of note, commencing with the fathers of the Republic, and coming down to present times. It is got up with great industry and skill by Mr. Hunt. Among the portraits of the present volume, we observe that of the Chief of the New-York Police, Mr. Matsell.

16.—Manual of Ancient Geography and History. By Wilhelm Pütz, Principal Tutor of the Gymnasium of Duren. From the German. Edited by J. K. Arnold, M. A. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

This is a very valuable addition to the works, at present coming more into vogue, for aiding the important study of history.

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would still be in the hands of the commanding officer other discipline—such as confinement, the withholding the privilege on shore, certain extra orders, &c.. all of which are conferre

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articles of war, directing punishments according to the usage of the sea-service. But are such means sufficient for the ends in view? Officers of experience and judgment declare, that with the description of force employed in the navy at present, it would be impracticable to maintain due efficiency with them alone. We are told, that the necessity of punishing offences would require the confinement of so many as to convert the ship into a floating jail. Without admitting this to its full extent, the claimants for peremptory abolition are willing to allow, that it would not be unattended with inconveniences, unless substitutes for the lash were first provided.

In searching for a proper course to pursue under these circumstances, it cannot fail to strike any one who will take the trouble to investigate the subject, that it will be necessary to re-model entirely the articles of war, or, in other words, to repeal the "Act for the better government of the navy of the United States," approved April 23d, 1800, and replace it with another. If the authority it confers on the commanding officers of ships, to flog sailors for any and all offences, without imposing any restraint upon the abuse of such an extraordinary power, were in accordance with the interests of the service and the genius of our institutions, the act in other respects is objectionable, and inefficient as a naval code.

We propose to review this law in brief terms—in the first place to notice its history and operation, and then to indicate some of its defects. We will then be better prepared to show to the satisfaction of men of republican principles, who, entertaining a proper respect for the laborer, fear the consequences of interfering with an ancient practice—that flogging in the navy should be abolished; or, that if it be retained under any circumstances, it be confined to criminals—that is, to those who stand disgraced by their own conduct; provided such criminality can be established before a legal tribunal.

Part I.—Naval Articles of War.

The parentage and history of the act for the better government of the navy of the United States, which, for the sake of brevity, will hereafter be termed the act of 1800, are worthy of attention. It justly claims a venerable antiquity. A large portion is copied from the first British Naval Articles of War, 13th Car. II., c. 9, entitled, "An Act for Establishing Articles and Orders for the Regulating and Better Government of his Majesty's Navies, Ships of War, and Forces by Sea." This was enacted shortly after the Restoration, when the Duke of York, afterwards James II., held the office of Lord High Admiral. On this prince entering upon the duties of commander-in-chief for the navy of his brother, Clarendon informs us that "the first work was to make alterations, and to christen those ships which preserved the memory of the Republic." His next object was to find suitable commanders for them, as we are informed that "the navy was (1660) full of sectaries, and under the government of those who, of all men, were declared the most republican." The selections made on the occasion were well calculated to effect the desired object—to blot from the memory of Englishmen the recollection of the unsurpassed, if not still unequalled glories of the English navy, under the renowned Blake. when the British standard was supported by

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republican sailors, under the command of republican officers. For men worthy the confidence of Robert Blake, were substituted the pimps of the Merry Monarch, and the parasites of his mistresses. The smiles of royalty were thus bestowed, in order that the recipients might reap the profits of prize-money, or rather pillage.

It was at this period, and for a navy commanded by such men, that the first naval articles were established by the British Parliament. It was at the period when the struggles for systems of ideas and of government, between the aristocratic and republican classes, had terminated in the triumph of the former, and the total overthrow of the latter. It cannot be reasonably supposed, that, under such circumstances, their regulations would be suited to our navy or to our times. Examine the old English articles of Charles II., and we find nothing to define the rights of the defenceless, and no adequate protection against the abuse of authority. Our act of 1800 resembles it greatly in letter, and is its *fac simile* in spirit. And yet Charles' rules, unlike ours in that respect, contain no authority, in distinct terms, to inflict stripes; and it is a matter of doubt whether the practice of flogging sailors prevailed in the fleets of Blake.* That corporal punishment should not have been referred to in the articles, when fines, imprisonment, and death were mentioned as punishments to be inflicted, justifies the inference, either that they were not used, although military discipline is known to have been efficient under the Commonwealth, or that public sentiment was too warmly opposed to it, to render the insertion of such a power advisable, except in a clandestine manner. This was accomplished by the last article, which opens the door for any species, or almost any degree, of tyranny. It answers to article 32, in the act of 1800, and is in these words: "All other faults, misdemeanors, and disorders committed at sea, not mentioned in this act, shall be punished according to the laws and customs in such cases at sea."

To supply rules and regulations, not provided in Charles' articles, the Lord High Admiral, or the Commissioners for executing the duties of the Lord High Admiral, issued from time to time "Instructions," as the Secretary of the Navy, with us, now issues his general orders. In these "Instructions" we soon find the authority to flog invested in command-

* The arbitrary power of a commander of a ship to flog sailors, essentially aristocratic, is probably a relic of feudal slavery. In the Roman sea-laws, taken from the Rhodian, no distinction is made in the punishment of master and mariner, in their official relations. The distinction is of a social kind, as of bond and free, high and low degree. The following is the eighth article:—

"If any master, merchant, or mariner, strike a man with his fist, and blind him, or by kicking him he bursts his belly, he shall pay twelve nobles, besides the doctor's fees, to the person for the loss of the eye, and ten nobles for the causing of a rupture; and if the person so struck die, the aggressor shall be punished with death."

The sea-laws and ordinances of Wisbuy, a sea-port town of Gothland, were observed by the northern nations after the dawn of modern civilization, when there existed a greater jealousy of personal rights than afterwards, under more consolidated power. Wisbuy was frequented for purposes of commerce, by Swedes, Danes, Prussians, Germans, Flemings, Saxons, &c., and it is likely that their marine discipline illustrates the remotest custom. We copy one article:—

"Art. 24. No man shall fight, or give another the lie aboard: he who offends in this kind, shall pay four derniers; but if the mariner give the master the lie, he shall pay eight derniers; but he who strikes him shall pay one hundred sols, or lose his hand. If the master give the lie, he shall pay eight derniers. If he strikes, he ought to receive blow for blow."

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ing officers. As the Duke of York was the active spirit in naval organization after the Restoration, and gave his minute attention to naval affairs during the whole period of his perturbed reign, this feature may have been the offspring of his character, which is known not to have been the most amiable. These "Instructions," together with Charles' articles, twice amended slightly in order to confer more ample powers, became the law for the navy, and continued so until after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in the reign of George II. Among these "Instructions" were the "Rules of Discipline to be observed," which were all incorporated without material alteration in our act of 1800. Compared carefully with them, however, our legislation will be seen to have been retrogressive in liberal spirit. The responsibilities they impose upon commandants were greater than are imposed by the act intended to govern the United States' navy.

The British naval articles of war now in effect, bear date December 25th, 1749, being 22 Geo. II., c. 23, and entitled "An act for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of Parliament, the laws relating to the government of his majesty's ships, vessels, and forces at sea." In some respects this law imposed greater responsibility upon officers of rank, and protects better, perhaps, the officer subordinate to the grade still higher. So far as seamen are concerned, we observe no particular difference. Like the act which preceded it, no reference is made to punishment by stripes, the authority to do so being derived from the article to punish according to sea customs, which was found to be ample for the purpose. But unlike Charles' articles, fines are not included. This is worthy of note, as showing that in the interval the practice of flogging had supplanted all other modes of arbitrary punishment. The difficulty at that day of procuring sailors, rendering impressment necessary to man the navy, introduced so general a spirit of discontent among privates, as required many restrictions. Moreover, such an aristocratic arrogance distinguished British legislation at that period, that little sympathy or consideration was bestowed upon the lower ranks of society. Yet, even under these circumstances, the articles are perhaps more liberal than those contained in our act of 1800. They were regarded at the time as so much more stringent upon the officers than Charles' rules, as to have excited throughout the higher ranks of the naval service a feeling of decided opposition. We learn from Coxe, the historian of the Pelham ministry, that on the occasion, many naval officers hastened to the admiralty, and avowed their determination to resign their commissions, if the bill passed Parliament. Quite a number of admirals and captains petitioned the commons, remonstrating against it, on the ground, that the navy had been well governed under the existing regulations, and that the proposed law tended greatly to increase their hardships.

The revised statute, however, did not prevent seamen in British men-of-war from being greatly oppressed. Scarcely at any period of history, has civilized man been exposed to more gross injustice, and more barbarous usage, than were British sailors at and before the close of the 18th century. The British government professes to have necessity to plead in extenuation of such atrocities. Immense fleets were to be manned, and sailors could be procured in no other way than by the instrumentality of the press-gang. Thus, torn from family and home, subject to an involuntary and debasing servitude, it was not rare for excesses to be

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committed or violences threatened, requiring summary and severe measures to punish and restrain. It would be unjust not to acknowledge, that a more humane policy followed their protracted contest with France. Even before the close of the war, orders were issued to keep a book of punishments, and make periodical reports of them to the admiralty. The naval magazines have for years been filled with articles, containing suggestions to ameliorate the condition of seamen. Two years ago, the naval prison bill was passed, with a view to diminish the necessity of having recourse to a punishment more degrading than incarceration, and less efficient. It is not inferring too much to believe, that the necessity which is supposed to exist for impressment, has alone delayed the abolition of the lash in the English navy. But we need not wait for England's example. Her statute law differs from our own respecting punishments for civil offences, so that corporal punishment in the military service offers no anomaly in her penal system. The law of England, for certain crimes, directs the offender to "be carried to some market town, or other place, and then tied to the end of a cart, naked, and beaten with whips throughout such market town, or other place, till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping;" and an act of Parliament of late years, 7 & 8 Geo. IV., c. 30, authorizes the punishment by public whipping of any one who shall be a second time convicted before two magistrates, "of destroying, or damaging, the whole or any part of a tree or trees of any value above one shilling." Human blood is not quite so cheap in America, or trees are less esteemed.

Fifty years after the date of the last British articles, the American Congress in the administration of the elder Adams, first enacted a law to govern the navy of the United States. A more inauspicious period could not have been selected to do that justice to the rights of seamen which the consistency of republican profession demanded. In estimating its value, let it be recollected that the dominant party in Congress entertained opinions respecting government so monarchical, as long since to have been repudiated by the people. Let it be borne in mind, that the then recent excesses of the French Revolution, and the conservative effect of the strong arm of Napoleon upon the public peace, caused a distrust of every movement calculated to advance the cause of popular liberty. Nor should it be lost sight of, that the pernicious practice of impressment for the English navy, (whose laws respecting the navy we copied with "canine fidelity") introduced then the lowest dregs of sociciety* to mingle with injured and degraded men, which could not fail to render discontents and mutinies in English ships so common, as to favor the idea that nothing but a rod of iron (heated red hot in the language of a British admiral) would make sailors behave themselves. Yet, even under these circumstances, it is doubtful whether a code so vicious and

* Shortly after the adoption of the last British articles, Postlewayth, complaining of this evil, thus quotes Sir Walter Raleigh: "As concerns the musters, and presses, for sufficient marines, to serve in his majesty's ships, either the care therein is very little, or the bribery very great, so that of all other shipping his majesty's are ever the worst manned; and at such times as the commissioners come out for the pressing of marines, the officers do set out the most needy, and unable men, (and for considerations to themselves best known) do discharge the better sort, a matter so commonly used, that it is grown into a proverb among sailors, that the muster masters do carry the best and ablest men in their pockets—a custom very evil and dangerous, when the service and use of men should come in trial."

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imperfect as the acts of 1799 and 1800, could have met the approval of Congress, but for the little interest which naval affairs then excited. If the facts could be ascertained, it would probably be found that the bill was drafted by, or under the advice of some few interested persons, and adopted without discussion, or any particular knowledge of its tendency.

The first act for the government of the navy was approved March 2d, 1799, but repealed thirteen months after, by an act falsely styled for the *better* government of the navy. The first act seems to have imbibed rather more of the spirit of the English statute of 1749, imposing rather caution (it would scarcely be correct to call any of them restrictions) upon the superior in the exercise of arbitrary power. Why it was repealed, we have no means of finding out. It may have been due to the omission in the act of '99, of the oath of secrecy to members of courts-martial. To acknowledge such a motive, would have been injudicious; so the whole act was revised, the secret oath was inserted, several useful articles hereafter to be noticed were omitted, and some insignificant changes in phraseology made. Thus amended, the act of 1800, which now is supposed (by those not in the secret) to govern the navy of the *model republic*, would have suited most admirably the aristocratic Englishmen who clung so pertinaciously to the laws which the Stuarts had given them.

Since the passage of this act, Congress has done nothing to modify or correct it. A demand was made for reports of punishments in 1848, forty years after reports far more ample were directed to be made in the English navy to the admiralty. To the Hon. James K. Paulding, when secretary of the navy, is due the honor of having first directed punishments inflicted on board our national vessels to be reported to the Navy Department. Judge Woodbury, when secretary, endeavored to prevent the abuse of the power to flog, and otherwise exhibited the strong republican bias of his character in efforts designed to ameliorate the condition of the friendless seaman.* But it can scarcely be doubted that George Bancroft, secretary of the navy during the first part of Mr. Polk's administration, did not do more than any other individual to break up the former custom of delegating the power of the lash to subordinate officers by their commanders, a custom which he stigmatized as a flagrant violation of the will of Congress and the people. Credit is likewise due various commanders of squadrons for their honest endeavors to prevent the abuse, or altogether check the practice of flogging in their commands; but the law conferring upon the commander of a ship the right to flog, is explicit. No power short of Congress can remove it. If dispensed with, there is supposed to be no other adequate means of maintaining discipline indicated. A commander, therefore, who declines to execute the law by not punishing offenders in the manner it directs, assumes for the discipline of the ship he commands a degree of responsibility which should not be expected of him.

* "Subordination and authority are to be maintained by humanity and kindness on the one hand, and respect and implicit obedience on the other. Flogging is not to be inflicted for more than one offence on the same day; nor is it to be inflicted at any time but by the sanction, and in the presence of the commander of the yard, or vessel, except in pursuance of the sentence of a court martial. Flogging is recommended to be discontinued when practicable, by courts as well as officers."—*Secretary Woodbury's Circular, Sept.* 1831.

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It becomes important to inquire into the operation as well as the history of our articles. It would be far from a pleasant task to search out and portray all the circumstances calculated to discredit the naval service which have taken place under their operation. Perhaps some of these would have happened under a better system. Much is known to depend upon the character of those empowered to carry the law into execution, and much upon circumstances, difficult to anticipate or provide against. Still, when a law is so radically defective as to render its evil effects probable on theoretical principles, and those evil effects follow its being put into practice, it becomes wise to analyse the effects which have produced such results. Burke says, that "Law is beneficence acting by rule." If this definition had been inverted, and rendered, "Law is injustice and oppression, acting without rule," it would define with more accuracy the laws which Congress have passed to govern the navy. In truth, the act of 1800 is not only the reverse of beneficence, but it is not the rule of action in the navy at all. Nor can such a statute govern men in any navy or organized body. When the powers of the executors of the law are so ample, and so few checks are imposed, and those so vaguely, the authority to dispense with the observance of the law itself, except to suit particular cases, will be inferred, *ex plenetude potestatis*. Hence, some of the provisions of the act of 1800 are lost by desuetude, others are only regarded to subserve individual purposes, and none have that reverence and respect attached to them which it is necessary a law should enjoy in order to be useful. As the law authorizes the commandant to do as he pleases, it naturally follows that he does too much, and as "the best government is that which governs least," it follows conversely that the government of the navy must be bad. It may be defined, in the language of Augustin Thierry, "a government with the least possible amount of individual guarantees, and the greatest possible amount of administrative action."

If the articles were not objectionable, as conferring undue and improper powers, and were its mandates obeyed, they are unsuited for the regulation of the navy. The departments of our government differ too widely from those of the English, to warrant so faithful a resemblance as exists between the naval articles for the two countries.

The objections to the act of 1800 are so manifold and general, that to state them fully, it would be necessary to quote the act at length. As this would impose on the reader too repulsive a task to expect him to submit to voluntarily, a few of the briefer articles will only be comprehended in our imperfect notice, selecting for the most part those which confer power calculated to lead to the oppression and degradation of those who are excluded from the pale of the privileged classes.

It would occupy more space than our pages can spare to the subject to do full justice to it, by indicating all the oppressive acts of arbitrary power it confers, and to show how utterly hopeless it is for the seaman, subject to the tyranny of its spirit, to be rescued from his present degraded condition. It seems to have been framed upon the theory, that while the private in the navy had scarcely an attribute of humanity, the superior officer was endowed with the infallibility of a higher order of beings. The act embraces eleven sections, but the first section alone concerns our subject, as it contains all that can be found respecting the rights, duties, powers and privileges of those belonging to the navy. We begin with

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"*Art.* 1. The commanders of all ships and vessels of war belonging to the navy, are strictly enjoined and required to show in themselves good example of virtue, honor, patriotism and subordination, and be vigilant in inspecting the conduct of all such as are placed under their command; and to guard against, and suppress, all dissolute and immoral practices, and to correct all such as are guilty of them, according to the usages of the sea service."

This article is a fair sample of the whole. Without imposing any responsibility upon the commander, or pointing out a method by which he may be held responsible for not doing what he is enjoined to do, a power is at once placed in his hands, liable to the most flagrant abuse. He is to correct all such as are guilty of dissolute and immoral practices according to the usages of the sea service! What are the usages of the sea service? What are dissolute and immoral practices? Does tyranny require a freer scope for acts of the grossest oppression?

"*Art.* 2. The commanders of all ships and vessels in the navy, having chaplains on board, shall take care that divine service be performed in a solemn, orderly and reverent manner twice a day, and a sermon preached on Sunday, unless bad weather, or other extraordinary accidents prevent it; and that they cause all, or as many of the ship's company as can be spared from duty, to attend at every performance of the worship of Almighty God."

This corresponds to the first British article, which is in these words:—

"All commanders, captains, and officers in or belonging to any of His Majesty's ships or vessels of war, shall cause the public worship of Almighty God, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England established by law, to be solemnly, orderly and reverently performed in their respective ships; and shall take care that prayers and preaching, by the chaplain in holy orders of the respective ships, be performed diligently, and that the Lord's day be observed according to law."

It will be observed, that in our article, a sermon is to be preached on Sunday, and divine service is to be performed twice every day. The rule, with certain clearly defined exceptions, is mandatory, and not, as in some other cases, left to the discretion of the captain. Yet, notwithstanding this, captains take it upon themselves to disregard this provision of the law entirely. The law may be considered obsolete, although it is read with the other articles, and stands just before the one which authorizes the captain to flog for drunkenness and scandalous conduct—one constantly read at the gang-way, held *in terrorem* over the violators of the law. We have, notwithstanding diligent inquiry, heard of but one commandant who took "care that divine service be performed in a solemn, orderly, and reverent manner, twice a day." There is often, we may say usually, a "sermon preached on Sunday," when all who can be spared are *caused* to attend. It is manifest that the open and plain infraction of one of the articles twice every day by him who is enjoined and required to show in himself an example of subordination, must tend to throw the whole of them into discredit. The second article affords a fair illustration of the operation of the whole act, in being regarded only so far as it conforms with the pleasure of the executors of the law.

As the instillation of religious principles into the minds of sailors is the most reliable way of elevating their character, and thereby regulating

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their conduct, the subject of this article is one of vast interest. On comparing it with the corresponding articles for the United States army, there is found a material point of difference, although both aim at the same end. The attendance upon divine worship is *recommended* by the army articles, but not made a positive obligation, except on the part of the chaplain, who may be punished for absenting himself from the duties assigned him. Upon this anomaly Colonel O'Brien remarks:

"It would seem as if the legislature were prevented by some impassable barrier from proceeding to order a thing, the establishment of which they could not refrain from expressing a most earnest desire—such in fact is the case. The constitution of the United States is the impassable barrier, not to be overleaped. The very first amendment to the constitution declares, that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. * * * Any law of Congress, requiring any one man, or any set of men to attend divine service, were it but on one single occasion, is a law respecting, or relating to the establishment of religion. Such a law would therefore be null and void. Congress might not designate any form of service, and thus might not make a law respecting any particular form of religion. It would, however, be not the less a law respecting the establishment of religion generally, and would therefore come under the law of the constitution. * * * * Any law enforcing attendance upon divine service, would, so far as it was effective, prohibit the *free* exercise of religion. * * * * It is a matter of religious duty, with members of some creeds, to abstain from the attendance at the divine service of any other than their own church. This abstinence is for them as much an exercise of religion as any positive act."

The argument of Col. O'Brien on compulsory attendance upon divine service is able and complete, and would have injustice done it by further attempt at synopsis or abridgment. The reader is referred to O'Brien's Military Law, p. 59, *et seq.*

Whether the constitutional argument against the second naval article, as it stands, is conclusive or not, we are impressed with the belief that the cause of religion and morality in the navy, as well as the discipline of the service, would be better subserved by imitating the army articles in recommending attendance upon public worship, instead of ordering it. Its constitutionality is sometimes impugned at any rate; and those who are *caused* to go to church against their will, do so with a feeling of being required to obey a law which has no binding force upon them. Herein is engendered a baneful feeling of insubordination against an authority which should always be respected.

All that government can well do towards the propagation of religious sentiment, after providing chaplains of suitable character, is to protect them in the faithful discharge of their sacred functions. Still, chaplains can be of little service to sailors, as long as the latter are exposed to a system of discipline which debases them.

It admits of a reasonable doubt, and is a proper subject of inquiry, whether it would not be better to appoint chaplains to ships and stations as they are wanted, instead of the present plan of keeping up a religious corps. The wishes of the flock might then be consulted respecting the particular religious denomination they would prefer their spiritual leader to be taken from.

"*Art.* 3. Any officer, or other person, in any navy, who shall be guilty of oppression, cruelty, fraud, profane swearing, drunkenness, or any other scandalous

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conduct, tending to the destruction of good morals, shall, if an officer, be cashiered, or suffer such other punishment as a court martial shall adjudge: if a private, shall be put in irons, or flogged, at the discretion of the captain, not exceeding twelve lashes; but if the offence require severer punishment, he shall be tried by a court martial, and suffer such punishment as said court shall inflict.

"*Art.* 20. If any person in the navy shall sleep upon his watch, or negligently perform the duty assigned him, or leave his station before regularly relieved, he shall suffer death, or such punishment as a court martial shall adjudge; or, if the offender be a private, he may, at the discretion of the captain, be put in irons, or flogged, not exceeding twelve lashes.

"*Art.* 26. Any theft, not exceeding twenty dollars, may be punished at the discretion of the captain, and above that sum, as a court martial shall direct.

"*Art.* 30. No commanding officer shall, of his own authority, discharge a commissioned or warrant officer, nor strike, nor punish him otherwise than by suspension or confinement; nor shall he, of his own authority, inflict a punishment on any private beyond twelve lashes with a cat-of-nine-tails, nor shall he suffer any wired, or other than a plain cat-of-nine-tails to be used on board his ship; nor shall any officer who may command by accident, or in the absence of the commanding officer, (except such commander be absent for a time by leave) order or inflict any other punishment than confinement, for which he shall account on the return of such absent commanding officer. Nor shall any commanding officer receive on board any petty officers or men, turned over from any other vessel to him, unless each of such officers and men produce to him an account, signed by the captain and purser of the vessel from which they came, specifying the date of such officer's or man's entry, the period and terms of service, the sum paid and the balance due him, and the quality in which he was rated on board such ship. Nor shall any commanding officer, having received any petty officer or man as aforesaid, rate him in a lower or worse station than that in which he formerly served. Any commanding officer offending herein shall be punished at the discretion of a court martial.

"*Art.* 32. All crimes committed by persons belonging to the navy, which are not specified in the foregoing articles, shall be punished according to the laws and customs in such cases at sea."

These five articles are quoted in the same connection, because they confer similar disciplinary means upon the commander. Were we the advocates of flogging, we could still see in them numerous and powerful objections. They do not classify offences in any manner; they do not regulate punishment, nor provide sufficient degrees of punishment, for either officers or men. Take the first offence mentioned in the third article, as an illustration, viz., *oppression.* Now, every injurious word on the part of a superior is oppressive; but from the nature of the offence, it may be a venial fault, and atoned for readily, or in the case of a private, it may require a slight punishment. This is not to be done by the third article. If the offender is an officer, he is to be brought before an august tribunal, and if convicted, sentenced to be cashiered, or otherwise punished, at the court's discretion. So likewise, if a private oppresses in a minor degree another private, his inferior in station, "he shall be put in irons, or flogged at the discretion of the captain." So with any other charge. What can be expected to result from such indefinite regulations, where all may be offenders, but only one party can take cognizance of, and punish offences? Are they not likely to become dead letters, or so far respected as they may confer arbitrary power? Where else can it end, than in affording security for one party to tyrannize with impunity, and make the other suffer, without a remedy.

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The law is particularly defective, in not assigning minor punishments for mere faults of discipline. The cat-of-nine-tails is the grand panacea for the derelictions of sailors, whatever may be the nature of the offence or the character of the offender. As an inevitable result, corporal punishment must be carried to an extent beyond all reasonable bounds, or the discipline of the ship, it is thought, will suffer. In either case, the moral tone of the ship's company degenerates. As to officers, the commander is virtually forbid punishing them at all, except as a preliminary step towards bringing them to a court martial—that is, by suspension or confinement. When the youth of officers (midshipmen) on entering the service, is considered, this restriction of Art. 30, must appear injudicious. No class demands correction more frequently. If, therefore, the captain cannot administer such by virtue of the powers of the law, he must either break it by yielding to a stern necessity, or permit, in his subordinate, conduct totally subversive of discipline. This distinction in the powers of commandants in their punishments of officers and privates, made by the law, has the effect of producing in the mind of officers that baneful prejudice of *caste*, by which they are led to look upon the foremastman as one between whom and themselves "a great gulf is fixed." The forward officers, though bearing warrants signed by the president of the United States, are affected by this prejudice, from the circumstance of their having sprung from the ranks. If it is necessary that the captain should exercise arbitrary power in punishment, he should hold it over all whom he commands. It would be less liable to abuse, if his more powerful subordinates were obnoxious to its inflictions.

The articles quoted above are exceptionable, in not imposing due responsibility upon the agents of authority to prevent their abuse No necessity for proof is demanded; no investigation required, and no means of redress to an injured person indicated. Article 32 is particularly liable to abuse. "All crimes" may include some which law makers might never have imagined to be offences:—"Punished according to the laws and customs in such cases, at sea," may be made our apology for cruelties, which would excite the astonishment of landsmen. Really, if this article, with a slight change of phraseology, had been substituted for the entire section, it would have reflected more credit upon the sagacity of its authors. The corresponding article of Charles' rules has been referred to. That of the British articles of 1749 is in these words:—"All other crimes, not capital, committed by any person or persons in the fleet, which are not mentioned in this act, and for which no punishment is directed to be inflicted, shall be punished according to the laws and customs in such cases at sea." The 32d article of the act of 1800 will be observed to be closely assimilated to the old English article.

Article 30th forbids a captain to inflict punishment by flogging beyond twelve lashes. But little ingenuity is required to enable the commander so disposed to abide by the letter of the law, and exceed those limits. A sailor in a state of intoxication is noisy and profane. He may, therefore, be punished to the extent of twelve lashes for drunkenness, twelve lashes for indecorous conduct, and twelve lashes for the use of profane language. The reader would infer from the same article that it contains no authority to scourge, except with a plain cat-of-nine-tails, and that none other than the captain can exercise it. We presume that it will not be denied, that, until recently, the colt (a single rope) was

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the most frequently employed. Stripes with it were administered by order of all the watch officers. This was termed delegated power, and on board some ships may still be practised, although within four or five years it has grown into disuse, in consequence (it is fair to presume,) of the agitation of the subject by the public press. A few years ago this delegated authority was deemed quite as essential to the discipline of the service as its continuance in the captain's hands now is; nor is there any security against its once more being the usage of the sea-service, if the existing feeling in the public mind against flogging in the navy should die away, without any action on the part of Congress. In former times it was the usage of the sea-service for various subalterns, as the master-at-arms, masters' mates, &c., to carry with them either a colt or rattan, to make men move briskly, or, in nautical phrase, to *start them.* Such being the operation of Art. 30, which contains all the checks to be found in the act of 1800, it is the height of absurdity to talk about the safe-guards thrown around the exercise of this naval one-man power to impose a public degradation upon a "free white citizen."

The last part of Art. 30 forbids a captain to rate a man in a lower or worse station than that in which he formerly served. The law is explicit, yet it is notorious that it is frequently violated. In fact, the prohibition is improper. A person may pass himself off, and stand rated as a seaman, who knows but little of his business, and cannot be found out until the ship gets to sea. It is meet that there should be an authority somewhere to disrate such persons. This was as well known fifty years ago as now; yet, because it existed in the old English instructions, for a cause, in their case proper, perhaps, it was transferred to our law, to give it, as far as it goes, a false aspect of paternal solicitude for the rights of seamen.

In the repealed act of 1799, the articles corresponding in part to the third and thirtieth, are thus worded:—

"3. Any person who shall be guilty of profane swearing, or of drunkenness, if a seaman or marine, shall be put in irons until sober, and then flogged, if the captain shall think proper; but if an officer, he shall forfeit two days' pay, or incur such punishment as a court martial shall impose.

"4. No commander, for any offence, shall inflict any punishment upon a seaman or marine beyond twelve lashes upon his bare back with a cat-of-nine-tails, and no other cat shall be made use of in any ship of war, or other vessel belonging to the United States. If the fault shall deserve a greater punishment, he is to apply to the Secretary of the Navy, the Commander-in-chief of the Navy, or the Commander of a squadron, in order to the trying of him by a court martial; and in the meantime, he may put him under confinement."

The reader, by comparing the two sets, can judge for himself of their respective demerits.

The repealed act of '99, for "the government of the navy," contains the following provisions, which are entirely omitted in the act of 1800, "for the *better* government of the navy." It will be observed that they are of a character generally which have a tendency to improve the circumstances of the seaman. Such omissions are calculated to attach mistrust to the *quo animo* of the framers of the bill.

"The men shall, at their request, be furnished with slops that are necessary, by order of the captain, and the amount delivered to each man shall be carefully returned by the purser, so that the same be stopped out of his pay.

"All ships furnished with fishing tackle, being in such places where fish is to

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be bad, the captain is to employ some of the company in fishing. The fish to be daily distributed to such persons as are sick, provided the surgeon recommend it, and the surplus by turns among the messes of officers and seamen, gratis, without any deduction of their allowance of provisions on that account.

"It is left to the discretion of commanders of squadrons to shorten the allowance of provisions according to the emergencies of the service, taking care that the men be punctually paid for the same. The like power is given to captains of ships acting singly, when it is necessary; and if there should be a want of pork, the captain is to order three pounds of beef to be issued in lieu of two pounds of pork.

"The captains are frequently to cause to be inspected the condition of the provisions; and if the bread proves damp, to have it aired on the quarter-deck and other convenient places; and in case of the provision being leaked out of the flesh casks, he is to have new pickle made, and put therein after such casks are repaired.

"If any person shall apprehend he has just cause of complaint, he shall quietly and decently make the same known to his superior officer, or to the captain, as the case may require, who shall take care that justice be done him."

If it be objected to the incorporation of the above in our present articles that they are in some degree ridiculous, and can altogether be supplied by other authority than Congress, it may be answered, that the same objections will apply to many of the provisions which have been retained. For instance, the captain, by the 29th Art., is to direct, if necessary, that buckets, with covers, be made for the sick men; again, a master-at-arms who refuses to receive a prisoner, or permits him to escape, is to suffer in such prisoner's stead. The insertion of such objects into an organic law for the navy, and neglecting to protect the crew in the enjoyment of their positive rights, could only have been paralleled, had the constitution of the United States provided for the President's house a lightning rod, and for the mail bags patent locks, omitting the articles which direct that "no bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law shall be passed," or that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it."

The absence of the last clause quoted from the repealed act, authorizing complaints to be made to the captain, should not be passed by without reprobation. This article is contained in substance in the British articles, in effect in the army articles of this country and England, and very amply in the more civilized military code of the French. It seems to have been omitted in the act of 1800, in order that the law should be consistent with itself throughout in affording the least possible amount of individual guarantees.

On comparing the amended law (1800) with the repealed (1799,) it will be found that while some of the articles are clipped of their responsibilities, and others, as before stated, altogether omitted, those of a character not likely to lead to acts of hardship to the weak, are extended and made to occupy additional articles. This will apply to those relating to convoys, prizes, preparation for action, &c.

But few other articles will be noticed. The 50th Article is defective, as experience has amply proved. It forbids quarrelling, but we hear of duels nowhere else more frequently than among persons of the navy. The 28th Article directs that offenders shall be brought to punishment; but where the tyranny of opinion is so powerful, and the legal statute so

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weak, this clause is of course more honored in the breach than in the observance.

The last clause of Article 17 is in the following words:—

"All offences committed by persons in the navy while on shore, shall be punished in the same manner as if they had been committed at sea."

This corresponds with the 34th Article of the British law, which is as follows:—

"Every person being in actual service and full pay, and part of the crew in or belonging to any of His Majesty's ships or vessels of war, who shall be guilty of mutiny, desertion, or disobedience to any lawful command, in any part of His Majesty's dominions on shore, while in active service relating to the fleet, shall be liable to be tried by a court martial, and suffer the like punishment for every such offence, as if the same had been committed at sea, on board any of His Majesty's ships or vessels of war."

It cannot fail to be remarked, how much more careful the English law is of the rights of Her Majesty's subjects than the American of her own citizens. It is humiliating to a republican to be under the necessity of appealing to an oligarchal government, like that of England, for examples of greater political liberality. Yet so it is. With us, a laborer at a navy-yard, (if the cries of his family for bread should induce him to sign the shipping articles, and consent to stand rated on the books as seaman, landsman, &c.,) may have his bare back excoriated by the ignominious lash, at the capricious dictate of one man, for a fault imaginary or real, due, perhaps, to mistake or accident. But the English Parliament did not stop with the article we have quoted. A recent act relating to the marines, specifies that no man "can be prejudged of life or limb, or subjected in time of peace to any kind of punishment within this realm, by martial law or in any other manner than by the judgment of his peers, and according to the known and established laws of this realm."

Art. 29 refers to the duty of the commanding officer, but it contains nothing to protect the sailor. The directions contained in it are of such a nature that the department might have regulated them better. By one clause, muster rolls of officers and men are to be made out on the first day of every second month. Doubtless for good reasons this is not done as directed, but the law remains as though disobedience was a matter of no concern. The rules for the government of the navy, (meaning the act itself,) are to be hung up in some public part of the ship, intending that the law shall be kept always before the crew. Unheeded. In fact, the whole 29th Article is mere verbiage.

In regard to crimes and offences cognizable by a court martial, there is a general objection to be made, viz., that in offences of various grades, sufficient distinctions are wanting. Nor are there degrees of punishment to be awarded proportionate to the character of the offence. Courts, whether civil or military, are grave and deliberate bodies, who seldom act impetuously. Seamen have less cause to fear injustice and cruelty from them than from the arbitrary power of a single individual, that may be exercised in moments of passion. Still they are not infallible in judgment, or free at all times from prejudice and error. Hence there should be proper laws to guide them. The indefinite character of the faults, offences and crimes, (for such may be assigned as degrees of culpability,)

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together with a want of a gradation of punishments to be inflicted, confer uncertainty upon the means of justice. This quality is prominent in our naval courts. It may be contended that it would be impracticable to draft a law so as to embrace every fault or crime, which should be punished on board ship. It certainly would not be free from difficulty; but the French are believed to have accomplished it in their more disciplined army, and it is certainly worthy of an attempt in the American navy.

The act of 1800 is open to critical remark in the matter of the constitution, and procedure of courts martial. But as they are comparatively seldom oppressive, they may be spared the pointed condemnation we have bestowed upon the arbitrary and irresistible power which now reposes in the hands of individuals. Their Star Chamber character should be duly considered, however, and if not sustained by ample and satisfactory reasons, be changed at once with forms assimilated to our civil courts. It is a feature aristocratic in its origin, despotic in its nature, calculated to favor oppression, and shield from responsibility. It well becomes a question for the wisdom of the nation to decide upon, whether the oath of secrecy is necessary, and whether it is not prejudicial. It is in these words:—

"I will not by any means divulge or disclose the sentence of the court, until it shall have been approved by the proper authority; nor will I at any time divulge the vote or opinion of any particular member of the court, unless required so to do before the court of justice in due course of law."

In favor of this latter clause it is argued by military writers, firstly, that it renders the action of the court martial independent of the influence of the executive; and, secondly, that it frees them from the resentment of those against whom they may have given an unfavorable vote or opinion. This was the self-same mode of reasoning made use of in the British Parliament, when it was first proposed there; and was combated by arguments, the force of which subsequent experience has fully confirmed.

We extract from Debrett's Parliamentary Debates, a report of these arguments, as worthy of careful consideration:—

"Members are to swear not only that they will duly administer justice, but they are to swear not to discover anything that passes in debate relating to the trial; nay, even the judge advocate is to swear to the same secrecy. How ridiculous is this! How contrary to the whole tenor of our constitution! An oath of secrecy is an oath taken by no court of justice in the world, except the Court of Inquistion; and as that court is in its own nature a court of injustice, cruelty, and oppression, we hope it will never be made a precedent for any legislation here. In this happy country, the proceedings of all courts of justice are open, and publicly known; no judge is afraid or ashamed of the opinion he gives, or of the reasons on which he founds that opinion. Even in the most solemn trials of Parliament, the proceedings are open to the whole world, and votes are given in the most public manner. This is the great security for the impartiality and honesty of all our courts of justice: were it in their power to conceal from the world what they do, or the opinions they give, bribery and corruption would soon be as frequent, and have as powerful an effect, as they have at any election in the kingdom; for it always has been, and always will be, the prayer of rogues:—

'*Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem.*'

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And this prayer will be effectually answered by this oath of secrecy, especially in our courts martial, which must never consist of less than five; because, let the proceedings or sentence be ever so infamous, no particular member can be charged with it by the people, as every one of them will at least insinuate that he voted against it. * * If any job is to be done, the infamy must rest upon all the members present; and though every one of them may, and probably will, privately insinuate that he voted against it, yet no one of them dare openly assert, much less prove, that he voted against it—which will of course render every one of them less concerned about the infamy they expose themselves to; for the burden of infamy is like all other burdens—the more shoulders there are to support it, the lighter it sits upon every one."

Publicity, it was contended,

"Will always have a good effect in favor of justice; for let men be ever so corrupt, let them be ever so abandoned, they will always have some regard for their safety, if not for their reputation, and will be cautious of letting the people know that they have been the tools of oppression, and the dispensers of manifest injustice. But if we once begin to have sentence passed in secret, under an oath of secrecy, we shall soon begin to have the whole trial carried on in the same manner: and this smells so strong of the Court of Inquisition, and of those terrible recluse courts, which are in arbitrary governments the instruments of tyranny, that it must give just alarm to every gentleman who has a regard for our constitution, or the happiness of posterity. We know how little our oath is regarded by mankind, when it happens to be inconsistent with their interest, and when they may break it not only with impunity but advantage. No officer will, therefore, notwithstanding this oath, suppose that his way of voting at a court martial can be hid from the crown, or the general, or the minister for the time being. Consequently the members of a court martial will still continue to be under the same influence they now are. Before this oath was introduced, a member's way of voting at a court martial was publicly known; and, if any one voted against what was supposed to be the inclination of the minister, or general, and was afterwards dismissed the service, or disappointed in his preferment, the world of course supposed that it was on account of his having voted according to conscience, which was an imputation that a wise minister or general, would choose to avoid; but no minister or general can now be in danger of such an imputation; and therefore they will, with the more freedom, dismiss or disappoint any officer who votes contrary to their directions.

"The argument that the oath of secrecy will prevent officers being exposed to the resentment of one another for their way of voting at a court martial, is frivolous, and carries with it an imputation, both upon the officers and upon our laws. Can we suppose that any officer would be afraid of doing justice, lest he should thereby incur the resentment of another officer? Can we suppose that our laws would permit any officer to show the least signs of such resentment with impunity! This is, therefore, forming to ourselves an imaginary evil, and making use of that as an argument for introducing a real evil; and an evil which will be a precedent for introducing the worst of all evils, which is that of a secret and arbitrary tribunal."

"May it not be said, that our common law judges will be less liable to influence, the more secret their proceedings are kept? Do we not know that our common law judges are liable to resentment, and that some have actually suffered for the decrees they have made, or the judgments they have pronounced? But such arguments, it was hoped, would never prevail with us, to establish an inquisitorial method of proceeding in any of our courts of common law."

Notwithstanding these notes of alarm, the conservative will respond, that the oath of secrecy has been administered in English military tribu-

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nals for a century, and in American, from their earliest organization, without any realization of the apprehensions quoted above.

For sufficient reasons, we have all along refrained purposely from drawing illustrations of abuses from our own navy, as much as possible, and shall continue to do so. Otherwise it would not be difficult to show that our courts martial have found some remarkable verdicts. The intelligent reader, whose attention has been directed thence, will have no difficulty in supplying examples for himself. Would these have occurred so frequently without the irresponsibility secured by the secret oath? We think not; and we are partly led to this conviction from the difference observed in the conduct of courts of very late years, since the reporters for the press have given to the public the testimony produced on trials. Had the votes and opinions of members attended these reports, the effect would undoubtedly have been greater. A quarter of a century ago the remark was common, that laws were not made for post-captains. Although this may still be true, with regard to the *lex scripta*, yet the law of public opinion is now found to operate even there. This it is that has reduced punishments lately, if they have been reduced. If the proceedings of courts martial were as open as our civil courts, or the United States senate, in trials for impeachment, abuses could not be concealed, nor public opinion be prevented from advancing steadily towards their suppression.

Since the administration of the inquisitorial oath, the records of English courts martial have been replete with instances of oppression to the weak, and of impunity to the strong. The most noted mark is that of Admiral Byng, who fell a martyr to political persecution, sacrificed servilely by a court martial to the wishes of ministers. This is a rare case. The rule is to let officers of rank go unwhipt of justice, but deal with terrible severity towards the subordinates.

M'Arthur publishes, as extracted from the admiralty records, for the purpose, as he says, of exhibiting a scale of military crimes and punishments, a chronological list of the principal trials by courts martial under the existing laws. It shows more clearly than any thing else, how little chance of redress the subordinates had from the oppression of those placed over them, and how seldom the latter were ever held accountable. In the instances of charges being preferred against commanders by subordinates, as a general rule, the findings of courts were, either that they were proved in part, in which case the sentence was trivial, such as being detached from the ship they commanded, (in technical language, dismissed the ship,) or the charge was pronounced frivolous and vexatious; or, lastly, on full proof, an admonition or reprimand was sometimes administered for serious crimes. Thus we find—

"Capt. Arbuthnot. On twenty charges exhibited by the purser; found frivolous and malicious except one, viz., carrying women to sea. Reprimanded. Such is the punishment an English captain is liable to for permitting a national brothel.

"Capt. Lord Paulet. For separating from Sir Edward Hawke at sea, and returning into port. Admonished of his error. (Here the military aristocracy is sacrificed to the social and political. Had not the captain's name been in Burke's Peerage, his commission would have been jeopardized.

"Capt. Halstead. Charge partly proved of injustice, and as not behaving as an officer and gentleman. Admonished by the court, and part of the charges found to be malicious, ill-founded, and unsupported by evidence.

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"Capt. Viscount Falkland. Drunkenness, and ungentlemanlike conduct proved. Dismissed the ship.

"Capt. Preston. Cruel treatment preferred by the ship's company. Partly proved, in practising the summary punishment by *starting*. Acquitted, but the court recommended Capt. P. to a future change of conduct, with respect to the punishment adopted.

"Capt. Colton. For converting the King's stores to his own use. Partly proved; but as it appeared that the stores, though not expended agreeably to the instructions, yet it was done for the King's service; the charge was therefore adjudged litigitious and infamous, and Captain Colton was most honorably acquitted."

So much for the superior. Now let us see how the subordinate fares. One thing is remarkable—we hear nothing of the charges made by the superior being declared frivolous, ill-founded, or malicious. It is as rare to find a sentence, "Truly and honorably acquitted,"—the favorite style when one of the privileged are adjudged.

"Purser Turner. Disobedience of orders and contempt. Proved in part. Dismissed the service for ever.

"Surgeon Slater. Writing malicious letters. In part proved. Dismissed his employment.

"Quarter-master Jacobs. Found on board another vessel entered as mate. To suffer death.

"Master's Mate Lee. Riotous behaviour and insulting a Lieutenant. To be hanged.

"Boatswain Ross. Absenting himself without leave. Cashiered and imprisoned one year.

"Seaman Mitchell. Writing a mutinous and seditious letter. To be hanged.

"Surgeon Wardrop. Drunkenness, making frequent quarrels, and striking the two lieutenants. To suffer death.

"Lieutenant Vanthusen. Seditious language when a man was punished. Dismissed His Majesty's service, and rendered incapable of serving His Majesty, his heirs or successors.

"Seaman Hinds. Writing an anonymous letter against the captain to the Admiralty. To receive 500 lashes, and to be imprisoned 12 months.

"Assistant Clerk Smith. Enticing two midshipmen to emigrate to America. Imprisoned two years.

"Lieut. Marbeau. Insolent and infamous expressions in a letter about his captain. Dismissed the service.

"Marine Briscoe. Writing a letter to General Avergne, and causing others to sign it, calculated to stir up a disturbance in the ship. 200 lashes, and six months imprisonment.

"Lieutenant Scott. Behaving with contempt to Captain Le Cras by punishing one of his servants with a dozen lashes on the backside, while the captain was on board. Dismissed the ship."

The above list might be extended to almost any length. It will be remarked that the *gag* law is rigidly enforced. The conduct of captains was not to be made the theme of private or official correspondence. The case of Lieutenant Scott offers a striking illustration of tyranny. He was not tried for cruelty in inflicting the disgraceful sort of punishment he did, or for acting illegally, in inflicting any punishment at all which the captain was only empowered to do, but because a pet servant of the captain happening to be the victim, he was guilty of disrespect to the captain.

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But all this occurred in the English navy; and what application, it may be asked, have these examples to the naval courts of our country? We answer, that they may be quoted with as much propriety as if they had occurred in the American navy. We have adopted England for our model in everything relating to our navy, and notwithstanding the aristocratic nature of her institutions, and the professed equality in our own, we have kept, hitherto, from ten to twenty years behind her in every naval reform calculated to improve the seaman's condition. At this hour England is far in advance of us in this respect.

Due responsibility from the agents of power is a radical principle in the theory of our political institutions. This responsibility can only be imposed with certainty by an enlightened public opinion. Does not the secrecy of the proceedings of courts martial exclude that light? There are those who fear the consequence of the public knowing too much, and their influence is exerted to prevent it; but our country's experience heretofore has proved the wisdom of those who have contended that the voice of the majority may be safely relied upon. We have followed too long in the antiquated and aristocratic wake of England in all naval matters. "It is time," says Fennimore Cooper, "that America began to think for herself on a subject as important as that of her marine, and to frame a system of discipline and incentives, of resources and practice, better suited to her political, social and moral condition, than the factious and exclusive state of things which have so long served her for a model."

Before concluding this imperfect review of the naval articles, we will briefly indicate a few of its sins of omission, (hereafter to be discussed at length;) that is, what they require to protect the rights of all classes, and to maintain the discipline of the service. The act is defective—

1. In not exhibiting upon its face the paternal care of the government over the weak and defenceless.

2. In not containing a clause to provide means for any one deeming himself injured by a superior to seek and obtain redress.

3. In not providing rewards for the meritorious, and means for retaining them in the service.

4. In not providing means to keep out of the service those whose presence is injurious to its character.

5. In not providing for a judicial tribunal inferior to courts martial, to serve as a court of appeal from the decision of the commander in the award of punishment, and to have intermediate jurisdiction over offences punishable by commanders, and offences punishable by courts martial.

6. In the undue restriction of the power of the commandant in the punishment of officers, and in the want of minor punishments for all grades of offences or faults of discipline.

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MY FIRST WEEK IN PARIS.

THE "Superb" did her work in a style really worthy her name. The tremendous clatter of her wheels meant more than clatter usually does; and her speed, aided by the fine weather, was something quite marvellous for a sea-boat. We made the transit in six hours only. I gazed with deeper interest than usual on the shores of *la belle France*, and almost wondered they could wear an aspect so calm and gay after all the fierce agitation of the past year, that had rocked the country to its foundations. I made a provident use of the hour we were describing circles in the bay, waiting for the tide to rise, by eating an *impromptu* breakfast; the captain was civil enough to get up, and it turned out well, as I thought it would, that I took this precaution. For on approaching the quay we learnt that a train of cars was to leave in half an hour, and the whole of that period would be rapidly consumed in the indispensable ceremonies of the custom-house. All our passengers were seriously dampened by this news, for there was no second train before the afternoon; but they sought consolation, as sympathising humanity usually does, in the fact that all were common sufferers. They wondered at my perfect composure at this *contretemps*, but they stared still more when I announced my positive intention to be off in the first *convoi*. "That's impossible," said they, in chorus. "Just the reason why I meant to do it," I replied, with unruffled gravity. This threw them into a lively fit of curiosity, and my movements were watched to the neglect of their own business. There was only one doubt beset me, and that was whether the Republic of 1848 dealt as liberally in diplomatic usages as the monarchy of '30, now dead and gone; but I thought it prudent to act on the presumption. The plank was no sooner thrown to the shore, than the first persons who crossed it, as in the olden time, were the same consequential-looking personages so well known to travellers, 'yclept, *gendarmes*, with moustaches as fierce, and swords as long, as if a republican revolution had never been heard of. "Ah," thought I, "this is pretty much what I expected; France has got a new name—what is there in a name?—but monarchical habits are still kept up." I no longer doubted now that I should go in the first train, and the moment my passport was demanded by one of these prying functionaries, I whispered in his ear, which was answered by his raising his cap, and requesting me with great politeness to point out my baggage, that it might be immediately carried off to the depot without examination. "Good morning, gentlemen," I said with a smile to my fellow-passengers, who were sorely perplexed at my go-ahead proceedings, "I told you I should dine in Paris. *Au revoir*." They saluted me with great respect, thinking, of course, I must be somebody or other, to be allowed to treat the custom-house with a go-bye that is vouchsafed but to a few in this taxed and tariffed world of ours. The magical phrase I had pronounced in the ears of the armed man of police was simply that I was "bearer of dispatches," which my passport showed, and hence his bows, and my mysterious departure. Throwing myself into a capacious *fiacre*, stuffed

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full of portmanteaus and carpet bags, I drove rapidly off to the railroad, first offering up a hearty benediction to the man who invented "dispatches." I got there in ample time, and having secured my place, amused myself in promenading about the spacious and elegant apartments provided at all the stations for the accommodation of passengers. There is an enormous deal of money spent on these palatial structures, which an American, with his *cui bono* propensity, is apt to doubt the utility of. To be sure I like, as every body does, fine architectural edifices, which are not only pleasing to the eye, but refining to the taste. Art must be encouraged, because its moral effects are good, but business before art, as Sam Weller said "of pleasure;" and it would be wiser if these European railway directors first thought of declaring fair dividends on the stock, before they lavished such extreme amounts on gorgeous fittings-up. The railroads in Europe for the most part, as yet, have not been profitable undertakings, though they have the decided advantages of dense population and great commercial traffic, and why? Because too much money has been wasted on their construction, and which has, in the second place, led to the charges being too high, diminishing, in consequence, the number of travellers. In the United States the expenditure has been less for superfluities, and the profit has been more, though population is less and capital dearer. The bell rung while engaged in these meditations for the first class passengers to take their seats, which done, the second class, occupying different quarters, are let out in turn, who take their places. This done, an endless number of officials, rigged up in uniforms of all colors, with badges on their collars strewed all over with figures, indicating the division, battalion, or company they separately belong to, begin running up and down; shouting to each other; tumbling over each other, and begging each other's pardon; till at last, these usual French preliminaries being duly got through with, the engine gives a squeak, the cars respond with a grunt, and everybody saying, *enfin*, we set off. If I were fond of statistics, heaven forbid!—I would write a book to prove, that nine-tenths of the French population wear the legion of honor, and considerably more than the whole must have places of some sort; for the quantity of red ribbon in every button-hole, and the ludicrous number of *employees* in every enterprize, beginning with the government, does certainly beat anything I ever saw elsewhere, though I have seen some odd things in my travels.

The French have imitated the English in their style of railway carriage, which contain six very comfortable seats each, nicely cushioned and armed. There were only two, beside mine, occupied on the morning in question, and they were tenanted by a couple of well-dressed and gentlemanly persons, who turned out to be wealthy merchants of Havre. We soon got into pleasant conversation, which quickly and naturally turned on France and her present condition. I learned from them a good deal of news touching the interval I had lost at sea. The effect of the military demonstration on the 29th of January had been greatly to strengthen public confidence in the stability of the government, and the immediate result was seen in the increased value it gave to property, which rapidly rose. Stocks of all kinds instantly obeyed the impulsion, and bounded up from day to day at a rate which set speculators wild. Fortunes were made in an hour; and many who had been groaning for months over their bankruptcy, suddenly, as by a magic wand, found their

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lost wealth restored to their pockets, and their condition completely retrieved. Nothing could more strikingly demonstrate the real resources of the country, which, at the mere prospect of restored order again, resumed its wonted air of business activity. We are in the habit of expressing wonder amongst ourselves at the recuperative energy of our national character, which has occasionally been exposed to rude trials of financial reverses that have well-nigh stopped every wheel of the great commercial machine, and threatened permanent disaster to the nation. These *tornados* of bankruptcy were hardly over, before the sun of a new prosperity broke through the gloom around, and to the surprise of all the country, rose again, like a gallant ship, with an elastic buoyancy equal to the pressure she had resisted. The political tempests which have twice swept over France in the present generation, were even more serious and profound in their evil than the misfortunes which have visited us; and yet the wounds they have caused had scarcely ceased to bleed, than the state sprang up again, and manifested a vigor no one dreamt she possessed. These facts, all so recently verified, filled me with the deepest sympathy for this noble nation of France, and I gave lively utterance to my opinions and emotions on this occasion. The gentleman just opposite me I found exceedingly well-informed, and of liberal views. He agreed with me on the necessity of great changes in the political and commercial frame-work of France, but he declined going to the length of an entire re-organization. Though intelligent, like all his countrymen, I observed he had not sufficiently investigated the actual situation of France, to be sure of the right remedies it was necessary to apply. When suggested, therefore, he was startled, and hesitated. I was, of course, much gratified to have most favorable opinions expressed of the character of the new President. All parties seemed alike surprised at his good sense and moderation. It was admitted that his position was somewhat anomalous, holding an executive position with all its responsibility, without sufficient power to enforce his views. This is just what I foresaw from the defective nature of the constitution. Still his conduct so far, in office, had given general satisfaction, enhanced by their previous doubts. As we rattled with great speed along the road, I occasionally had my attention called to the beauty and solidity of its construction. It was certainly a fine work; and running over a broken and hilly country, it was thickly interspersed with tunnels and viaducts, some of the latter of which were of such a great height and length as to present a most picturesque effect. At near four o'clock in the afternoon we entered Paris, and, for the first time, my sensations were keen and stirring. Every material object was familiar, and had the same tranquil, unchanged appearance as when I looked on them last; but the extraordinary political events which had stamped the interval, seemed a mocking contrast to all this outward duration. The disappearance of the Orleans dynasty, and the marvellous resurrection of the Bonaparte family—this was the only thought that filled my mind, as I drove through the pleasant streets of this magnificent capital to the famous *Hotel des Princes*. Nothing surprised me more than the absence of all traces of the dire conflicts which had swept over Paris, threatening it with ruin. I had heard of so much havoc, that at every corner of the street I expected to see whole lines of buildings demolished, and pathways cumbered with wreck. But I could detect no change whatever, not even in the smiling Boulevards, which, I had been

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told, looked mournful—stripped of its finest ornaments, its noble trees. This splendid avenue still shone with undiminished attraction, and proved the variety of its unequalled resources, when adornments like these were not even missed. It was crowded with its usual animated population, who wore the same gay air of easy unconcern as in days when they had nothing else to do. They seemed as careless and jocose as though the grave responsibilities of self-government sat lightly on them. The shops were even more brilliant than of old, and crowded with glittering heaps of merchandize, just as though such a thing as thieves and pillagers had never been heard of. It was quite clear the shopkeepers entertained a better opinion of the decried mob that has undergone such unsparing invective in European journals for many months past. Whatever may have been their fright, or their temporary discomfiture, it is evident that the courtly burghers are recovering fast from both, and Paris is itself again. I muttered this, as I threw my delighted glance down the long line of sparkling Boulevards, whence I turned at a sharp angle into the *Rue Richelieu*, and drew up at the finest hotel in this noble quarter. I found a charming apartment vacant *au premier;* and the rapid orders of M. Privat, the most energetic and attentive of landlords, ever gave it an air of comfortable tenancy. I slowly finished a complacent survey of the premises, and then throwing myself into a comfortable *fauteuil* near the fire, I indulged in a chat with mine host.

"Well, Mons. Privat," I exclaimed, "you Frenchmen are an inexplicable set. Here you are as gay and *insouciant* as if February revolutions or June insurrections had never been heard of. It seems almost as if your expert romance-writers had been inventing some horrid tales to hoax the world with, for you all look so quiet, men and streets, that one can see no trace of the whirlwind. Who could suppose that so many backs and heads had been broken, and that so many governments and ideas had been blown out of France since I saw it last. What a hurricane, to be sure."

"*Que voulez-vous,*" replied the philosophic landlord, with a shrug of his shoulders, "it came, and went like a storm in the night. We waked up with the thunder, were dazzled by the lightning, and by the time we could see clear, it was gone. There were fragments scattered about in the morning, and none of us escaped damage; but it is no use regretting, till we find whether we are the worse for what happened."

"I admire your good temper, for I should suppose you would insist on being a great deal the better for all that has occurred. It is clear, beyond a doubt, you will be the gainers, but to what extent I am anxious above all things to learn. There seems to be, as far as I can perceive, a general disposition for a *truce* between all parties; and from the same motive, a desire is evident to repose awhile, and heal up wounds. Am I right?"

"*Parfaitement.* The absurdity of cutting each other's throats for no definite purpose, beyond obliging the rogues of Paris, has struck us all, and order and tranquillity are just now the sum and end of our wishes and intentions. We find fighting less profitable than trade; and as I have been half-ruined by all this rumpus, I shall confine every enthusiasm hereafter to commerce. I hope you'll not forget to recommend my house to your countrymen, whom I will do my best to please. There is no class of travellers I am so glad to see enter my hotel, for none are so easily satisfied, and none are more liberal in their expenditures. *Vive les Americains.*"

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"I shall remember your request, Mons. Privat, and when you take sufficient pains to let them know the extent, variety, and splendor of your accommodations, and the comforts of your house, English spoken included, I am sure you would have no difficulty in finding an American colony in the very heart of Paris. But have you completed that magnificent dining saloon I left you at work at two years ago?"

"Not quite, sir; for it is impossible, I find, to carry on state repairs and house-building with advantage at the same time. But now that we have quiet out of doors, the hammers are clicking noisily within again, and in a few weeks I shall astonish even Paris, by throwing open a *salle-a-manger* unrivalled by any in Europe in point of size and richness. But since you were here I have made immense enlargements to the hotel, and introduced a novelty, I think, that will be greatly appreciated by bachelors, in the addition of a hundred snug rooms, with a bed concealed in the alcove, so as to unite and separate the two at convenience, and that at the low price of three francs a day. I have now some 500 rooms in my hotel, and at rates that I would have disdained a few years ago."

"These revolutions are your true levellers after all, I see; for the pride of landlords and kings are thus brought to reasonable terms, eh, Mons. Privat?"

"*Que voulez-vous,*" said my entertainer, a little flurried by my fling, "we must all bow to the same necessities. If our demands are too high and travellers won't submit, we must take less, or give up business. And it is the same case now-a-days, it seems, with palace-keeping."

"But let me know, as you meet so many people every day, what every body says about your new President."

"There is only one sentiment on that point, Monsieur, which is that of universal approbation. To the surprise of us all, he has turned out so moderate, steady and wise, that we are full of admiration of him, and of dissatisfaction with ourselves at the ill opinions we formerly harbored of him."

"Well, it would be unjust to blame you Parisians for your prejudices, for they were inspired, not so much by the behavior of Prince Louis, as by the bitter denunciations of your metropolitan press, hired, beyond doubt, for the most part, to defame him. As I ventured to proclaim him a very different person from the false character given of him, I rejoice that his present conduct justifies my predictions."

"Yes, Monsieur, we all put great confidence in him, and only regret that he has not more power to enforce his views. They are said to be progressive; we know they are moderate, and we want nothing more. The lower classes will be satisfied the moment they see there is an effort to improve their condition and meet their wishes. All we want, myself in particular, is a little tranquillity, and we shall all make our fortunes fast enough. Ah, what a happy country is your great Republic!—no revolutions—no insurrections!"

"And no stupid kings, no headstrong ministers, Mons. Privat—above all, no rich class of monopolists that, possessing the whole power of the state, pass all laws for their own benefit, and leave the masses to choose between starvation and rebellion."

"There is one thing that enrages me, for who can suppress his sympathies at such wanton abuses, and that is to see a whole nation turned topsy-turvy because a few hundred selfish and rapacious men love to wal-

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low in an ocean of voluptuousness that the wealth of the state is necessary to supply."

"If I were a Frenchman"—I stopped short.

"Then you don't think the Americans would be more patient than we are?" inquired my landlord, looking very gravely at me.

"We are getting on dangerous ground, Mons. Privat; and as nothing is farther from my intentions than to disturb the love of tranquillity you were just now professing, I propose to adjourn the discussion. Whatever you may think of my politics, you shall have no reason to underrate my appetite, if you will only send me up one of those nonpareil dinners that have made the *cuisine* of the *Hotel des Princes* famous through Europe."

"*Enchante, Monsieur,* to oblige you in any way," replied my bustling host, rubbing his hands at the flattering allusion to his kitchen. "At what hour will you be served?"

"I shall be dressed at seven."

"*Tres bien je serai exact,*"—and away went M. Privat, utterly oblivious of the wrongs of France, in his aroused ambition to maintain the high renown of the *Hotel des Princes.*

A thousand projects presented themselves after dinner for the evening occupation; and, amid the dazzling variety, I was in danger of wasting the whole of it at home in deciding on a choice. I fixed, at last, on a visit to some one of the few American families, that, in spite of the fall of governments and the crash of revolutions, still cling to the many charms of a residence at Paris. Such a mark of respect I thought especially due to a delightful circle in the *Rue d'Anjou,* who are the sole survivors of the American regime, that ten years ago made one forget the loss of country, in the number of familiar faces and names that were then grouped together here. If it were ever possible to feel melancholy at Paris, there would be moments when the memory would cloud over at *souvenirs* like these. How many delightful sets of acquaintances I have lived amongst at different epochs at Paris, that I supposed were destined to endure for long and pleasant years! An absence of a few months would bring me back to find the greater part dispersed over all countries, and the rest melted up with new coteries, when, if found, they would hardly be recognized again, so changed were the associations and influences that now surrounded them. To a mind at all sensitive, the sudden and complete vanishment (pass the word) of all our closest ties and most valued friendships, is, to say the least, trying; and to escape what I detest, painful ruminations on the incertitude of this world's combinations, I have always set with double industry to work to contrive new ones. This remark, trivial as it is, is alone applicable to Paris. Return to London or New-York, Berlin or Rome, after what time you please of absence, your old associations will remain to greet you, with such vacancies only as casualties inevitably make. This, however, is seen at Paris, for the reason that the foreigner mixes there so much less than in other cities with the native families. He has abundant resources in the hordes of strangers that congregate here from all parts of the world, who, attracted by the facility of living, as by the endless seductions of this luxurious capital, come here to perch for a summer, or roost for a winter, and then fly off again to their unknown homes. Cause and effect are confounded in each other in this, as in all else; and it would be difficult to decide whether it is to the flocking of strangers hither that Paris owes its peculiarities, or

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whether, from its distinctive traits, it becomes an irresistible temptation to the denizens of all countries. No city certainly vies with this in its charms for travellers. There is a scale for every income, and there is no possession that may not be had, on conditions and terms to suit his caprice or pocket. Everything can be had, for hiring, from an opera-glass to a *trombeau*, and even the inhabitants themselves live on the temporary arrangement of contract rather than of purchase. All seem to occupy Paris momentarily, as if its enjoyments were incompatible with the serious business of life, and that, after its holiday shows are over, they expected to return from whence they came. When I return to Paris, therefore, I am always prepared for revolutions social, if not political; and it is a marvel, indeed, if the fragment of an old clique should be found surviving. It is from those eternal shiftings that nobody is ever missed at Paris, for the moment your back is turned you are forgotten; and for the same reason no one is ever regretted. It is natural, then, I should experience a lively sense of pleasure in driving to the charming residence of an American family, whose hospitalities have been liberally dispensed to an unceasing throng of their fellow-countrymen for some sixteen years past—a period of residence so seldom arrived at by foreigners in this mutable, versatile Paris, as to throw over it a certain air of antiquity which a hundred years elsewhere would hardly impart. There is one remark which the persons to whom I allude have more particularly suggested, but which other American families resident here, for longer or shorter periods, have equally inspired—and it is perhaps striking enough to record. It has often struck me with astonishment, that, living for years away from the customs somewhat formed, and out of the pale of opinions somewhat rigid, of their native country, and exposed to all the seductions of French manners and the dangerous influence of French morals, that Americans should succeed in resisting both, and in preserving, untainted by constant contact, their own conventional standard of right and wrong. There is no other, of all the countries represented at Paris, which furnishes similar instances; for even the English, whose code of propriety is elevated enough in profession, are rarely found sufficiently proof-hardened to resist being carried away into open and scandalous violation of its clearest injunctions. This is an effect that might be traced directly home to our institutions; but to undertake such a demonstration would lead me into an abstract discussion that would be out of place just here.

Monday morning came of my first week, and my spirits freshened at the vista it disclosed of pleasant labors. Renewal of old acquaintances, the probable acquisition of new—ready and vigilant inspection of the political cauldron, which simmered and bubbled enough to show the fermentation within—careful and prying investigations of the popular mind and passions—these were some of the bustling occupations that rose before me, and promised to put my utmost activity to the test. I spent no small part of this, my first day, in driving from house to house, leaving cards for people gone out, till about five o'clock I arrived at the residence of an American lady, whose former habit, I remembered, was to devote this portion of every day to the reception of her visitors.

"*Chez elle*," returned the *concierge* to my inquiry; and I ascended to her salons. A word of this lady, whose charms of person and mind have made her the centre of a large circle of admirers of both sexes. But to

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her taste be it mentioned, that instead of selecting these from the vapid celebrities of fashion, she chooses from the more recherché coteries of intellect. At her levees and *soirees* one is almost sure to meet some person, if not widely known in the world of *esprit*, at least remarkable for superior gifts of conversation, so that an hour in the *Rue Ville l'Eveque* is always agreeably and profitably invested. And so it turned out on the present occasion; for after mutual greetings were over, I sat myself down to listen to a lively *causerie*, that my entry had interrupted. Louis Napoleon was the theme, and every one was free to confess that their expectations thus far had been most pleasantly disappointed. Each one in turn gave his impressions of his character, and without assigning him great qualities, or grand talents, all united in conceding him infinitely more merit than they ever dreamed of his possessing. There was one person, however, who reviewed his part, showing how well it had been contrived to ensure him the good fortune which had at last overtaken him. He was the only one I had yet encountered who regarded, in their exact light, the various acts that the world generally had stigmatized as brainless folly; and the language he employed, as well as the manner he discussed these several points, was so superior and striking, that I received his opinions, as did the rest of the company, with great attention. The subject changed, but this same person was still the chief orator of the circle, and on all topics alike he displayed extraordinary research, sound judgment, and unusual powers of diction. My curiosity was not a little piqued, and in a whisper I obtained from my fair hostess the name of the distinguished man, which was familiar to me. It turned out to be Count de Cirecourt, lately talked of as Minister to the United States, before the appointment of M. Poussin. I got into conversation, finally, with M. de Cirecourt, and was more and more astonished at his immense information on all subjects. Philosophy, science, art, history, and the *evenements du jour*, —upon all he talked with equal address and singular accuracy. The Austrian empire and its difficulties were among other matters touched upon; and he gave me a solution of what had greatly puzzled me up to this time, namely, the inexplicable conduct of Prince Metternich. I never could comprehend how that cautious and experienced statesman had allowed the vast empire over which he seemed to rule with undisputed sway, to fall suddenly to fragments, without either seeing or providing for the catastrophe. I had formed from various accounts a high estimate, along with the world generally, of his sagacity, judgment, and vigilance, and yet we find him, at last, closing his long and eminent career in the ignoble manner of a half-fledged politician, who, mistaking presumption for firmness, provokes calamities he cannot repair, and takes refuge in flight from consequences he shrinks from resisting. Little did I ever dream of beholding the venerable form of Prince Metternich figuring conspicuously amid a vulgar herd of political refugees whom "their o'er-cloyed country vomited forth to desperate adventure." This result, I repeat, had all along perplexed and confounded me, up to the moment that M. de Cirecourt related the following anecdote. He stated, that some months previous to the events of 1848, M. de Metternich had manifested much anxiety at the continuance of a system of policy, that daily symptoms showed the imperious necessity of modifying to suit the wants and temper of the times. As if to satisfy himself, finally, that he was not yielding prematurely to ill-founded forebodings, he came to the

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determination of making a full investigation of the case. He selected an individual entirely worthy his confidence, and every way adequate to the enterprise, and dispatched him on a tour through all the provinces of the empire, with orders to institute most vigilant inquiries into the moral condition and political demands of the respective inhabitants. "Write me nothing," said Metternich, "but keep careful record of all you see and hear, and lose no time." A long interval ensued; the party, at length, returned to Vienna. The next day the prince left town for one of his country seats, with his envoy, where he spent many days, devouring with the utmost greediness the important details brought back to him. At the close he sighed deeply, and exclaimed mournfully over the threatening prospect which lowered on every side. The danger he descried was imminent; but what could he effect at his age, with the formidable opposition that would rise against him should he breathe the word reform. "Were I a young man," he declared, "I would undertake and accomplish it against every odds, for the safety of the whole depends on it, and yet no one sees it. All I can pray for," he added, "is that it may last my time."

This was not so ordered, as we have lived to see; but I was deeply impressed by this narration, which came from a source that raised it above doubt.

The Count went away, and a new comer entered, who brought a lively piece of intelligence for the parties concerned, which consisted in the announcement of a marriage between the Duke of ——— and M'lle de ———. "Why that must be an error," said a by-stander, "for the young lady in question is positively engaged, I know it, to another party."

"*Pas le moins du monde*," persisted the first speaker, "it is perfectly true. But what leads you to doubt is, that only a few days ago the Duke was engaged, as you say, to another person; but I am going to tell you what has occurred. He was lately at a ball, where he met for the first time M'lle de F———, and he was so charmed by her beauty and grace that he called next day, declared his sudden passion, and begged her hand, saying that was utterly lost if she refused him. She replied with great discretion, and allowed her decision to depend on that of her mother; but who insisted upon it, that the thing was impossible, for her daughter was not only engaged, but the contracts actually drawing out for her marriage to another party. The desperate swain, however, persisted, and as the daughter declared she was entirely indifferent to the choice her mother had made, and that she liked of her own accord the individual in question, it was at last settled that the first engagement should be annulled, and the Duke's offer be accepted, and the marriage is arranged to take place next week." Exclamations of unaffected wonder succeeded this curious story. "How romantic," said one; "quite English," remarked another; "but really it strikes me," I joined in, "that it is not at all French." In this rank of life I thought it was *de rigueur* that a marriage should be determined upon by the respective families, and that the marrying parties should have, in fact, nothing to do with it till the ceremony began.—"Ah, yes," said an old lady, who had been musing upon this strange event, "it was formerly so, and in my time such folly as this was quite out of the question. But, alas! every thing is changing for the worse. Not dynasties only are disappearing, but with them are going our

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best customs, our oldest traditions; yes, every thing, our tastes, opinions, usages, are all declining fast into barbarism, and for my part, I am astonished at nothing now-a-days." This sally was variously received, some smiled, and others sympathized. An exceedingly shrewd and pleasant man, who had enlivened us previously with many salient phrases, at last added his commenting to the rest, and which was so striking, that to preserve it, I have taken the trouble to record this trifling anecdote. "I beg your indulgent consideration, ladies and gentlemen," he said, in a deprecatory tone, "for what I shall say about the extraordinary conduct of the Duke in question; but let me remind you that within a year or so these singular demonstrations of sensibility among people of our own rank are not altogether rare, and I will attempt to explain it. The rude changes in the political world, and the constant transitions we are living amongst, begin, at last, to teach us an important lesson. Illusions are gradually dying away, and the emptiness and uncertainty of worldly advantage are every day becoming distinct and striking. Under such circumstances, what is more natural than that the individualst who formerly found sufficient amusement in the privileges and resources of a position that is now almost gone, should be struck, at length, with the novel charms of sentiments and emotions that had never before been elicited. As the world without crumbles away under our feet, what more likely than that we should turn our faces inward, and seek consolation in the cultivation of the affections."

"*C'est vrai, c'est juste,*" everybody exclaimed around him, except the old lady, who muttered something about *absurde.*

"Well, then, I am not so much astonished at the violent passion of the Duke of ——— which is the more likely to be sincere, that nobody now thinks of laughing at such things."

"I hope then," said I, thinking the opportunity too fair to be lost, "I hope that, in my quality of American, I may be allowed to infer that something not altogether discreditable to human nature may be esteemed as among the results of your new-born republic."

"*Oh, n'en parlez pas, je vous en prie, de cette horrible republique, quelle horreur—quelle misere,*" were only a few of the indignant exclamations that flew from right to left, at my audacious allusion in this aristocratic *enceinte* to the plebeian revolution of 1848.

There is enough in this simple incident to awaken the reflection of the curious in such things, and to convey no bad picture of France, as it is at this moment of deepening confusion. The upper classes, who are daily horrified at the encroachments that universal justice and common sense are making on their privileged boundaries, and are ready to employ all means inconsistent with humanity and right to preserve them, are nevertheless frequently forced to admit the fitness of these demands, and are often surprised into the recognition of claims which make their appeal to our common nature. The aristocracy of France are gradually rousing from the Rip Van Winkle sleep of centuries, and beginning to discover that they have been living in a land of dreams, where the stern realities of the real world have never penetrated. They have all the air of perfect strangers in this new sphere, where the late revolution has introduced them, and they go wandering about, armed in prejudice and full of mistrust, but still every now and then are caught in acknowledgments that this plebeian region, however new and repulsive

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to long habits and preferred tastes, is yet filled with facts and truths that come home to their convictions, and teach them they are not the artificial and conventional beings they had all along supposed, but endowed with faculties and affections common to all, and the highest development of which is the true purpose of life. What a revolution in the best society of France! It proves that a scion of one of its oldest families is not only capable of falling in love with beauty, grace, and worth, like a low plebeian, but dares even avow it, without subjecting himself to the sneers and derision of his class. This is a real progress towards a more natural order of things, which can neither be denied nor underrated.

On the evening of the day I am now recording, I called at a very aristocratic mansion, where in past times I had received most generous hospitality. I found the marchioness at home, and my reception was cordial in the extreme. The extraordinary events of the last two years—the interval since I had last visited her—afforded an abundant theme of remark, and I was curious to discover what changes of sentiment they had wrought in my fair hostess. She was an Italian by birth, of high rank, and married to a French marquis of great fortune. I remembered before that she was remarkable for her liberal sentiments, that went the length of ultraism, as far as her native country was concerned, though her views of French politics had always been of such moderate tone as to bring me frequently in collision with them. The liberty of the French under Louis Philippe's government, though infinitely below the intelligence of these enlightened people, yet so far surpassed the unhappy condition of the oppressed Italians, that the marchioness always insisted they were well enough. That any people should ever be allowed entirely to have their own way, was a doctrine that in her opinion bordered on insanity. These were her ideas before the Revolution of 1848; but I expected that this grand event had, in all probability, greatly modified them. But, to my surprise, I found that her liberalism, instead of enlarging with the progress of events, had well-nigh disappeared altogether. She was full of aristocratic horror of all that had occurred. Italy, for whose wrongs she formerly felt so much, she now considered quite unworthy her compassion. The outrages, as she termed the efforts of the people to better their condition, had put them quite *hors la loi*—they had conducted themselves like savages and madmen. The behavior of the Romans to the Pope, and of the Piedmontese to the Austrians—nothing could be worse. They had forfeited the esteem and respect of all good people of all countries, by their wanton violations of order, and their senseless attempts at new forms of government, which was only the organization of anarchy. It is not worth while to repeat this nonsense, for it is just in this incoherent way the upper classes of Europe express themselves upon late events. Instead of reading a solemn lesson in past disasters, they wilfully blind themselves to the plain truths conveyed, and seem determined to run headlong on their fate. If my fair friend, the marchioness, thus expressed herself of Italy, it may be supposed her indignation and contempt knew no bounds for the "monstrous and unheard-of infamies" the French people had committed in their revolutionary insanity. "But, thank Heaven!" she exclaimed, "there seems approaching, at last, an end to all these horrors. The government has abundant power at its command, and is fully disposed to exert it, for the suppression of these atrocious dogmas of universal liberty, alike opposed to sense and truth. In a few

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weeks more, and this National Assembly," and she turned up her Roman nose quite disdainfully, "will be scattered to the four winds, and then we shall have a legislature that will give us strong guarantees of stability and order. This vulgar and turbulent *Mountain*, which has endeavored to attract public attention by its hideous outcries, will then sink in its proportions, and dwindle down to a very small *hill*."

I had just arrived in Paris, with all my democratic sympathies fresh and strong upon me, and these effusions of patrician bile quite confounded me. I hardly know whether to attribute them to a general spirit of reaction setting in, or merely to a haughty demonstration of the wounded vanity and mortified consequence of the upper classes. After a pause, in which the lovely marchioness sought to recover her usual serenity, a little disturbed by the violence of her emotion, I looked her full in the face, and said: "What, madam, do you really mean to say that *la France va reculer*—that France is going to fall back?"

Her face flushed to crimson, and she drew herself up to her full height, with a tone and gesture that alike bespoke her astonishment and disgust, as she repeated my words: "*Reculer—dites-vous—Avancer, vous voulez dire*—fall back, do you say? Advance, you mean to say." The blunt expression I had, without thinking, given to my democretic bias, now flashed upon me by this sudden change of her manner; and whether it was my *naivete*, or the angry wonder of this aristocratic beauty, whom I had so unintentionally outraged, I don't know, but I could not for my life restrain my merriment, and, taking the liberty of an old friend, I gave way to hearty laughter. We afterwards talked a great deal of Louis Napoleon, for whose election her husband had mude strenuous efforts. It appears that his popularity with the aristocratic party is every day increasing, which is certainly looked upon by the people with lively suspicion. They conclude, that were he more devoted to their interests, and more determined to see justice done them, he would be less praised in the gilded salons of the *Faubourg St. Germain*.

I have been scarcely two days in Paris, and I begin to discover, what can never be learned out of it, how exactly, in sailor's phrase, "the land lays." By constant study of all rumors and reports; by reading and collating all statements and accounts for some months past, I had contrived to make some approaches, though very distant ones, to the truth. But now that I am in Paris, where the pulse of politics beats strongest, I see that no reliance whatever can be placed on the bulletins of pathological quacks. You must come and judge for yourself, if you would know the exact state of the patient—poor France—whose case, for want of proper treatment, seems daily growing worse. Not that her symptoms are not distinct enough; but, by a stupid and wilful obduracy, her political faculty disdain to understand her malady aright, and their nostrums only tend worse and worse to aggravate it. But to see this clearly, and to know what are in truth, and at bottom, the real difficulties of the situation, there is only one mode, which, unhappily, few can adopt—and that is to come and investigate for yourself. But the task is not easy, then, as may be discovered in the fact, that scarcely two agree, either as to the condition of things, or the remedies to be employed. Besides, France at this moment is undergoing almost daily a rapid transition of opinions and circumstances, that requires the closest attention, and no small knowledge, to enable an impartial person to come to clear and satisfactory conclusions.

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So far as I have gone, it is plain enough that the trading community are content with things as they are. They have only one want; and a government that can maintain tranquillity, no matter by what means, or at what sacrifice, is sure to receive their hearty suffrages. This one element is an important one in every community, the support of which is indispensable to the stability and prosperity of a government. Louis Napoleon has been almost enthusiastically adopted by this class, who were before his most violent adversaries. To my surprise I find the aristocracy speaking warmly in his favor, too, which is a matter to be carefully looked into by his friends. It would be strange, indeed, if their good-will was accorded on any other terms than a thoughtless denial of justice to the people. This is clear enough; for the interests of the two classes are directly opposed—and to serve the one is sure to be followed by the dislike and opposition of the other. In these old countries of Europe, where the upper classes have so long held possession of all the powers and wealth of the state, they have acquired vested interests which, perhaps, prudence, rather than equity, should take somewhat into consideration, when a new political organization is in question. To touch these interests at all, is to excite the wrath of their holders; but to be scared by their clamor from fulfilling the imperious demands of the masses, which, happily, in this age must not be denied, is to show weakness and provoke disaster. Between the two a steady, though forward course of policy, is to be pursued—and which, for the time, may be attended with the not uncommon result of displeasing both sides. The reward of praise from both is seen, however, to come later. I make these remarks as I go along; for, though apparently uncalled for, they will help considerably to elucidate the position of France at this moment. I repeat, then, I am getting a little uneasy at the strong expressions of approbation from the aristocracy, and the ominous silence of the people. I have not succeeded yet in gathering anything at all definite from any of those I have met. They shake their heads, and hold their tongues. From which significant pantomine I infer, the expectations they entertained have not yet been met, but that they are reasonable enough to wait further developments. Perhaps their turn is yet to come, which is, certainly, to be ardently prayed for by all well-wishers of France.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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MICHELET'S WORKS.*

He who invents a machine by which time and labor are saved, and want and misery are relieved—and he who discovers an important scientific fact, which enables us to penetrate still further into the secret chambers of nature, and thereby learn more perfectly the physical relations upon which our existence depends, as well as our improvement and usefulness, confers a blessing, and imposes an obligation upon mankind. But the important inventions and deeply interesting and useful discoveries, from which the present generation derive so much benefit, have been gathered like Sibyl's leaves from widely separated localities, and at various times. He, then, who faithfully collects and arranges the materials, and perpetuates them in the pages of history, performs an important office, without which, isolated discoveries would be of little use. General history, however, has a wider field to survey; inventions and discoveries occupy but a small portion of history. The rise and fall of empires—the details of battles, and particular descriptions of the workings of all the vile passions of the heart, attract the attention most, and are dwelt on longest. Some of our most accurate and elegant historians seem to have devoted their lives to study and labor, more for the purpose of corrupting than benefiting their species. The crimes of the world's great drama have been arrayed in the most attractive colors—whilst the retiring virtues, and gentler spirit, by which the evil currents of society have been changed, and its moral and intellectual revolutions effected, have been buried in the rubbish. Hume poisoned the immense store-house of learning and history which he bequeathed to man, by a spirit more deadly than the pestilence he speaks of—more dangerous than the revolutions he has recorded. Histories have been written to record the debaucheries of courts and the disgrace of our species, under the plea that all must be written. The reckless and vicious conduct of Mesdames de Maintenon, de Pompadour, and de Montespan, is dwelt on longer, and apparently with as much interest, as the noble conduct of Madame de Guercheville—the heroic fortitude of Gabrielle d'Estrees, or the virtuous attachment of Mary de Lafayette. Even the distinguished author of the recently published History of England, is induced to disturb the solemnity of a death-bed scene, to let us know something of the private entrance of paramours. The histories before us are not marked by any blemishes of this character; while the crimes are properly and fully recorded, the nobler traits of human character are presented in a manner calculated to inspire a belief of the sincerity of the actor. The peaceful, quiet, but all-powerful elements of national progress, are recorded with as much particularity and interest, and with the same spirit, that characterizes the more stirring periods. The progress of the arts and sciences—of literature and eloquence—of wars and revolutions—of Roman primacy—everything, in fact, which belongs to history, is

* History of France, 2 vols.—Roman Republic—The People; and Life of Luther.

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impartially recorded. This is one of his chief virtues as an historian. A second, and, perhaps, not less important one, is the facility with which he collects and combines all that is interesting and useful of the different epochs; and the power he has of presenting them with a minuteness sufficient to secure a thorough acquaintance, without fatiguing the reader with useless detail and vain pedantry. He seems to annihilate time as the telescope does space, bringing the veritable thing itself before you. You see the mighty barbarian chief vaulting over six horses at once, and his daring men, with an ill-judged confidence, calling on the Romans for their messages to their wives; and now, the *Campi putridi*, covered with the mangled bodies of an exterminated army. At another period, and at a different place—the progress of oratorical genius—the success of Guipho, the leading rhetorician, and the founder of the school of Cæsar and Cicero;—here the mysterious rites and terrible offices of Druidism, with its decline, and there the first timid pretensions of Innocent II. to Papal authority, leading to the final establishment of the authority of St. Peter. Various and multiplied are his subjects, but the narrative is unbroken and the interest unabated.

There is something unusually life-like in his descriptions. Nations are arrayed before you with all their peculiarities of person and character with a peculiar power. First, the Gauls, with their hot temper, belligerent dispositions, and wandering habits; then the laborious and more domestic Iberians. Next in his historical panorama the conquering Celts are introduced, but only to prepare the way for the early standard-bearers of civilization, the Greeks and Phœnicians. The national barriers are broken down by the sons of Neptune; and the valuable products of Gaul—the coral of the Hieres, and the precious mines of the Pyrenees, the Cevennes and the Alps, gathered or investigated by the Tyrian Hercules. The Col de Tende has been crossed, and the foundation of the Aurelian and Domitian ways laid. The battles of the fabled heroes and gods have been succeeded by those of the Dorians, the Ionians, the Etruscans, and the Carthaginians. The south is visited by the civilization of Greece, and the Celts have carried it back with them to the north; the religion of the Druids is thus brought in contact with other opinions, and a new and loftier inspiration is the result. Under the combined influence of these stirring elements, the world becomes the theatre of more important events, and of deeper and wider changes.

Thus the fabulous portion of earlier history prepares the mind for the astonishing revelations of later and better authenticated records. Indeed, it is almost as easy to credit the battle of Cran and the shower of stones, as the rapid and bloody victories of the terrible Gauls. Whether in Greece or in Asia, around the Hellespont, on the shores of the Ægean, on the ruins of Troy, beyond the Bosphorus—with Hannibal on the fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ, or against the ungrateful Carthaginians, they are the same headlong, courageous, bloody people. Their career for more than two centuries had been unbroken by defeat. The Romans, under Marius, checked their wild and terrible course, by violence and cruelty equalling their own; but the task of conquering and subduing this mighty and restless people was reserved for Cæsar. Italy had been wasted—Ariovistus had been defeated, and the Germans driven across the Rhine—"bellicose" Gaul alone remained to be subdued, before a successful attack could be made on the

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liberties of the proud mistress of the world. This was accomplished —the Rubicon passed—Pompey defeated at Pharsalia—Cicero assassinated, and his tongue nailed to the desk from which he had spoken; and the decline commenced—the fall foretold.

Michelet is impartial in all his statements, whether affecting his own country or not. In speaking of France and foreign influences, he says:—

"We have no wish to reject incontestible facts. It is indisputable that our country is largely indebted to foreign influence. All the races of the world have contributed to dower this Pandora of ours. The original basis—where all has entered and all been received—is the race of the Gaël—young, soft, mobile, clamorous, quick to reject, and greedy of novelty. Here we have the primitive and the perfectible element.

"Such children require stern preceptors, and they will have them, both from the South and the North. Their mobility will be fixed, their softness become hardened and strengthened, reason will be added to their instinct, and reflection to their impulsiveness. In the South, appear the Iberians of Liguria and the Pyrenees, with all the harshness and craft of the mountaineer character; then the Phœnician colonies; and, after a long interval, the Saracens. The mercantile genius of the Semitic nations strikes root early in the south of France. In the middle ages the Jews are altogether domiciled there; and at the epoch of the Albigenses, eastern doctrines had easily obtained a footing. From the North sweep down, in good time, the obstinate Cymri, the ancestors of our Bretons and of the Welsh. They have no mind to pass over the earth and be forgotten. Their progress must be marked by monuments. They rear the needles of Loc Maria Ker, and trace the lines of Carnac—rude and mute memorials, futile attempts to hand down traditions which posterity will be unable to understand. Their Druidism points to immortality, but is incapable of establishing order even in the present life. It only reveals the germ of morality which exists in savage man, as the misletoe shining through the snow, testifies to the life that lies dormant in winter's embrace. The genius of war is still in the ascendant. The Bolg descends from the North, and the whirlwind sweeps over Gaul, Germany, Greece, and Asia Minor. The Gauls follow—and Gaul overflows the world. It is the exuberant sap of life running out in every direction. The Gallo-Belgac have the warlike temperament and prolific power of the modern Belg of Belgium and of Ireland; but in their history the social powerlessness of the latter countries is already visible. Gaul is as weak to acquire as to organize. The natural and warlike society of clanships prevails over the elective and sacerdotal society of Druidism. Founded on the principles of a true or a fictitious relationship, the clan is the rudest of associations, its bond flesh and blood; clanship centres in a chief—a man.

"But there is need of a society in which man shall no longer devote himself to man, but to an idea; and, finally, to the idea of civil order. The Roman *agrimensores* will follow the legions to measure, survey, and lay out, according to the true cardinal points as prescribed by their antique rites, the colonies of Aix, of Narbonne, and of Lyons. The city enters into Gaul, Gaul enters into the city. The great Cæsar, after having disarmed Gaul by fifty battles, and the death of some millions of men, opens to it the ranks of the legions, and throwing down every barrier, introduces it into Rome, and the Senate. There our Gallo-Romans became orators, rhetoricians, jurists, and may be seen surpassing their masters, and teaching Latin to Rome herself. There they learn, in their turn, civil equality under a military chief—learn the lessons already taught them by their leveling genius. Fear not their ever forgetting it. However, Gaul will not know herself until the Greek spirit shall have aroused her. Antoninus the Pius, is from Nismes. Rome has said—the city. Stoic Greece says, through the Antonines—the city of the world. Christian Greece says, likewise,

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but better still, through Saints Pothinus and Irenæus, who, from Smyrna and Patmos, bear to Lyons the word of Christ; mystic word, word of love, which offers to worn-out man rest and sleep in God, as Christ himself, at his last supper, rested his head on the bosom of the disciple whom He loved. But in the Cymric genius, in our hard west, there is a feeling repugnant to mysticism, and which hardens itself against the mild and winning word, refusing to lose itself in the bosom of the moral God presented it by Christianity, just as it rejected the dominion of the God of Nature of the ancient religions. The Organ of this stubborn protest of the *I*, is Pelagius, heir to the Greek Origen.

"If these reasoners triumphed, they would found liberty before society was settled. Religion and the Church, which have to re-model the world, require more docile auxiliaries. The Germans are needed. Whatever miseries their invasion may inflict, they will soon aid the Church. From the second generation they are hers; at touch, and they are overcome, and will remain in their state of enchantment a thousand years. '*Bow the head, mild Scamber*,'—the stubborn Celt would not have bowed it. These barbarians, who seemed instruments for universal destruction, become, whether wittingly or not, the docile instruments of the Church, who will employ their young arms in forging the band of steel which is to unite modern society. The German hammer of Thor and Charles Martel will ring upon, subdue, and discipline, the rebellious genius of the West. Such has been the accumulation of races in our Gaul—race upon race, people upon people. Gauls, Cymri, Belg, from one quarter—Iberians from other quarters; again Greeks and Romans—the catalogue is closed by the Germans. This said, have we said—France? rather, all remains to be said—France has formed herself out of these elements, while any other union might have been the result. Oil and sugar consist of the same chemical elements. But the elements given, all is not given; there remains the mystery of a special and peculiar nature to be accounted for. And how much the more ought this fact to be insisted upon, when the question is of a living and active union, such as a nation; a union susceptible of internal development and self-modification. Now, this development, and these successive modifications, through which our country is undergoing constant change, are the subject matter of French history."

This extract may be used to prove his candor, as well as his literary merit. It is a summary of national changes, showing the origin of France. If we but make an effort to call up the mighty past, with its buried and almost forgotten nations—to trace the present national divisions and distinctions back to their original boundaries—we will see the difficulty as well as the importance of the task. This labor, however, has been accomplished by our author, with a distinctness which is very gratifying to the reader.

The Celtic race is traced from its origin down to the present, with the greatest degree of interest, and with a sympathy which will endear the author to every friend of that naturally noble, but unfortunate race—noble in their fidelity to religion and country—noble in struggling against superior force, rather than yield contrary to their convictions—noble in their sympathy for each other in their difficulties and distress, and in their bravery when defending their country. The last remnant of this race, multiplying in chains, like captive Israel, resists the exterminating influences and laws of their oppressors. Their country, more dear in her sorrow and gloom, still binds them with a potent spell to trials which others could not endure.

> "Her sons, like the young of the desert-bird's nest,
> Drink love in each life-drop that flows from her breast."

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In the language of our author, we, too, would again speak of the sympathy of the generous of every clime :—

"The other division, filled with inexhaustibleness of life, multiplies and increases, despite of everything: it will be known that I speak of Ireland. Ireland! poor elder child of the Celtic race, so far from France, her sister, who cannot stretch out her arm to protect her across the waves—the *isle of saints, the emerald of the sea*, all-fertile Ireland, whose men grow like grass, to the terror of England, in whose ear is daily shouted: 'They are another million!' Land of poets, of bold thinkers, of John Erigenes, of Berkley, of Toland; land of Moore, land of O'Connell; land of the brilliant speech and lightning sword, which, in the servility of the world, still preserves the power of poetry. The English may laugh when they hear in some obscure corner of their towns the Irish widow improvising the *coronach* over the corpse of her husband—*pleurer a l'Irlandaise*, (to weep Irish is with them a by-word of scorn.) Weep, poor Ireland! and may France weep as well, as she beholds at Paris, over the gate of the asylum which receives your sons, that harp which asks for succor. Let us weep our inability to give back the blood that they have shed for us. In vain, in less than two centuries, have four hundred thousand Irish fought in our armies. We must witness the sufferings of Ireland without uttering a word. In like manner, have we long neglected and forgotten our ancient allies, the Scotch—and the Scotch mountaineers will soon disappear from the face of the earth."

Nor is France alone in her debt of gratitude. We, too, may stop on the battle-fields of our country, and weep for the sons and brethren of Irish patriots, who died as brave men die—fighting for liberty. Rather let us not weep; but give them the fruits of those battles, and teach the ignorant how to appreciate them; while we ourselves learn from Burke and Castlereagh—from Barry, and Swift, and Goldsmith, and Moore.

Turning from these matters, so general and interesting, our author enters upon the History of France proper. The most notable character in the early periods of French history has never had a full and accurate biographer, and we regret that the poverty of materials prevents Michelet from supplying the deficiency. It may not be improper to consider the changes which preceded the labors of this remarkable man. Rome and Persia had already prepared the Armenian mountains and the valleys of Mesopotamia for the flood of fanaticism that was then overflowing the world. Greece had seen her third province torn from her; and the dissensions of Spain and the western territories were preparing for the reception of the same "implicit faith and ferocious energy." The battle of Testry completed the dissolution of the Franco-Roman monarchy. Aquitaine and Burgundy were thrown into the embrace of a foreign power, by the continued struggles between the petty nobles of Australia and Neustria. Their union under Theodorick was prevented by Pepin of Herstal; but his death seemed to increase the difficulties with which the country was surrounded. The infant king could do nothing after the death of his mighty nobleman; and Pleatrude, the infant's grandmother, was unable to stay the tide of destruction which the Frisons, Neustrians, and Saxons, bore over her German possessions. At this most critical period the prison doors were opened, and the accursed bastard of Pepin Herstal, the offspring of illicit commerce, sullied with the blood of a martyr, stepped upon the revolution-

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ary stage. Not like Napoleon, "a stranger by birth, and a scholar by charity;" but an accursed scion, odious to the Church—denied and despised by his father—receiving his earliest lessons, and developing his worst passions in a prison. Daylight dawned upon this son of gloom and darkness; and the shouts of a nation welcomed the despised and neglected bastard, whom the Church persecuted. Wonderful changes! but he was destined to work out still greater changes by his own right arm. Throwing himself between Hilpe-rik and Frisons, with a daring significant of his future success, he met his first and last defeat. Driven from the field, but not conquered, he made up the losses he had suffered by the experience he had gained, and turned his defeat to advantage, by retiring before the enemy until an opportunity offered for a night-attack, which would enable him to leave the forest of Ardennes the unconquerable hero of Amblef. Victorious over Hilpe-rik and Frisons, he turned to the forgotten son of Dagobert III., in the Abbey of Chelles, for a king, to place on a throne which he balanced on the point of his own sword. A king only in name; Martel was king in fact. The elements of discord were soon reduced to comparative rest. The Saxons were driven beyond the Weser—the Germans across the Danube—the Duke of Aquitaine, who had excited the province of Bavaria to revolt, was vanquished, and his army routed. But this was easy work compared with that which awaited him. He had scarcely expelled the invaders of the North, when he saw the flaming folds of a new banner, unfolded with a wilder and more warlike dissonance, on the summit of the Pyrenees. A modern Lucretia had been violated by King Roderick, and the Saracens were invited by her father, Julian, to revenge the injury. Terrible instruments for such an office; less anxious to revenge offences of that character than they were to exterminate the enemies of the Koran. Victorious apostles of a bloody creed, who had borne their triumphant standard from the Tigris to the Oxus—over the Sassarian dynasty and the province of Syria—along the coast of Africa, and on the banks of the Nile. Roderick was defeated, losing his kingdom and his life in his first and only battle. This opened the way for the Saracens, who were encouraged by success to pass the confines of Spain. At this period the military character of Martel commands our admiration, however reluctant it may be yielded. All his former expeditions were comparatively insignificant. An army was before him—flushed with victory—goaded on by fanaticism—as certain of success as they were strong in the faith of their bloody creed. The issue was one of vast importance. The interests of the world depended on the result; and who can tell how a different one would have effected its past, its present, and its future history. It is thus we see this man of low birth—disinherited by his father—cursed by the Church, whose property he afterwards confiscated, conducting a battle as important as that of Marathon, Chalons, Leipsic, and Waterloo. This great battle was fought near Poitiers, where, as the excited imaginations of the historians report, three hundred thousand Saracens were left dead on the field. Astonishing man—of iron frame, undaunted courage, and inflexible will! all thy victories are to be eclipsed—all thy greatness overshadowed by a mightier arm, and more comprehensive mind. Charlemagne, thy grandson, is destined to despise thy conquests and mock thy greatness.

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Our author's history of the "Republic of Rome," and the first volume of the History of France, should be read together, as they make a complete history of that period. In the second volume the History of France is brought down to the death of Louis XI., in the year 1483. But we must leave this interesting work, to notice others of equal interest, but of less importance.

"The People" is his own life, his own experience and observation; and may be read after his histories, as the concluding chapter, devoted to philosophical reflections and practical suggestions. It is the overflowing of a mind enriched by three thousand years of history, mingled with the effusions of a noble and generous heart, which has been quickened by trials and afflictions, and purified by friendship and love. We cannot read such passages as the following, without feeling a most lively sympathy for the poor and oppressed of the old world. The author is describing the country, and the situation of the people, in the district of Ardeche:

"Look at those parched rocks, those arid summits of the South; where, I ask you, would the land be without the man? The proprietor is then the property; which is the work of his untiring arm, which all day long hammers the flint to dust, and mingles a little soil with it. The land exists in the strong back of the vine-dresser, ever pushing up from the bottom of the hill his little plot, which is ever crumbling down. The land exists in the docility and patient ardor of the wife and child, who yoke themselves with their ass to the plough, . . . a painful sight, ... which nature herself compassionates. From rock to rock hangs the small vine. The chestnut, sober and hardy plant, striking root into the flint, seems to live on air, and, like its master, to thrive on fasting. Yes, man makes the land! a truth applicable even to the poorest countries. Never must we forget this, if we would comprehend how much, how passionately, he loves her. Let us remember that for whole ages, generation after generation has expended upon her the sweat of the living, the bones of the dead, their savings, their nourishment . . . . This land, on which man has so long expended man's better part—his sap and substance, his energy, his virtue—he feels to be a human land, and he loves her as if she were a living being. He loves her. To acquire her he consents to everything, even to seeing her no more; he emigrates; goes to a distance, if it must be, supported by his thought and recollection. What, think you, is that Savoyard errand-boy, who is sitting on your door-step, thinking of? Of the little field of rye; of the right of scanty pasture, which, on his return, he will buy on his mountain. It will take ten years! No matter! . . . The Alsatian will sell his life, and go to die in Africa, in order to have land in seven years' time. For a few feet of vineyard, the Burgundian woman takes her bosom from her own child's mouth, and puts a stranger's infant to it, weaning her own before its time. 'Thou may'st live, may'st die,' says the father; 'but if thou livest, my son, thou wilt have land!' Is not this a hard, almost an impious thing to say? . . Think well before you so pronounce it. 'Thou wilt have land;' that means, 'Thou wilt not be a hireling—taken to-day, discharged to-morrow; thou wilt not have to slave for thy daily bread, but thou wilt be free!' Free! great word, in which is comprised all human dignity: no virtue without liberty."

It was thus that the French peasant struggled up to their prosperity under Louis XII.; thus that they survived the policy of Mazarin and Emeri; and obtained a prouder position after the storm had swept over their country:—

"A family that rises from a state of servitude to that of proprietorship learns self-respect—is elevated in its own esteem. An entire change takes place; it reaps from its plot of ground a harvest of virtues. Are the sobriety of the father, the economy of the mother, the devoted labor of the son, the chastity

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of the daughter—are all these fruits of liberty, I ask you, maternal gods? Are they treasures that we too dearly paid for?"

This work is replete with judicious reflections, and generous and noble sentiments, and should be in the hands of every reader in our country. In the painful lessons of poverty and trial, of sacrifice and suffering which it contains, we may learn to appreciate our own individual and social privileges better, and to acknowledge our obligations more promptly.

The author's Life of Luther is composed of papers and letters, written by Luther himself; and is, therefore, more interesting than biographies usually are. The character of Luther—the great change which was effected by him and his associates, and the important services they rendered to mankind, make this work one of peculiar interest; but the manner in which the materials have been selected, arrayed and presented, contribute greatly to the work. This volume was necessary to perfect the historical chain which Michelet had commenced. The history of moral and intellectual improvements—of liberty—cannot be written without giving a partial biography of such men as Luther. But more than this; beyond the public acts of the man, or partizan, in the private and sacred recesses of life, there is much to instruct and benefit. In the struggles, doubts, temptations, consolations and triumphs of home, the man with his prejudices, passions, hopes, and affections, may be studied, with as much, perhaps more benefit than when he is in the public and more stirring scenes of life. It is thus that the character of Luther should be contemplated. Not only in his stronghold at Wurtzburg, or at Worms, braving the emperor and the empire, but at home, surrounded by his friends and children, sustaining them with his own unshaken firmness—captivating them with the loveliness of his new faith—inspiring them with loftier and holier emotions, and cheering them with the music of a grateful piety. The public tian may attract our attention by some noble daring—may win our confidence and affection by his patriotic virtues and self-sacrificing spirit, but he is not wholly himself; the passions and energies of others, mingling with his own, destroy his individuality. It is at home only that we see the man individually: there, in the every-day occurrences of life, subject to all the silent but potent influences of nature—the growth and decay of vegetation—the beauty and fragrance of flowers—the joys and sorrows, the smiles and tears of friends—the birth and death of children; it is there, and there only, that the pulsations of the heart can be correctly measured. In this position, as well as in his public career, Michelet's history enables us to study Luther. But we are compelled to leave the work for the present.

We have not over-estimated the character of these histories; but fear we have not been able to do them justice. They are most valuable contributions to the literature of the world; and are indispensable materials in the construction of that mighty historical edifice which is rising so rapidly under the literary energy of the present age. That the author has achieved an honorable place among the most reliable historians and most accomplished writers, cannot be doubted.

These works have been published by Messrs. Appleton & Co., in a neat style, and are well entitled to a place in their most excellent historical library.

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RAPHAEL.*

When it was first announced that Lamartine proposed to publish a work under the title of "Memoirs of my Youth," we felt a thrill of pleasure at the bare possibility of contemplating the workings of that wonderful mind in its youthful hours, before its warm, powerful imagination had been brought in violent contact with the cold heartlessness of an uncharitable world. We anticipated with delight the prospect, the emotions we should experience, in viewing the developments of his earlier days—in contemplating the "yearning spirit of the years to come," as it manifested itself in the trivial actions, the thoughts and feelings of his boyish manhood. There is something in the early history of the great, particularly when detailed by themselves—charms which never fail to please—a certain indefinable something, which carries the heart and feelings of the reader along with it.

Knowing, as we did, his powerful imagination, rich in its poetic fervor, glowing with its love for the beautiful in nature; and, what is still higher, yet warm and enthusiastic in his admiration of the beauties of liberty, we were anticipating for ourselves an intellectual repast of no ordinary quality. We were not blind to his faults. We knew him to be vain; we knew him to be very prodigal, and, at the same time, almost avaricious in the thirst for earthly riches. We knew him, too, as Lamartine the statesman. When, in that hurricane of popular commotion and excitement, which in February swept over France, scattering ruined and broken the fragments of a profligate and licentious royalty; when, in that grand spectacle of an outraged and down-trodden people, arising in their giant strength to claim their rights, the returned spirits of the old betrayers of liberty, inhabiting earthly tabernacles, sought again to raise themselves on the waves of a tempestuous and giddy popularity, by shouting for the guillotine and "drapeau rouge,"—then rose Lamartine, like the spirit of the storm-king riding triumphantly on the tempestuous deep, bidding the winds and waves of popular tumult to hush, and cease their murmuring;—then, by his impassioned eloquence, his simple arguments, did he breast and stay that onward march of death. It required no ordinary courage, no common bravery, to stand between that infuriated blood-seeking and blood-thirsty faction, and their intended victims, in that terrible day. But with the day and with the hour came also the man—and that man was Lamartine. Contemplating this, and remembering also, that, when a blood-thirsty clique gained the ascendancy, Lamartine gave up place and power, to enable Cavaignac to interpose the strong arm of force, and, even at the point of the bayonet, save France from becoming the prey of an infuriated faction, we must respect Lamartine as the patriot. Though obloquy and scorn be now his portion, history, with its pen of truth, may confer that name of justice which his countrymen, if not the world,

* Raphael: or, Pages of the Book of Life at Twenty. By Alphonso De Lamartine. Harper Brothers.

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may deny him. Viewing Lamartine as the historian and the poet, we may honor and respect him as a man, and a man of genius. We see him in his History of the Girondists meteing out censure to vice and wickedness, even in the highest places. We see him in the face of a restored monarchy, portraying in glowing colors the virtues of the republicans, the correctness of their professed principles, and at the same time visiting, with burning, scathing denunciations, the men and the motives of those who participated in creating and continuing that sanguinary deluge, which at that time caused Paris to be watered by the blood of her citizens. He clothed the history of those men and those times with such a poetic fervor of expression, that one cannot read the book without feeling oneself standing in the midst of those stirring scenes of which he is reading. We know there are some, many, perhaps, who object to anything more than a mere matter of fact in a history; but we are among another class, who have no objections to the decorations in which it is clothed, so that the facts be genuine. We cannot perceive whereby any virtue departs from a Damascus blade, because it is polished, and placed within a golden scabbard.

We see him as the poet, pouring out to the world from the shrine of his own heart, in gushing beauty, the creations of his own fervent imagination—some with an air of mingled melancholy and sweetness, and others with the deep, passionate strains of love—all alike beautiful—for their beauty of expression, depth of feeling, and originality of ideas. Looking at Lamartine with these feelings—viewing him in the triple character of patriot, poet, and philosopher, and admiring him in each, what wonder is it, that from one so gifted much should be expected?

With this much of introduction we come to the work itself, and what do we find?—The story part of the book has, as usual, a hero and heroine. The hero passes under the name of Raphael, because "he much resembled a youthful portrait of Raphael, which may be seen in the Barberini Gallery, at Rome." He is about twenty years of age when the book opens, at which age he has become misanthropic—duodecimo Byronic. He rolls over his collar, gazes at the stars with an abstracted look, and finally "hides his light beneath a bushel," by burying himself, genius and all, in the town of Aix, in Savoy—all because the world, at his advent into it, did not bow down itself in profound adoration to his genius. At Aix "he finds a young stranger, a lady, who had remained at the baths, in a weak and languid state of health, which it was feared would degenerate into consumption." Their windows being opposite, and both being star-gazers, they soon commence a regular system of billing and cooing, which in a few days ripens into an accidental meeting, at which time he "bows respectfully, and with a deferential air." Again and again he meets her, and every time she passes before his eyes, the deeper and stronger grows his love. He ascertains that she is married to an "old man who had adopted her, to bequeath to her his name and fortune." In one of the latter days of October, they both, while sailing upon the lake in different boats, are overtaken by a storm; and, as a matter of course, she is shipwrecked, and almost drowned, when our hero rushes up just in time to save her life. She is senseless for a long time, but finally, by his assiduous attentions, is restored to sudden consciousness, and both find themselves irretrievably entangled in the meshes of love. A burning, ardent, un-

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quenchable passion has taken possession of them; not, however, an earthly, sensual passion—far from it; it is spiritual entirely; purely a Platonic love, though generated by a similar concatenation of catastrophies, which usually stand as sponsors for earthly, first-sight loves, with the most approved novel-writers. During one of their Platonic communings she relates to him her previous history.

She proved to be a beautiful Creole, "born in the same land as Virginia," by the name of Julia D * * * *. Her family was broken up, owing to an insurrection on the island, (Mauritius, an isle in the south of France,) in leaving which they were shipwrecked, and thrown on the coast of France. Soon after she was left an orphan, and placed in one of the government schools, where she was educated. An old man of great celebrity visited the school occasionally in the name of the Emperor; he noticed her—was struck with her beauty and talents, and prevails upon her to consent "to accept, in the eyes of the world, and for the world only, the name, the hand, and the affection of an old man, who would be a father under the name of a husband; and who, as such, would merely seek the right of receiving her into his house, and loving her as his child." Their relations as man and wife to be purely and solely Platonic—his a father's, her's a daughter's love. This hoary-headed husband and his venerable associates showered down upon her their own bleak and wintry snows, which caused her youthful joyousness to pine away into melancholy. Her health rapidly declines, until she becomes a confirmed invalid, hastening gravewards. The medical skill, and all the remedies Paris could afford, having been ineffectually tried and exhausted, as a last resource she is sent to try the healing virtues of the springs at Aix. After finishing this detail of her life, Raphael tells her his previous history; and both, deeply in love though they be, vehemently exclaimed—Brother! Sister!

This love becomes their life, their thoughts, their words, their actions, and these constitute the theme of the book. Their thoughts, their communings, their sleepless nights, are all detailed with impassioned eloquence. Their lives and loves become so intertwined with each other, that at the prospect of separation they resolve to die together. For this purpose they go out in a boat on the water, resolving to slide beneath the wave in one embrace. They tied themselves together in a winding-sheet of fishermen's ropes, which are in the boat; they say their last earthly prayers; when, in his own words, "at the very instant I was taking the spring which would forever have buried us in the waves," they think better of it, and conclude to live. They return to the hotel, where she receives from the post a summons to Paris, to join her fatherly husband. The usual heart-rending separation, which ensues between lovers whom the fates sunder, takes place before she starts. He resolves to watch over her on her journey, and, being very poor, pawns his jewels, procures a caleche, and follows the carriage, as an invisible guardian of its inmate, to Paris. He watches over her until he saw her alight at her own residence, and then consoled himself by walking up and down in front of the house where she resided all night. The next day he returned home, and administered balm to his stricken heart, by sending her a daily journal of his thoughts and feelings—what the new-light philosophers would call a transcript of his inner life, which she duly reciprocated. They continue this correspondence for some two months,

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when longer absence from her being insupportable, he prevails upon his mother to yield up a diamond ring, an heir-loom, which he sold, and with the proceeds returned to Paris. The first rapturous meeting of the lovers being over, he is presented to the possessor of his soul's idol, who enters somewhat into his feelings, and is received as a son. He is with her almost constantly, for several months, in the enjoyment of their Platonic love and sweet communion of souls. In the midst of all this enjoyment she gradually but rapidly fails, and at length dies, leaving our hero in utter desolation. He is found the morning after her death wandering among precipices in the mists of the Rhine, and is carried to his father's house, there to mourn silently, his communings following her to the spirit-world.

We are free to confess we were disappointed—very much disappointed—in perusing this book. We had expected more than we obtained. Not that there are not beauties in the book, for there are many, particularly if it is viewed in its true character, *i. e.*, as a prose poem; but even the veriest dribbler, the feeblest, shallowest poetaster who ever tagged one line to another, is not secure against the possibility of uttering some graceful thoughts, some beautiful ideas. From Lamartine we had expected "a string of pearls bound by a silken cord;" not here and there a pearl, its chaste beauty almost obscured by the sickening treacle with which it is surrounded. The hero has not the first quality of a *man* about him, much less those of a hero. He neither hopes, nor struggles, nor grapples with life. He takes the last jewel from an impoverished mother to obtain wherewith to feed his love. He displays no heroism of any kind, but keeps up one prolonged whine of maudlin sentimentalism. Our heroine is not much better. Take them together, and they make a complete Rousseau and Madame De Warens, *and water*. Those who have yet to learn that the boarding-school sentimentality of Misses in pantaletts, who worship at the shrine of the boy-god, is *not* the sum and substance of human existence, will gloat and revel over the pages of this book. To another class—those who stand in relations similar to those of our hero and heroine—those in love, who see no happiness in the present, no joyous anticipations in the future that are not to be derived from each other—those who let the sea of passion, in which their own souls are floating, swallow up the world of reality in which they are placed, to act and to do—such as these will weep and exult over its pages of passion, clinging the closer to their own delusion, which they here see typified; but for living, acting, sensible men or women, the only attraction of the book will be found in a small compass, comprised in some of the episodes, and some beautiful—surpassingly beautiful—descriptions of scenery. It may be said that we are not competent judges, and therefore ought not to judge, by English or American rules, a work calculated for the French market, unless we can transform our feelings into those of a Frenchman's. Different nations have their different standards of beauty, and why not different standards of literature? The Assyrian Venus, Hera, according to Layard, was round-shouldered.

In Africa, thick lips, woolly hair, ebony complexion, elongated heels, and odoriferous natural perfume, and various others, to us unpleasant qualities, are positively requisite to fill the measure for their standard of beauty. The argument, good in itself, operates only in

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relation to the ideal; it has no force when applied to the real. The human passions, and love particularly, neither owe nor yield allegiance to the conventionalities of life, to be formed or smothered at pleasure. We are no cynic; we are no skeptic; we believe in love paternal and love fraternal; we believe, too, in a pure, devoted, ardent love, which will brave dangers and withstand trials; a love which purifies and refines; a love which displays itself in acts, not words alone; and which yields a pure, burning, acceptable incense to the throne of infinite love. Such love must be founded on the basis of respect, and nourished by the knowledge of virtues. It is this dish-water sentimentality, this trashy, dribbling effervescence, which flows from the morbid brains of love-sick novel heroes—this

> "Lip to lip and eye to eye,
> Hand in hand we live, we die,
> No more thou and no more I,
> We, and only *we*—"

this dream, through fancied reality of love-sick swains, which is nourished and fed by much of what is called the light literature of the day, but which diseases and degrades the imagination, and is a living libel on the holy passion, the name of which it purloins. This it is which we would protest against, and which we believe Lamartine's Raphael ministers to. The lesson which Lamartine would have us draw is, perhaps, the reverse; the lesson which is the easiest to draw, and which will be drawn, is the one which we deprecate. We would lend a helping, though feeble hand, and bid God speed to those who would throw the foulest odium on such miserable, rickety starvelings of literature, which tend directly to minister to this prurient passion, which some call love. The most biting powers of sarcasm and ridicule could not be better employed, than to assist to drive away these literary Egyptian locusts who swarm throughout the country, leaving their effects upon every *green* thing. We cannot commend the moral tendency of the book: on the contrary, we most decidedly reprobate it. It is bad, very bad;—its hero a Christian—it heroine a worshipper at the shrine of Voltaire, and imbued with the principles of kindred philosophers. The characters in the book are pure, we grant; but the influence of their teachings and example would overthrow virtue and religion, sap the foundations of well-organized society, and ring the funeral knell of all we love and cherish in our domestic relations. We deprecate its influence far more than such works as Rousseau's and Mad. Sands'; with them the bane and the antidote, to a certain extent, go together. Immorality and licentiousness may be the teachings and tendencies of their books; but with them the characters in the books themselves are licentious and immoral. We see the effect of the principles advanced developed in the characters personified. On the breakers they place the shipwrecked vessel, to serve as a perpetual light-house, and we have no fear of others being wrecked thereon. With Raphael it is different. From characters, pure almost as seraphs round the throne of heaven, emanate these pernicious principles. Human passions are tried beyond the power of humanity to withstand, and yet they come unscathed from the fiery ordeal. The breakers are placed with the ship as having in safety ridden over them—breakers

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such as no human barque ever has or ever can ride over in safety. Having expressed thus briefly our views of the work in question, we will now proceed to give a few extracts from the book itself.

One of the most beautiful of the episodes, and which we give as a sample of several in the book, is found in page twenty-nine of Harper's edition:—

"There was now more sunshine, music, and perfume—more holy psalmody of the winds and waters, of birds, and sonorous echoes of the lakes and forests, beneath the crumbling pillars, dismantled nave, and shattered roof of the empty Abbey, than there had been holy tapers, fumes of incense, and monotonous chants, in the ceremonies and processions that filled it night and day. Nature is the high priest, the noblest decorator, the holiest poet, and most inspired musician of God. The young swallows in their nest below the broken cornice, greeting their mother with their cheerful chirping; the sighing of the breeze, which seems to bear to the unpeopled cloisters the sound of flapping sails; the lament of the waves, and the dying notes of the fisherman's song; the balmy emanations which now and then are wafted through the nave; the flowers which shed their leaves upon the tombs; the waving of the green drapery which clothes the walls; the sonorous and reverberated echoes of the stranger steps upon the vaults where sleep the dead, are all as full of piety, holy thoughts, and unbounded aspirations, as was the monastery in its days of sacred splendor. Man is no longer there, with all his miserable passions contracted by the narrow pale in which they were confined, but not extinguished; but God is there, never so plainly seen as in the works of nature; God, whose unshadowed splendor seems to re-enter once more these intellectual graves, whose vaulted roofs no longer intercept the glorious sunshine and the light of heaven."

The following description of Raphael in the Prologue, on page 6, is uncommonly delicately, nay, exquisitely drawn:—

"Every one knows the youthful portrait of Raphael to which I have alluded. It represents a youth of sixteen, whose face is somewhat paled by the rays of a Roman sun, but on whose cheek still blooms the soft down of childhood. A glancing ray of light seems to play on the velvet of the cheek. He leans his elbow on a table; the arm is bent upward to support the head, which rests on the palm of the hand, and the admirably modeled fingers are lightly imprinted on the cheek and chin; the delicate mouth is thoughtful and melancholy; the nose is slender at its rise, and slightly tinged with blue, as though the azure veins shone through the fair transparency of the skin; the eyes are of that dark, heavenly hue, which the Appenine wears at the approach of dawn; they gaze earnestly forward, but are slightly raised to heaven, as though they ever looked higher than nature; a liquid lustre illuminates their inmost depths, like rays dissolved in dew or tears. On the scarcely arched brow, beneath the delicate skin, we trace the muscles, those responsive chords of the instrument of thought; the temples seem to throb with reflection; the ear appears to listen; the dark hair, unskilfully cut by a sister, or some young companion of the studio, casts a shadow upon the hand and cheek, and a small cap of black velvet, placed on the crown of the head, shades the brow. One cannot pass before this portrait without musing sadly, one knows not why. It represents the reverie of youthful genius pausing on the threshold of its destiny. What will be the fate of that soul standing at the portal of life?"

His peculiar sensations when he first finds himself in love is a rhapsody of uncommon beauty—page 32:—

"This conviction gave to my love all the security of immutability, the calm of certainty, the overflowing extacy of joy, that would never be im-

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paired. I took no note of time, knowing that I had before me hours without end, and that each in succession would give me back her inward presence. I might be separated from her during a century, without reducing by one day the eternity of my love. I went, and came; sat down, and got up again. I ran, then stopped, and walked on without feeling the ground beneath my feet, like those phantoms which glide upon earth, upheld by their impalpable etherial nature. I extended my arms to grasp the air, the light, the lake; I would have clasped all Nature in one vast embrace, in thankfulness that she had become incarnate, for me, in a being that united all her charms and splendor, power, and delight. I knelt on the stones and briars of the ruins without feeling them, and on the brink of precipices without perceiving them! I uttered inarticulate words, which were lost in the sound of the noisy waters of the lake. I strove to pierce the vaults of heaven, and to carry my song of gratitude and my extacy of joy, into the very presence of God! I was no longer a man—I was a living hymn of praise, prayer, adoration, worship, of overflowing, speechless thankfulness. I felt an intoxication of the heart, a madness of the soul; my body had lost the consciousness of its materiality, and I no longer believed in time, or space, or death. The new life of love which had gushed forth in my heart, gave me the consciousness, the anticipated enjoyment of the fullness of immortality."

Almost the only discussion which they have apart from the, to them, all-absorbing theme of love, is in prayer, in which she, having been brought up in the society of philosophers and free-thinkers, argues thus—page 56:—

"'Oh!' she answered, hastily, 'do not interpret as folly the wisdom of those men who have uplifted for me the veil of philosophy, and have caused the broad day of reason and of science to shine before my eyes, instead of the pale and glimmering lamp with which superstition lights the voluntary darkness that she wilfully casts around her childish divinity. It is in the God of your mother and my nurse that I no longer believe, and not the God of Nature and of Science. I believe in a Being who is the Principle and Cause, spring and end of all other beings; or rather, who is himself the eternity, form and law of all those beings, visible or invisible, intelligent or unintelligent, animate or inanimate, quick or dead, of which is composed the only real name of this Being of beings, the Infinite! But the idea of the incommensurable greatness, the sovereign fatality, the inflexible and absolute necessity of all the acts of this Being, whom you call God and we term Law, excludes from our thoughts all precise intelligibility, exact denomination, reasonable imagining, personal manifestation, revelation, or incarnation, and the idea of any possible relation between that Being and ourselves, even of homage and of prayer. Wherefore should the Consequence pray to the Cause?'"

For the benefit of the uninitiated we transcribe the following, to illustrate the manner in which Platonic lovers act and pass the time while enjoying one another's society—page 111:—

"Sometimes there would be interrogations and answers, as to our most fugitive shades of thought and nature; dialogues in almost unheard whispers; articulate sighs, rather than audible words; blushing confessions of our most secret inward repinings; joyful exclamations of surprise, at discovering in us both the same impressions reflected from one another, as light in reverberation, the blow in the counterblow, the form in the image. We would exclaim, rising by a simultaneous impulse—we are not two! we are one single being under two illusive natures—which will say you unto the other? which will say I? There is not *I*—there is not *you*—but *we*. . . . . We would then sink down, overcome with admiration at this wonderful conformity, weeping with delight at this two-fold existence, and as having doubled our lives by consecrating them to each other."

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JOHN HILL, alias NIXON CURRY;

OR, THE VICTIM OF CIRCUMSTANCES.

A TRUE SKETCH OF LIFE IN ARKANSAS.

"Among the truest friends of the people, of all in the present Convention, may be named John Hill, of St. Francis. His energy, eloquence, and courage, fully entitle him to the proud place he holds, and, as we trust, will long retain—that of leader of the Arkansas Democracy."—*Little Rock Gazette, in the days of the Convention.*

Bloody Affray.—"A desperate rencontre occurred last week in St. Francis. Two distinguished citizens were killed, and three others dangerously wounded. The difficulty resulted from an attempt to arrest John Hill, a member of the last legislature, and formerly of the State Convention, who, as it is alleged, is the notorious robber, Nixon Curry, that committed such atrocities fifteen years ago in the Mountains of Carolina."—*Little Rock Gazette of May*, 1840.

We have given the previous extracts from the oldest and most respectable journal of Arkansas, in order to satisfy every reader, that the following narrative, extraordinary as some of its incidents may appear, is no tissue of fiction. Indeed, while relating genuine events, and painting true scenes, we have been especially careful to avoid all vivid colors. Should this short sketch, by any chance, reach the forests of Askansas, the people there will deem its descriptions tame in comparison with the deeds of the man. The writer, who has resided long on the frontier, has no use for fancy in portraying its exciting life. Simple memory will serve him very well.

About fifty years ago there lived in Iredell county, North Carolina, a Presbyterian preacher, by the name of Curry. He was a man in easy circumstances, of irreproachable character, and having a large family of promising sons and daughters. Among these, the favorite was Nixon, distinguished when a boy for his fearless courage and the tenderness of his heart alike. He seems, from several anecdotes of his early days, to have been a child of impulse and intense earnestness and passion. When only six years of age, he had a combat at school with a bully of the play-ground, nearly twice his own weight, and after suffering dreadfully, at last achieved victory, due almost entirely to the sheer power of his endurance.

From the time he was six years old, that is to say, from the first session he attended in the country school-house, had Nixon Curry been in love. His idol was a little girl of the same age, and under the tuition of the same master. The attachment appears to have been mutual from the commencement. They stood up in one class, and always managed to stand together. During the hours of recess, when the other *juveniles* were amusing themselves with boisterous sports, the precocious lovers would wander amidst leafy groves, or by the mossy margins of silver rills. For ever, to eternity, and whenever, the soft spell of first love

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comes, it brings with it the bright spirit of poetry, scattering thick-starred dreams and divine visions of beauty over all things. Even then they exchanged pledges, and discoursed in sweet sinless whispers of their future bridal.

And thus they grew up into one delicious identity of fancy and of feeling. Their bias for each other's society, while children, caused no particular remark. Such attachments are common between the youth of opposite sexes in the country, and, as usual, terminate abruptly, on arrival at mature years. Far different, however, was the case with Nixon Curry and Lucy Gordon. Their passion become so evident at fifteen, that all further intercourse was forbidden by her parents—among the wealthiest aristocracy of Carolina. Then followed stolen meetings by star-light, firmer vows and wilder love, which always increases in proportion to its crosses, and, like the tree of Lebanon, sends down its deepest roots into the heart, the more it is shaken by storms.

Finally, at seventeen, when Lucy's relatives were endeavoring to force her into the arms of another, she fled with the lover of her childhood. They were pursued—overtaken; and Nixon Curry shot his rival and one of the proud Gordons dead on the spot, and then escaped with his bride, although hotly chased by more men, and found an asylum in the Alleghany Mountains, near the sources of the Catawba. Here, under the plea of necessity, he embraced the profession of a robber, and rendered his name famous by the number and astonishing boldness of his exploits. We may record it, not as a matter of merit, perhaps, but for the sake of historical truth—that the youthful bandit never was known to perpetrate any deed of murder for the purpose of plunder, though he did several to avoid arrest. At length the rumor of his daring felonies ceased suddenly, and, notwithstanding a reward of five thousand dollars was offered for his apprehension by the governor of the state, he was heard of no more in North Carolina.

At the first settlement of the fertile delta, bordering on the St. Francis, there came an emigrant, who called himself John Hill, and who soon succeeded in acquiring universal popularity. Although of moderate means, he was sober, industrious, generous and hospitable; and such continued to be his character, in the new country of his adoption, for twelve successive years. During all that long period he never had a personal difficulty or quarrel with any human being; and yet every body was satisfied, that such a peaceful life—singular for that latitude, was not owing to a want of courage, or deficiency in power to perform good service, in any sort of battle-field; for of all bear-hunters that ever pierced the jungles of cane in "the great swamp," or descended by torch-light into the dark caves of the Ozark Mountains, he was celebrated as the most fearless.

He was repeatedly elected to the Territorial Legislature, where he distinguished himself by a strong, impassioned eloquence, as a chief leader in the Democratic ranks. He was next, as we have already seen, a member of the convention that formed the state constitution; and was elected again the ensuing year to represent his county in the Senate of Arkansas.

At this period commenced his second series of misfortunes. Hill's nearest neighbors were the Strongs,—four brothers of considerable wealth,

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more ambition, and, if we may borrow the phrase of the country, "famous fighters." Notwithstanding their character was so dissimilar from that of the pacific "bear-hunter," a close and cordial intimacy grew up between them; and Hill, in an unguarded moment, made the eldest brother, George, a confident as to the secrets of his previous history. It happened that this same George conceived a violent desire for political distinction, and requested Hill to resign his seat in the Senate in the illiberal friend's favor. Hill refused, and the Strongs conspired for a terrible revenge. Writing back to Carolina, they procured a copy of the reward offered for the arrest of Nixon Curry, the far-famed robber; and then collecting a party of a dozen desperate men, they attempted to capture Hill in his own house. The latter had always gone armed, with his enormous double-barreled shot-gun, two long rifle-pistols, and a knife so heavy, that few other hands besides his own could wield it. The assault of the Strongs proved horrible to themselves. Hill killed two of the brothers, and dangerously wounded five of their friends, escaping himself unhurt, although more than twenty rounds of ball and buck-shot were aimed at his breast.

The excitement resulting from the affair was boundless. A requisition came on from the executive of Carolina, demanding the surrender of Nixon Curry. The governor of Arkansas published an additional reward for the arrest of John Hill; and thus betwixt the two fires, the victim's chance seemed perfectly hopeless.

Hill's conduct in the crisis was prompt and fearless as ever. Packing up hastily, he set out with his wife and children, in a common moving wagon, for Upper Arkansas, where he knew of a band of desperadoes that he believed would protect him. He was overhauled at Conway Court-House by two hundred men in pursuit, all thoroughly armed, and some of them renowned "fighters." Hill saw their approach on the distant prairie, and with his dreadful double-barrel—that sure death-dealer to either man or beast, within the range of two hundred yards—instantly marched to meet his foes. This incredible bravery, joined to the fear before inspired by his desperation, affected the advancing troops with such an unaccountable panic, that the whole two hundred sought safety in a disgracefully rapid flight.

Several other attempts were made to capture the dangerous outlaw, all alike ending either in ludicrous or bloody failures. In the meantime Hill's character and conduct underwent a complete change. Forced to be always on the look-out, and, therefore, unable to follow any steady business in order to support his family, he resorted to the gaming-table. He learned also to indulge in the fiery stimulus of ardent drink, and his disposition, necessarily soured by recent events, became quarrelsome in the extreme. Perhaps there never was a man, excepting only that Napoleon of duellists, James Bowie, who was so heartily dreaded. I have myself seen persons of undoubted courage turn pale merely at the appearance of Hill's gigantic form, broadly belted and bristling with pistols. He was waylaid and shot at a number of times, yet still escaped without a scar. But this could be considered no wonder; for even brave men's hands shook when they saw him, and shaking hands generally make very poor shots.

During the September term, 1843, of the Circuit Court for Pope county, in which Hill resided, he got out of bed one morning uncommonly gloomy, and, while at the breakfast table, suddenly burst into tears.

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"What is the matter, my dear?" asked Lucy—that beautiful Lucy, who had formerly left her wealthy home in Carolina for the robber and robber's cave.

"I have had a dreadful dream," answered the husband, shuddering at the recollection; "I saw George Strong in my sleep, and he kissed me with his pale lips, that burned like fire, and smelled of sulphur. I am sure I shall die before sunset."

"Then do not go to court, to-day," said the wife, in accents of earnest entreaty.

"But I will," replied the husband firmly. "When a man's time is come, he cannot hide from death; beside, it would be the act of a coward to do so, if one possess the power." Then addressing his son, a fine intelligent boy of thirteen, he continued, "Bill, you see my gun!" pointing his finger as he spoke to the great double-barrel hanging on buck-horns over the door; "practice with that every morning, and the day you are sixteen, shoot the loads of both barrels into the man who will this day kill your father."

"Yonder comes Mose Howard; he will protect you, Pa," remarked Mary, Hill's eldest daughter, a lovely girl of fifteen, who was to be married the next day to the youth then approaching.

Hill and Howard departed; Lucy with tears, and Mary blushing, both calling out as they left the gate, "Take good care of him, Mose, and be sure and bring him back to night."

"Never fear," answered the youth, with a laugh; "Hill will never die till I kill him."

"Then he will live forever," retorted Mary, laughing also.

As soon as the friends reached the village, Hill began to drink deeply, and manifested more than ordinary anxiety for a combat, insulting every body that crossed his path; and all the youth's entreaties failed to pacify him. At last, the desperado swore that he would clear the court-house; and immediately entering, with a furious countenance, and a threat as to his purpose,—judge, lawyers, jury and spectators made a general rush for the door. One old drunken man alone did not run as fast as Hill wished, and he sprang on the imbecile wretch, and commenced beating him unmercifully.

Howard then caught hold of his future father-in-law, (alas! who was never to be!) and attempted to pull him away.

With eyes red, and glaring like a mad dog, Hill instantly turned upon his friend, and with a single blow of his fist felled him to the floor; then following up the violent act, he leaped on the youth, and began a most ferocious battery. In vain Howard endeavored to escape, crying out in tones of beseeching horror, "For God's sake, cease! Hill, don't you know me?—Your friend Mose! Remember Mary!" Hill's anger only increased, till finally, he threw his hand to his belt, and clutched a pistol. And then Howard's blood also boiled, and he resolved to fight for his life. He was of as powerful a frame as the other,—the only person in all Arkansas to be compared with the desperado in physical strength.

Howard grasped the barrel of the pistol as Hill cocked it, and the weapon exploded in their hands without injury. Once more they clenched, and the most dreadful struggle ensued ever witnessed in the west. The advantage shifted from one side to the other for the space of five minutes, till both were bathed in streams of their own blood. Even

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the by-standers, looking on through the windows of the log court-house, were struck with wonder and awe. At length, while writhing and twisting like two raging serpents, the handle of Hill's huge bowie knife, unthought of previously, protruded from beneath his hunting-shirt. Both saw it at the same time, and both attempted to grasp it. Howard succeeded; quick as lightning he drew the keen blade from its scabbard, and sheathed it up to the hilt in the bosom of his friend and his Mary's father.

"The dream is fulfilled," exclaimed Hill, with a smile of strange sweetness, that remained on his features even after he was a corpse. He then sank down, and expired without a groan.

Howard gazed on him there as he lay, with that singular smile on his face, and his glazed eyes open. And then, awaking with a start, as if from some horrible vision of the night, the poor, unhappy youth, fell headlong on the body of his friend, crying in tones that melted many a hardened spectator into tears, "Great God! what have I done?" He kissed the clammy lips of the dead; wet his cheeks with a rain of unavailing sorrow; essayed to staunch the bloody wound with his handkerchief; and then, apparently satisfied that all was over, sprang upon his feet, with a shout, or more properly a scream,—"Farewell, Mary, your father is gone, and I am going with him;" and turning the point of the gory knife towards his own breast, would have plunged it into his heart, had he not been prevented by the by-standers, who had now crowded into the room.

The same evening Mose Howard disappeared, and was heard of no more for nearly two years, when a horse-trader brought back word that he had seen him in San Antonio, Texas.

When the shocking news reached Hill's family, the beautiful Mary burst into a wild laugh. She is now in the Asylum for the Insane, at New-Orleans.

Had we been inditing a tale of romance, we would have paused with a preceding page; but literal truth compels us to record another fact equally characteristic, both as to the chief actors and the backwoods theatre of the main tragedy.

It will be remembered, that the fallen desperado had enjoined it on his son to slay the slayer of his father on the day he should arrive at sixteen. Without any such charge, vengeance would have been considered by that boy as a sacred duty; for on the frontiers, the widows of the slain teach vengeance to their children, and occasionally execute it themselves!

Accordingly, Bill Hill practised with his father's gun every day for two successive years, and this even before he had any rumor as to the place of Howard's refuge. He then learned that his foe was in Texas, and two months before he was sixteen set out to hunt him up.

At the end of four months Bill Hill came back, and hanging up the double-barrels in their old buck-horn rack, answered his mother's enquiring look,—"Mother, Mose is dead; I let him have both loads. Though I cried before I *done* it, and afterwards, too; he looked so miserable, pale, and bony as a skeleton."

"Poor Mose!" said the mother, weeping; "but it could not be helped. The son of such a brave man as Nixon Curry must never be called a coward, and besides it was your father's order."

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EDUCATION.

The subject of Education, in all its bearings and ramifications, is as interesting and important as it is extensive. In every age it has had its friends and advocates, as well as its enemies and opposers—the latter slowly but perceptibly diminishing as civilization has advanced; until at length in these times, few persons of common intelligence and reflection can be found in our country, who do not advise universal education of some particular kind, and under some general and well-organized system. So much has been well said and better written by eminent and excellent individuals on the subject, that it seems unnecessary to say more, and a work of supererrogation to attempt to add even a mite to the previous stock of knowledge. But, though this be perfectly true, and the information is in existence, still, circumstances frequently arise when a precise kind is wanted, and not being at hand, it becomes desirable to have it prepared anew, and presented to our perusal in periodical publications, lest we neglect the occasion which demands its reiteration, and so hinder the onward course of education, and the social, moral and mental elevation of the great human family.

We perceive by the newspapers that one of these exigences will shortly occur, in the form of a national convention, for the discussion of matters appertaining to and connected with our common school organizations, which is to be held in the city of Philadelphia on the 22d of August inst.; and it is in view of this meeting, and with the impression that the question of introducing religious instruction into the schools, and amalgamating it with the general routine of education, will be discussed, that we venture to offer some remarks and reasonings. Whilst we claim to speak and write what we consider truth in the candid examination of any question relative to the public welfare, in a respectful manner, and in the spirit of kindness and free inquiry, we most cheerfully grant the same right to any and all others, whether they agree or disagree with our sentiments and opinions. And we would distinctly state, in the outset, that we belong to the Protestant Episcopal Church, and that any remarks which we may make respecting clergymen and religion in the course of this article, are intended solely to illustrate our opinions and the positions taken, and not out of the least disrespect to any portion of the clerical community, or to any religious denomination.

In the performance of this self-imposed duty, it will not be requisite for us to prove, by lengthened arguments and statistical evidence, that education improves and expands the moral and intellectual faculties of mankind, or that it promotes virtue and lessens vice. The criminal calendars of this republic and the nations of Europe, sufficiently demonstrate that a very large majority of all criminals consist of such portions of society as are very partially and totally uneducated, and exhibit thereby the evils of ignorance and the good of enlightenment. True, we ought not to place all the blame of the poverty, depravity, and crime, which we find recorded in the criminal annals of any country, and daily witness, to the account of ignorance alone; for no inconsiderable portion of it may be clearly

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traced to the despotism of self-interest—to unjustifiable avarice and ambition on the part of kings and governments, who enact unequal and wicked laws, in order to enrich themselves by pauperizing and degrading the hard working, low-living millions of their fellow-mortals. Still, we perceive enough, by palpable and direct evidence, to convince us of the bad effects of ignorance and the advantages of education, to stimulate the middle and upper sections of, and indeed all, our people, to promote its extension and effectiveness to the utmost of their power. Yet, for all this, there are some persons, even in the United States of America, and in the year eighteen hundred and forty-nine, who object to the scholastic instruction of the masses; but upon inquiring into, and reasoning upon, their arguments for so doing, we invariably find them of a selfish, narrow-minded character, unworthy of themselves, their country, and the times in which we live. This class of citizens are, fortunately, however, comparatively a small proportion of our aggregate population. And we hope they are annually decreasing in numbers and influence; for they are analogous in their views and feelings to the overbearing and tyrannical sovereigns and aristocracies of Europe.

Such of us who can look back and call to mind the nature of a common education, the plans of teaching, and the very inferior qualifications of schoolmasters and mistresses forty years ago, will remember with somewhat of shame and regret the inefficiency of the schools of those days; and we see cause for joy, and congratulations, and hope, on contemplating the vast progress which has been made, the improvements to be made, and the advantages thus secured to the present and succeeding generations. For us, who live under republican institutions, this is a most cheering circumstance, for it is acknowledged on every hand by the enlightened and reflecting, that true republican government cannot be of long continuance, or happy and blessed in its results, unless the bulk of the people are well and rightly educated, and are also virtuously independent. The people of a republic, in order to insure its permanency, must not only know wherein true and equitable government consists, and have the determination to act honestly and independently in the performance of their political duties, but they should also be socially in such comfortable circumstances as will place them above the fear of scant and want, and the temptations of corrupt and vicious leaders. The ever to be respected and commended fathers of our republic saw this and felt its importance, and in consequence used such means as were within their power for the mental improvement of the people. Our immediate predecessors imitated their example with praiseworthy zeal and wonderful success; and we are wisely following in their steps, as is distinctly indicated by the rapid spread of our public school system, and the desire evinced for its improvement and well-being by the notification of the approaching convention.

But if we look with attention at the histories of monarchical nations, we readily perceive that it is by quite an opposite policy that they have been governed, and that the millions of oppressed humanity have been kept in ignorance, subjection, and degradation, by the superior knowledge and tact of a few. Russia, and almost all the kingdoms of the old world, even at this very period, amply corroborate the truth of this statement. And we know from our daily observation, and the experience of past times, how apt individuals of extra knowledge and intelligence, especially when held in association with wealth, are to become vain, presumptuous

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and arbitrary. They appear to forget that in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, they do not owe their elevated positions, riches, and advantages, to their own industry, economy, self-denial, and higher natural talents, but to the fostering care, prudence and liberality of their progenitors. Thus it has been through all past ages, and thus it is now, with some soul-stirring and brilliant exceptions. Men have used their wealth and power for the purpose of gratifying an ambitious, arbitrary, and avaricious disposition, and the enslaving and pauperizing their fellow-mortals, whose only faults, or rather misfortunes, were ignorance and poverty, which they did not originate and bring upon themselves, and had no power to alter.

Such, then, are and have ever been the opposers of progress and of universal education; and the reasons are obvious; they know that it is much easier to keep down, to deceive, and to lead an ignorant and uncultivated than an instructed and reasoning population; they know and feel what it is that constitutes their superiority, and that if the multitudes of mankind are raised to a state of enlightenment and rationality, the days of their power and ascendancy are numbered. These observations are forcibly illustrated in the case of Great Britain. In that country the various monarchs and aristocracies, and hierarchy, beneficed and general clergy of the established church, have almost invariably acted in concert to keep the people in ignorance and subjection. Although that industrious, ingenious, and patient population is now suffering and groaning under the combined oppressions of evil rulers and an unchristian church clergy, yet they have the temerity, up to this very hour, to oppose, both secretly and openly, the organization and establishment of a national system of secular education. That this is a fact, we learn, indisputably, from recent information from England; and it is specifically exemplified in the action which the clergy took about three months ago in opposition to the Lancaster School Association; the nature of which may be gathered from the following brief sketch of the proceeding.—A large number of the inhabitants of the county of Lancashire, seeing and feeling the necessity of adopting some measures for the general education of the working classes, formed an association for this purpose, denominated The Lancashire Public School Association. The head-quarters of this association are in Manchester, and the leading men are well known for their intelligence, respectability, morality, devotion to religion, and an expanded benevolence, and are attached to various churches of professing Christians. Finding, however, that their means and exertions were quite inadequate to the objects in view, they called a public meeting, with the intention of sending a petition to Parliament, asking for a law to empower the people of Lancashire to establish a public school system, similar to that of the city and county of Philadelphia, and to be supported in the same manner. In order that the clergy might have no occasion to complain of a respectful attention not being shown them, and to obtain their approbation and support, they were specially notified as to when and where the meeting was to take place, and of its precise intentions and objects. Instead, however, of attending the meeting to aid so good a cause, the Church of England ministers in the vicinity of Manchester, where it was held, from the highest to the lowest, with a very few dissenting clergymen, and a considerable body of the old tory party, assembled, and with the most eloquent speaker, and first-rate tactician, the Rev. Hugh Stowell, as their

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leader and spokesman, defeated the object of the meeting, under the specious plea that religious instruction was not included in the proposed organization.

The Lancashire Public School Association proposed to establish a system of secular education for the laboring classes, and all others who might choose to avail themselves of it, which would enable the children now growing up to obtain, at the public expense, plain and useful learning, including sound morality. But this would not do for beneficed, plurality, and sinecure clergymen, and the other supporters of the powers that be and things as they are; for they are well aware, that educating the masses will lead them to acquire so much general and political knowledge as to bring about a speedy and searching reformation in both church and state. They therefore dodge the question, by professing to be anxious to do all they can for the institution of an universal system of religious education, by which they intimate that the people must be taxed to build school-houses, provide books, and pay teachers, superintendants, and all other charges; the whole to be under their management and control. The education thus graciously vouchsafed to be bestowed by mother church upon the people, would consist of reading primary books of a religious nature, a little writing to enable them to sign their names at marriages and baptisms, well grounded in the church catechism, forms, and ordinances, and the imperative duties of passive obedience to superiors, reverential humility towards the clergy and the church, and unadulterated loyalty. This is the kind of education which an aristocratic, avaricious, luxurious and comparatively idle clergy would fain institute as a boon to the starving millions of Great Britain and Ireland! and, doubtless, as the inferior orders of that *religious* body would fill the office of teachers, the children in the schools would be occasionally admonished to learn patience, endurance in their troubles, afflictions, and privations, and to bear with meek resignation the lot which it has pleased Almighty God to give them; in fact, humbly to do their duty "in that state of life to which it had pleased God to call them;" and making the poor, oppressed, credulous folks believe, that the effects of bad governments and wicked laws are the dispensations of divine providence.

The clergy of the Church of England, as a whole, have never been prominent in the cause of education, for until recently they have not moved much in the question. They did not even come into the Sunday School enterprise until far on in the day; and although they now profess with solemn earnestness to be desirous of establishing a general system of religious education, it is evidently only hoodwinking; for if they were sincere, they would immediately cause the enormous incomes of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and other clergy, to be reduced to a Christian standard, and appropriate the surplus to building and establishing schools. But this they have not done, nor have they intimated any wish for so beneficial a reformation; nor have they ever promulgated any scheme for giving the population even a religious education, to be supported by taxation. This sudden advocacy of the education of the masses by the clergy, is plainly one of pretence only; and by feigning to be anxious to establish a system of religious in opposition to secular education, they have defeated the efforts of the Lancashire school association, and, as they think, have staved off the evil day to a more convenient season.

But giving them credit for sincerity, which they do not deserve, they

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know right well that any plan of their's having that object in view is not practicable, because on its being publicly agitated and brought before the House of Commons, Methodists, and Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, and Baptists, and Unitarians, and Swedenborgians, *cum multis aliis*, would oppose it with all their might, and insist upon having the same privilege of teaching in the schools their creeds, and ordinances, and forms of church government, and modes of worship as the Churchmen. This would give rise to such a storm of angry disputes and contentions, that no scheme would be agreed upon; and the very thing, viz., Christian religion, they all pretend to be so anxious to teach others, they would themselves omit to exemplify—showing to the world that they were not heartily bent upon inculcating practical Christianity by their lives and teachings, but that each denomination was striving for the spread of its particular doctrines, and the increase of its power and influence. The clergy of the Church of England, however, are not singular in their opposition to secular education, for some of those attached to other bodies of professing Christians do the same, on the ground that it has a tendency, unless accompanied by religious instruction, to produce infidelity and atheism. This objection obviously arises from fear—fear as they would have it understood—lest the people should retrograde in civilization and Christianity, and assumes that ministers of religion are all Christians, both by word and deed. As we have a large number of citizens, both clerical and lay, within our own borders, who hold similar opinions and like views of education, it may not be out of place or improper in other respects, to inquire very briefly how far they are right, and if these fears and objections do not to a considerable extent originate in some other way.

Religion, whatever its name, creed, ceremonies, and organizations, has, so far in the world's history and progress, been used in the main as an instrument for enabling governments to keep populations in ignorance and subjection; the priesthood, and armies and navies, acting in union with emperors, kings, nobles, and aristocracies. This has been a peculiar feature in the Roman Catholic religion in various parts of the world; and it is not much less so in the case of the established Protestant Church of Great Britain and Ireland. Whenever the people of England have petitioned and agitated for reforms and more liberty, the clergy, both high and low, have always sided with the great and powerful, and against the elevation of the masses. If, as the bulk of the ministers of religion assert, their teachings will render the great multitude of degraded humanity comfortable, good and happy, then the Catholic population of Ireland and the Protestant laboring classes of England, ought to be pre-eminently so; for hitherto they have had very little but religious education. That they are not so, is well-known, and the fact needs no evidence or arguments to prove it. In Spain, in Mexico, in Italy, and in Ireland, the people are, and have been for a long time, under the care, instruction, and guidance of the clergy; and what do we find in those countries? We see bad government, unjust and partial laws, the greatest amount of ignorance, the least energy, self-respect, and morality, and the most deplorable poverty, misery and degradation. On the other hand, in these United States, where school education is very properly divested of religious instruction and clerical authority, and where the laws are more equitable, we find a fund of general intelligence, active industry, social com-

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forts, and individual freedom and energy, unequaled in any country on the globe.

In reasoning upon the subject of religious instruction forming a part of the studies and duties of day schools, we are necessarily obliged to mention ministers of religion; but we do it with no disrespectful feeling, either towards them or their churches and creeds. We would gladly throw a veil over the atrocities and follies which many of them have committed in by-gone days, and the faults and failings of some in our time. They are but men; and owing to the peculiar nature of their studies, and the bias of their minds thereby induced, they are but too apt to forget, and not sufficiently careful to comprehend, the vast importance of instituting and maintaining equal and just civil laws, so as to prevent the educated and unprincipled from preying upon the labors of the industrious classes, and thus reducing them to the lowest condition of life. Hundreds and thousands of our most valuable fellow-citizens, with their wives and families, have been reduced to beggary and starvation at various times, by partial and dishonest legislation; and then, driven by desperation to drunkenness, irreligion, and crime. Let ministers of religion go to the houses of well-meaning, industrious, out-of-work, poverty-stricken, starving families, and offer them the consolations of religion, and they will find them regardless of such comfort—vastly preferring bread and cheese, and remunerating employment, to the best advice, the most eloquent soul-stirring sermons, and the most earnest and sincere prayers. They cannot be ignorant of the fact, that when the minds, and faculties, and energies of laboring men are bound down and held fast by superstitions, fallacies, ignorance, and bad laws, which make a few rich and many poor—that they become discontented and reckless, are far from Christianity, and have no taste and relish for religion and its blessings. In the aggregate, clergymen appear to think, that in their cases, and in our land, religion and politics are inconsistent—and not only so, but fancy that the bulk of the population ought not to have much hand in political affairs, because of their ignorance; and that legislation should be left to the intelligent, rich, and influential, and used for their aggrandizement, on the vain and foolish supposition that they can and will find employment for, and maintain in a comfortable condition, the hard working millions. How such notions have succeeded when put in practice, is fully exemplified in the case of Great Britain and Ireland, where the system has been acted upon for many years. We hold no such sentiments, and ardently desire never to see our citizens placed in such a degraded and pauperized position as the people of that country now are. We hold that our citizens *must* be educated, and in such a way as to enable them to fulfil rightly their political duties. So far from religion and politics being incompatible, they seem to us to have an inseparable connexion, not formed into disgraceful and monopolizing institutions of church and state, like England, but by educating the population, and so fitting them for the readier and better reception of religious truths. We hold, that if men be truly religious, and properly educated for making efficient citizens, they must of necessity be political also. In the Old Testament it is predicted concerning Christ, that he was to be not only a spiritual Saviour, but a temporal one also; that he was to open the prison doors, to loosen the bonds of the captive, and let the oppressed go free. And in the New Testament, we are told not to be slothful in business (all our duties;) to

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do as we would be done by; to love our neighbor as ourselves; and to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before God. Well, then, if we see our fellow-mortals by hundreds, and thousands, and millions, kept in ignorance and made poor, and miserable, and *irreligious*, by laws which are founded upon policy, expediency, and fraud, ought we not—ought not ministers of religion especially, to do all they can in a peaceable and legal manner, to obtain a speedy and effectual reform of such an unjust and oppressive system. If we read, and observe with attention, and then reflect upon the information thus acquired, we have no difficulty in discovering, that where private causes make one man or family miserable, public and governmental actions make a thousand so; and that where even the propensities and evil passions of the poor and ignorant, and which some religious teachers attribute to the power of Satan and man's innate depravity, bring down upon them and their families calamities of many and grievous kinds, the workings of mal-government do the same in a ten-fold degree, and are mostly the cause and parents of the evils themselves. Bad governments, which enact special laws for the benefit and aggrandisement of particular persons, parties, and trades, promote inebriety and crime, by making the laboring classes poor, dependent, and desperate. Bad governments, by keeping the people in ignorance, by heavy taxation, by accumulating large state debts in the pursuit of selfish and sectional interests, and by restrictions on both home and foreign trade, bring upon the people more poverty, and depravity, and crime, than all private causes put together. We say, therefore, that to ameliorate these things, by endeavoring to obtain honest rulers and laws, based upon the everlasting principles of truth and justice, is a religious as well as a political duty—a duty equally binding upon clergy and laymen; for by a due performance of it, we should be teaching Christianity by our works, in addition to our words.

Whoever has been much in England, and has frequently heard sermons from the beneficed and plurality clergymen there, could not fail to notice that they preach morality, humility, devotion to the Church, reverence for bishops and the clergy, and respect towards superiors, more than theoretical Christianity and doctrines. And on the other hand, we find that ministers of religion in our country preach very little about truth, justice, honesty, and doing unto others as we would they should do unto us; but a great deal about psychology, faith, grace, the atonement, and the great importance to all persons of being members of some church of professing Christians. The great distinctions here pointed out in the style and practice of preaching, is doubtless owing to the very different positions and circumstances of the two bodies; the one being entirely dependent upon their congregations for bread and butter, and the other being completely independent, and supported by an enormous church property.

However disagreeable, therefore, it may be, and however unwilling we are to come to the conclusion, that there is some other fear on the minds of the clergy than that of making the people infidels and atheists by universal secular education, the foregoing considerations leave us no alternative, and we are bound in reason and candor to say, that religious teaching and preaching is too much relied upon as a means of money-making, and for the obtainment of worldly honors and rewards, which produce a fear lest the craft should be injured. We learn, then, from history—from our own experience and observation of men, and from an active and right

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use of our reasoning powers, that the more elevated the human mind can be made, the more practically religious it will be; and that universal secular education, which ought to consist of sound morality and useful learning, is the one thing needful, leaving religious tenets, and forms, and modes of worship, to be taught by clergymen and the parents of the children.

Secular education, we maintain, is the mainspring, the pendulum, and the regulator of a republican people, and, indeed, of mankind at large, and under any form of government. It is a self-evident truth, that if the majority of the people of a great confederated republic, like the United States, continue long in a state of ignorance of the nature of true republicanism, and their respective positions and importance as minute parts of the body politic; or if they become servile and subservient, through their ignorance and dependency, to ambitious and unprincipled leaders, sectional party and personal interests will usurp the place of the great undivided whole, and at no distant period jealousies, discords, enmities, antagonisms, and anarchy will ensue, and the national governmental organizations will be swept away as with the besom of destruction. In fact, there is no solid ground for hope in the permanency and prosperity of our federal institutions, but through the education and enlightenment of our citizens; for in proportion to the ignorance and servility of the laboring classes, so will be their dependency, poverty and degradation. And in like manner, the more they become acquainted with natural philosophy, true political economy, and other useful subjects, the more rationally independent they will be, and the more elevated will they become, morally, religiously, socially, and politically. We are extremely anxious and particular on this point, because we wish to assist in dissipating the erroneous notion, that a general system of what some denominate a religious education is all sufficient for the mass of mankind. Education—secular education, we repeat—is the mainstay of our system, our balm of Gilead, our pillars, and the rocky foundation upon which we must build and expect to stand.

But what do we mean by secular education? We mean common, practical education, in which the clergy have no hand, and from which religious instruction is entirely excluded; a system of really useful education, conducted by and under the control of laymen only. Not that ministers of religion should be shut out from all interference, merely because they are clergymen, or from any disrespect to them, either individually or collectively, or their particular creeds and modes of worship, or towards religious institutions generally; but for the purpose of avoiding religious jealousies and disputes, which would produce ill-will, perplex the minds, and distract the attention of the pupils from their legitimate studies; and also as a safeguard, by preventing any one denomination of ministers from obtaining an undue ascendancy, and all from acquiring an improper amount of civil and religious power and influence. And what kind of secular education should this be? What branches of knowledge should be taught in our public and private schools, and more especially in those under our common school organization? In the usual acceptation of the term education, and the routine of studies, we understand going to a public or private school, and being taught reading, spelling, grammar, writing, geography, and arithmetic. And in the cases of extra, or best educations, as they are called, we include, besides these, Latin, Greek, alge-

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bra, geometry, mathematics, history, rhetoric, and elocution; and occasionally in addition, chemistry, astronomy, and *belles lettres*. The last named portions of learning are taught in our high schools, some of them to the head classes of our grammar schools, and in colleges and private seminaries; whilst the former are learned at our primary, secondary, and grammar schools, both public and private. Are these the kinds of secular education which will fully prepare our children for republican life and free institutions? Are no other branches of learning requisite, to enable the rising generation to become really free and independent citizens? Ought we to teach the rudiments of mathematics, algebra, and the dead languages in our public schools, to the neglect and exclusion of physiology, political science, anatomy and agricultural chemistry? Ought we to go to a great expense in establishing and maintaining high schools, in order to give the children of well-to-do citizens a refined and classical education? Is the teaching of sound morality to be slighted, which is of the utmost consequence; and mathematics cultivated, which are perfectly useless to the great mass of our citizens? The dead languages, so far as law, physic, and divinity are concerned, might very well be dispensed with; and the classical language of the professions, if simplified and divested of technicalities and verbosity, would be much more useful and appropriate; so that with respect to the public good, it would be well if they were not only dead, but buried also, under the sod of common sense. They, like geometry, algebra, mathematics, rhetoric, elocution, and astronomy, are of no use to ninety-nine out of every one hundred pupils, but have a strong tendency to induce self-important and aristocratic notions, which are at variance with republicanism and the spirit of our institutions. The education which ought to be given to all the children of our great commonwealth, should, beyond all question, be plain, useful, and practically applicable to their wants as citizens in after life; and this is undoubtedly the real intention of our public school system—a refined, classical, gentlemanly education not having been originally contemplated. What citizens want and should have, is a common sense education, consisting of reading, writing, and arithmetic, as far as vulgar fractions, but no further; so much of grammar as will enable the scholars to read and write correctly; a general knowledge of geography; well grounded morality; physiology, and political science, or the nature of *just* government, divested of all party feelings, party fallacies, and party interests. Combined, and simultaneously, our children should also receive physical training, for a sound mind in a sound body is the greatest earthly blessing.

We have just now intimated that high schools, with their present courses of instruction, are an innovation upon our public school system, inconsistent with republicanism, and a great expense. As it is probable some of our readers or their friends may be unwilling to admit these assertions to be correct, we will endeavor very briefly to examine them. We have, we think, satisfactorily explained already, that the nature of the studies in our high schools, and the head classes of our grammar schools, are unnecessary and unfair innovations of the public school system. Who, then, are the scholars in our high schools, and those who compose the most advanced pupils in the grammar schools? They are the children of our rich or well-to-do citizens, with a very few exceptions. That this is so, and must always be the case, is evident from the circum

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stance, that a vast majority of our citizens, when their children are of an age to be admitted into the high schools, require their assistance in various trades and occupations, or put them out to labor, so as to assist their almost universally straitened circumstances. And when these high school pupils have finished their scholastic educations, what productive employments do they engage in? Comparatively none. Most of them in due time become members of the three learned professions and editors of newspapers, a small proportion store-keepers and merchants, and a still smaller, farmers and manufacturers. Now we know that the persons who comprise the three learned professions are large and expensive consumers, and produce nothing, and as a whole, set themselves up as an aristocratic section of society. And we have only to look with attention at political matters and workings, to discover that idle doctors and lawyers, and proprietors and editors of newspapers, are the chief combatants for office and power—all of whom are endeavoring to live in style and luxury, and to amass property out of the public purse, by doing as little as possible. This feature of our high schools is alone sufficient to convince us that they are nurseries of a class who reckon themselves to be of the upper ten, of aristocratic notions, and expensive habits; and that they are consequently anti-republican, and in direct opposition to the spirit of our institutions and the true nature of our government. Indeed, the very name of high school indicates inequality, and has been borrowed, like the routine and courses of instruction therein pursued, from the monarchical and aristocratical institutions of Europe. That they are a very heavy charge upon the public school funds, is self-evident; and that they are an unfair expenditure of the public money, is not less so. It is obviously unjust to provide a refined, genteel, and classical education for the children of the middle and higher classes of society out of the public taxes. Any and all citizens who desire such an education for their offspring, ought to pay for it out of their own pockets. Here, then, we arrive at the undeniable truth, that that part of our grammar schools which prepares pupils for high schools, and the high schools themselves, are diversions from the legitimate and original intentions of our public school organizations, unnecessary, and not in harmony with true republicanism. In making this investigation, and having arrived at this conclusion, we have no wish or intention of throwing blame upon comptrollers, directors, or teachers, for, doubtless, they are actuated by correct motives, and do their best; we only wish to draw attention to these departments, and to excite examinations, discussions, and vigilance, to the end that our schools may be made as perfect as possible.

In this state of the question, we are naturally led to the inquiry, as to what action should be had in respect to these departments of the system, should we discontinue the high schools as at present constituted, and the preparatory classes in the grammar schools? We have no hesitation in answering this question in the affirmative, and in saying, that in our grammar schools we would supersede the course of preparation, by teaching physiology, anatomy, political economy, and agricultural chemistry; and that we would appropriate the high schools to the production of efficient teachers, in order to supply the present need and growing wants of our public school organizations. Few persons, we imagine, will seriously assert, that the supply of first rate teachers is equal to the demand arising from the continual and rapid extension of the system, and to the filling

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the places of many who ought to be discharged for want of a sufficiency of the right kind of knowledge, natural adaptation, and attachment to, and love for the profession. In the course of our school inspections, during the last three years, we have noticed many instances of ill-adapted instructors of youth, occupying important and prominent positions in our public schools. Occasionally we have seen the principal male or female teacher so deficient in good temper and patience, and so self-sufficient withal, that they were constantly in hot water with the scholars, scolding, fretting and beating them. And on the other hand, and in juxta-position, have seen junior teachers of an opposite character and constitution, maintaining order and peace, and good will, and getting their pupils along with comparatively little trouble and annoyance. Again, we have noticed others who have such a love of exactness, such an hankering after perfectly said long lessons, that they seemed almost to forget that the great object is, that children should understand what they read or repeat. Throughout our observations of, exceptions excepted, the whole of our public school instructions, we become impressed with the conviction that there is too much anxiety evinced by injudicious and aspiring parents, and unwise or incorrectly directed teachers, to produce and exhibit infant prodigies, and prematurely developed mental energies. That more relaxation during school hours is absolutely requisite, and that far too little attention is paid to health and physical education. Athletic and other pleasureable exercises might be adopted, and extended with much advantage. Ventilation, cleanliness, and a well regulated heat, in schools, are very important, not well-understood, and indifferently attended to—especially in country places. In most of the schools we have visited, and we have overlooked a considerable number in Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, and Pennsylvania, the desks and seats are all of the same height, and chiefly adapted to boys and girls of from seven to ten years of age; so that scholars four feet high may be found on the same form with others, varying from five to six feet in height, bestowing upon the latter through the unavoidable process of learning, bowed backs and narrowed chests. This defect would be easily remedied by having the legs of the seats and forms constructed upon the sliding principle, so as to be raised and lowered at pleasure. It further occurred to us, that our public school institutions have been made more than is proper and desirable, a large field of speculation to book writers, and compounders and publishers; and that more discrimination, more caution, and less favoritism is wanted in their selection, and in making alterations. Books for our public schools should be plainly expressed, divested of pedagoguism and technicalities, and condensed as much as they well can be, with due consideration and prudence. We wish to avoid the accusation of invidiousness, so that we are prevented from naming any improper books which have come under our notice; if, however, Mr. Mitchel will pardon us, we would ask him, if he does not think that his geography, second part, is not too voluminous and burdened with a great many particulars which are, to children, of little or no use? Let a simply written, condensed general geography be used, and then short well understood lessons will be more effective than long and tiresome ones; and so on through every grade and branch of study.

In view, then, of the coming convention, and what we have now said, we would, with the utmost respect, and all kind feeling towards all per-

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sons, parties, and religious denominations, suggest, that any attempt to take steps for introducing religious teachings into our public schools should be voted down at once. That our high schools ought to be changed into normal schools, for the sole purpose of educating teachers; and that no persons, male or female, should be admitted, unless they were found upon investigation to be naturally adapted to the calling, and had determined to follow the occupation when duly qualified. That the departments in our grammar-schools, hitherto employed in preparing pupils for the high-school, should in future be occupied in teaching physiology, anatomy, morality, political economy, and agricultural chemistry. That reading-books on these subjects should be introduced, and often used, by the upper classes. That teachers, as a whole, should be better paid. That particular attention should be given to the health and relaxation of the scholars—to ventilation, a proper degree of heat and cleanliness in the schools, and to a proper height of seats and desks. That none but well-informed, intelligent men, of sufficient leisure and fitness, should be appointed directors. That paid and talented superintendents should be employed in rural districts, who should be constantly visiting schools and consulting with directors and teachers. That no new books should be introduced until after a most rigid, careful, and unbiassed examination and approval; and the whole system be made as uniform as possible in every way. That as Latin, Greek, geometry, algebra, mathematics, rhetoric, and elocution, are of no use to ninety-nine per cent. of our citizens, they should be excluded immediately. That as agriculture is, and ought to be, the legitimate and pre-eminent business of our country, on account of its fertile and extensive territory, it should be a particular instruction to teachers to impress the minds of scholars with its nature and advantages. And lastly, that all branches of education should be made, as far as possible, a source of pleasure and attraction, rather than as heretofore, compulsory lessons, which must be learned on pain of punishment and disgrace.

We might with much propriety have extended our remarks, in many ways, particularly as to the prudence and necessity of establishing labor-schools: that is, school learning, in connection with practical agriculture and horticulture. But our present writing is long enough, and we fear we have trespassed too much on the time and patience of our readers. As to ourselves, we shall feel well rewarded for our thoughts, attention, and trouble, if we can only have the satisfaction of believing that we have assisted, even in a slight degree, the progress and extension of common sense education.

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EARNING A LIVING;

A COMEDY IN FIVE ACTS.

PERSONS OF THE DRAMA.

ROBERT HOLLYBUSH, *a retired Merchant of New-York.*
JACOB HOLLYBUSH, *his unmarried brother.*
RUPERT HAY, HARTINGTON, } *fashionable young gentlemen*
GLUMLY, *a Magazine Editor.*
BARBOW, *a Writer.*
VANSITTART, *a New-York Lawyer.*
CHARLOTTE, MARY, } *daughters of* R. HOLLYBUSH.
MR. and MRS. CAMPION.
MINETTA, *their daughter.*
MISS DUBARRE, *an heiress.*
DUPERU, *a Broker.*

ACT I.

SCENE I.—*Old* HOLLYBUSH'S *house.* R. H. *reading.* *Enter* JACOB.

Jacob. Good morning, brother.

R. H. Good morning, Robert, how are you?

J. Well, I thank you; how is all within? are the family well?

R. Yes, very. I'm sorry I can't inquire after yours.

J. That's rather late. I've been a bachelor so long now, I never think of it unless you remind me of it, and when you do, I don't take it kindly.

R. What news out?

J. The steamer is in, cotton is up and flour down. Nothing else of importance. I saw Vansittart just now.

R. Well, what did he say?

J. He said he had drawn up all those contracts just as we directed, and had them ready for signing. He is very diligent in such matters.

R. Yes, I think he is.

J. And then he told me an odd conversation he had yesterday about you, with a man named Glumly.

R. Glumly, Glumly—I don't know such a man.

J. No, but Glumly knows you, or would know you. He wants to marry one of my nieces.

R. Oh, that's all, is it? and he expects a reasonable dowry, I suppose, does he not?

J. Undoubtedly; but what I like is, he is plain spoken and says so. He says in plain terms he wants money, and would be glad to get some in this way.

R. That's honest, or at least impudent. Which of my daughters does he honor with a preference?

J. He leaves that to you. He will take whichever you will pay best to be rid of. He says he understands one has been crazy; he will take that one if you choose.

R. Crazy, Jacob! one of my daughters crazy!—What the devil does the fellow mean?

J. Oh, I suppose it is some story grown out of poor Charlotte's delirium last year when she had the fever at Saratoga. That's nothing; Mr. Glumly gets his information in bar-rooms, or at the Racket Court, where it is apt to be old and a little exaggerated.

R. Not at the Union Club, you think.

J. No; we always have it there fresh and genuine.

R. And plenty.

J. Yes, that is undeniable.

R. But who is Mr. Glumly?

J. He is one of those damned fellows that make books, and set up newspapers and magazines. And he has talent they say, too.

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R. It does not appear in what he said to Vansittart.

J. No, perhaps not. But you know, knowing V. to be your legal adviser, and presuming therefore a sort of intimacy, he goes there to sound, and talks this kind of stuff in a joking kind of way, ready to back it up with earnest if he could find encouragement. His object was to get introduced.

R. Vansittart won't do that.

J. Not for his ears.

(*Enter* JOHN, *announcing* MR. and MRS CAMPION. *Enter the ladies.*)

R. H. and J. H. Good morning, ladies.

Mrs. C. Good morning, gentlemen; are the young ladies within?

R. H. I believe not, but John is gone to see. Will you take chairs?

Mrs. C. I met Charlotte walking this morning, but that was an hour ago. She looked beautiful, and so thought her beau.

R. H. What beau?

Mrs. C. Oh, a very pleasant one, and one who admires Charlotte more than words can express.

J. H. Words can express a good deal.

Mrs C. That depends on who uses them. You would express a good deal, if you put your talent to it, I am sure.

J. H. Don't give me too much encouragement, or I may try it upon Miss Minetta.

Mrs. C. Oh, Minetta is too obdurate. All her school friends are married off, and she won't quit her single blessedness.

R. H. But who is this beau of Charlotte's—this admirer?

Mrs. C. Oh, a very clever, talented person indeed, and a great friend of mine, Mr. Glumly.

R. H. Mr. Glumly? why, where did he get acquainted with my daughter?

Mrs. C. Oh, last evening at my house. He is there constantly. He comes to all our reading parties. Reads us his own verses, too, sometimes; he writes poetry like an angel.

R. H. Made his acquaintance last evening, and joins her in Broadway this morning. No need of Vansittart now, eh, Jacob.

J. H. No, it seems not.

(*Enter* JOHN.)

John. The young ladies are both out, Ma'am. [*Exit.*

Mrs. C. Ah! both out; I'm sorry. Good morning, gentlemen. [*Exit with Minetta.*

R. H. Well, Jacob, this Glumly stock is rising. Mrs. Campion praises everybody, and always has a lot of pet phenixes of her own, and on them she lays it on double. But the man must be an absolute idiot to talk as he did to Vansittart.

J. H. I tell you, Robert, that was a coarse joke. It was bad taste, and bad enough to prejudice us strongly against the man; but if he comes here, do not kick him out of doors.

R. H. Well, perhaps not. In the mean time do you take Mrs. Campion's hints, and lay siege to Minetta, the obdurate.

J. H. I'll think about it. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*Room in the same.* CHARLOTTE *and* MARY *at a table, with books and needle-work.*

Mary. Charlotte, why did'nt you go down to receive Mrs. Campion's visit?

C. I was occupied here, and besides I don't like her.

M. But you ought to like her. You are such a particular favorite of hers.

C. Yes, I know. In her emphatic way, such a *parteecular* favorite.—So is everybody else in turn.

M. But you like Minetta.

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C. Yes, much better. She has not the same faults as her mother.

M. No, her mother has one that would fit her awkwardly.

C. Which one?

M. Manœuvring to get her a husband.

C. Yes, that is true. If Mrs. Campion would have been quiet, Minetta would have been married years ago. I wonder if she will succeed with uncle Jacob?

M. Aunt Minetta! That would sound oddly. But we might fare worse. She is a nice enough girl and has a fair fortune. Uncle Jacob might do much worse.

C. What I dislike in Mrs. Campion, is her eternally talking to me about beaux. Beaux—beaux—I hate the word, don't you, Mary?

Mary. Why so, dear Charlotte?

C. It is a vulgar, cant expression. It is worn out. It don't mean a gentleman now; it means a common fellow made fine for a holiday. Chambermaids have beaux.

M. Mrs. Campion says, Mr. Glumly is a first rate beau.

C. Yes, that makes it perfect. First rate beau—I shan't want to see him again these two months.

M. She said the same thing of Hartington. That ought to conciliate you.

C. No. I would as lief she should have called him a jack-pudding.

M. And the same of Rupert Hay; but that was to Papa. I wish she had said anything else, for Papa's whole objection to both him and Hartington might be summed up in that very idea. He thinks they are first rate beaux, and does not believe they can ever be anything else.

C. Ah, Mary, don't let's talk about our troubles.

(*Enter* Hartington.)

H'n. Good morning, ladies.

C. & M. Good morning, Mr. Hartington.

M. We were just speaking of you.

H'n. Then you put me among troubles, for I caught the last word.

M. You are among our causes of trouble—you and Rupert Hay. But if you had any grace about you, you would be thankful and not sarcastic.

H'n. Dear lady, so I am. But has anything new occurred?

C. No. My father is a reasonable man, and does not break out often into novelties. But he keeps up the old song—

M. Ye are idle, ye are idle.—Pharaoh's ditty.

H'n. It's very hard. What would he have me do, or Rupert Hay, either? We cannot make bricks.

D. Not without straw.

H'n. No, nor with straw, by any process I know of.

C. Straw is figurative. It means talents and industry.

M. And bricks are figurative. They mean money.

H'n. And so I am to make money like bricks, before your father will sanction my pretensions here, (*taking C's hand.*) Is that it?

C. In some measure. But, Hartington, do not think me too calculating; but I really wish you had a profession.

H'n. Why, I profess a great deal.

M. But you *do* nothing, and my father hates you. I do believe it, he is civil to you, and indulgent and confiding to us, but I believe he actually hates you.

(*Enter* Jacob Hollybush.)

M. (*runs to meet him.*) Come in, uncle Jacob. There, now, he proves what I was saying. Uncle, you see Mr. Hartington there?

J. H. Yes, certainly.

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M. Well now, tell me the truth, don't you hate him?

J. H. Hate him!

M. Yes, uncle, you understand me. Don't you detest him? abominate him? don't he make you sick? would'nt you like to choke him?

J. H. Why, dear Mary, what possesses you?

M. Why, dear uncle, I heard you say all this of a group of young men at a party the other night. Mr. Hartington was not one, but he might have been.

J. H. No, Mary, he might not. I understand you now; but Mr. Hartington is not one of the tribe I was abusing that night.

M. What's the difference? It was idleness you abused them for.

J. H. My good niece, those fellows make hourly publication of their idleness. They are always in sight, and all their daily actions, and all their ideas, too, might be printed, if the reporters pleased, in the Herald. But I think it would not pay.

C. But this does not apply to Mr. Hartington.

J. H. No, certainly. Mr. Hartington is seen in society, but he lives his life with a certain reserve, which is his own. Neither you nor I, nor the public, have the right to say he is idle.

H'n. You see, Miss Mary, your uncle is a shrewd censor, but not an indiscriminate one. But Mr. Hollybush, I suppose I know the persons you point at, and I don't like them, but yet I don't particularly wish to choke them.

J. H. Nor I, not literally; but there were two or three in the group in question who deserved it. Fellows once without a rap, that have married ugly heiresses, and have associated ever since exclusively with horses, and two or three more that bide their time, in hopes to do the same.

M. One married a very pretty heiress.

J. H. Yes, and behaved worst of all—wasted her property and broke her heart. I tell you, niece, this life of a young shark which your needy man of fashion leads, makes him intensely selfish; and when some generous woman overlooks disparities from a romantic impulse, and marries him, she is sure to rue it bitterly.

H'n. Well. I leave my character in your hands—I must be going.

C. Which way?

H'n. I am going to look up Rupert Hay. I have not seen him these three days.

M. Well, when you find him, you need not bring him here, you know.

H'n. I am perfectly aware of that. [*Exit.*

M. Ah, uncle Jacob, you are twenty years younger than Papa. Hartington and Rupert Hay are no better in his eyes than the young sharks you were describing.

J. H. Never believe it, Mary. Both those young men are known to have the means of living. Their existence is not a mystery, like the fellows one sees here and there, who have white gloves and saddle horses plenty, and nobody can contrive how they are paid for.

C. I wonder what Papa would think of Mr. Glumly.

J. H. Very much what you would think of a rattlesnake. How came you to know him?

C. I met him last night at Mrs. Campion's.

J. H. So she told me. But how come he to be introduced to you?

C. Oh, naturally enough—unavoidably, indeed—the party was so small. But I had no objections.

J. H. Well, it's no very great matter, but the man's reputation is a disagreeable one. He is a scandalous and insincere flatterer, and a bit of a viper.

M. That is severe.

J. H. Not too much so. He has been known to take a spite at a lady, and show her up in one of his cursed papers or magazines for a month together. That was in New-Orleans, but the fact is certain.

C. That is odious, indeed.

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J. H. Never mind. He is said to be amusing in society and must be tolerated, unless he should do something of the same sort here

M. I hope we shall not furnish the occasion.

C. I hope not. But come, let's go dress for dinner. Good-bye, uncle.

J. H. Good-bye. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—RUPERT HAY'S *rooms.*—HAY *and* GLUMLY *at table, as after dinner.* (*Enter* HARTINGTON.)

H'n. So, Rupert, where have you been so long?

Hay. Oh, I had letters to write, and have stirred abroad very little lately.

H'n. I have orders to send you to a certain lady. At least I am ordered not to *bring* you to her, which I suppose means I am to send you.

Hay. Yes, I understand, I suppose.

Glumly. Well, I don't; but don't let me detain you.

Hay. Well, if you'll allow Hartington to take my place, I will leave you for an hour or two.

Glumly. Certainly, (*pours out wine.*) think no more about us. Are you disengaged, Mr. Hartington? [*Exit Hay.*

H'n. Yes; I believe so. [*Sits down.*

Glumly. Is it a secret, where our friend is gone?

H'n. Yes, for the present it is—at least *I* cannot tell you.

G. Mrs. Campion is going to give a party.

H'n. So I hear. A grand ball, and the first of the season.

G. Grand balls are getting to be a serious matter.

H'n. Yes, for people who have small houses. New-York is a large city.

G. There was a time when all the well-bred and well-dressed people of New-York could be squeezed into two rooms; but I think the City Hall would hardly hold them now.

H'n. What induces Mrs. Campion to give a ball?

G. It is Minetta's fifth winter—the winter of her discontent.

H'n. But Minetta is very pretty, and an heiress too, more or less. What needs she be discontented?

G. That is, why don't she console herself with some fine fellow. Marry you, or me, and have done with it? Is that your question?

H'n. No. I question the fact of her being discontented. When one sees what a lottery marriage is for a woman, onemay believe that some are afraid of it.

G. It's a lottery for us, too.

H'n. But we choose our tickets, and we have a better list to choose from, too, than they, even if they *could* choose. The women of America are immeasurably superior to the men.

G. So I told Mrs. Campion last night. But her husband contradicted me. I said ladies were much less rare than gentlemen, and he did not convince me of the contrary.

H'n. I scarcely know him. He seems a dull, quiet man.

G. So he does. But you must not judge rashly. He tells me he once said a very witty thing.

H'n. Indeed! What was it?

G. Something that flashed upon him at the moment. He had forgot what it was, but I took his word for it.

H'n. He has one good quality. He adores his wife.

G. Yes, he told me she was now in the flower of her age—at her perigee—at her most perfect point of developement of mind and person.

H'n. And what said you to that?

G. I said nothing. But I thought it was a pretty prospect for him for the future.

H'n. Oh, he is reasonable. He

"Does not expect in December
The flowers he gathers in June."

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G. July, August—nay, September or October. Were you at the Opera on Monday?

H'n. No.

G. The Campions were there. Minetta has a pretty mouth.

H'n. Yes, but I never should have remarked that particularly at the Opera.

G. Oh, she makes it very conspicuous there. She puckers it up to show her immense delight. She appears to be sucking the honey of the music, like Ophelia.

H'n. Why she does not know one tune from another.

G. I know that—she told me so herself. And yet a week after, she began a rigmarole one day to me about contraltos and bassos, and the devil knows what, but full of entusymusy. I stopped her, and put her in mind of her confession.

H'n. What did she say to that?

G. Oh, she got out of it well. She paused a minute, then laughed, and said well, you know we must talk this kind of stuff.

H'n. That is the principle that supports the Opera.

(*Enter* Rupert Hay.)

Hay. Well, I've had my walk for my pains. Nobody visible.

H'n. That's odd; but you must not blame me. I really thought my orders were positive.

Hay. I saw Vansittart. He wants to see you to-morrow.

G. I like Vansittart.

H'n. I did not know you liked anybody.

G. I like Vansittart. He gives good dinners, when he gives any; no pretension; one or two persons; wine plenty, and he does not interrupt the conversation.

H'n. Why, you don't mean to say he can't talk?

G. No, but he is civil; he is good-natured enough, or flatterer enough always to give way when other people want to talk. It's astonishing the good-will he wins by it.

Hay. All the Hollybushes like him prodigiously.

G. Yes—so I hear; and he returns their admiration with devotion. He shops for the ladies and picks up gossip, brings news of the markets and what not to the men, and would wash dishes, run of errands and black shoes, if they desire it. He is the walking shadow of a Hollybush.

H'n. He is a very honest, respectable, sterling fellow.

G. No doubt of it. But he ought to respect himself. Yesterday I amused myself with talking profanely to him about that family, and saying I meant to make my fortune by marrying one of them.

H'n. Indeed—and how did he take that?

G. Indeed—upon my word—very much as you seem to take it. It astonished him very decidedly.

H'n. Some things are really astonishing.

G. So they are, to some people. I know an old gentleman who used to be cast into extacies every day by reading the Express. 'Twas his turn of mind; the older he grew the more he doated on it. Don't be angry. It was not Mr. Hollybush.

H'n. I presume not.

G. Old age has some strange ways with it. To-day I saw two old ladies at the crossing of a puddle. One had got over and was reaching back to help the other. The other raised her petticoats with one hand, then thought the step too long, and walked round still holding them up over dry ground. In the mean time her friend kept one arm in the air to help her; it took a minute or two to get their old arms back to their places from any movement once made.

Hay. You are a close observer.

H'n. Did you not think, while you were noting all that, that you might one day be old yourself?

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G. Not an old woman.

H'n. I won't guarantee that. There is no telling what your love of gossip and showing up your friends and neighbours may come to at last.

G. That's savage. It is time for me to go. [*Exit.*

Hay. What's the use, Hartington?

H'n. Damn the fellow. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.—MRS. CAMPION'S *house.* MRS. C. *and* MINETTA *at a table with writing materials.*

Minetta. Give me some more envelopes.

Mrs. C. There they are.

Min. These have cards already in them.

Mrs. C. Yes, they only want the addresses.

Min. Read on.

Mrs. C. Mrs. Bottilow and Miss Bottilow.

Min. (*writing on a note.*) Very well.

Mrs. C. Mrs. Batterson and the Misses Batterson.

Min. Very well. What a host of women.

Mrs. C. Yes, we shall want a great many beaux.

Min. Go on.

Mrs. C. Mr. and Mrs. Batterlay. That ends letter B.

Min. (*counting.*) Twenty notes in letters A. and B. How many names are there in our visiting list?

Mrs. C. About a hundred and fifty.

Min. And fifty or sixty beaux, will make two hundred invitations to send out. We shall invite at least four hundred people.

Mrs. C. Nearer five.

Min. Three or four people promised to come this morning and help me write invitations. Oh, here is Mr. Jacob Hollybush.

(*Enter* J. H.)

J. H. Good morning, ladies. Can I be of any use?

Min. Yes, take this, and sit down and write those names on these notes. There, that finishes down to letter S. Now I'll go on from these. Read, mother.

Mrs. C. Miss Sellison.

Min. (*writing a note.*) I don't see the use of inviting her.

Mrs. C. Why not?

Min. She is not ornamental, and she is not agreeable, and she never gives parties herself. People that move in society ought to contribute in some way to its pleasures.

J. H. Miss Sellison is my aversion.

Min. I knew it. I was abusing her to please you.

J. H. You have a singular faculty, Miss Minetta, of saying and doing things that please me. If I should begin to thank you for it, I don't know where I should stop.

Min. Suppose you try, and go on till I stop you.

J. H. Not before witnesses.

(*Enter* MRS. DUBARRE *and* GLUMLY. *Salutations exchanged.*)

Min. Oh, Mrs. Dubarre, we are almost done. How come you so late?

Mrs. D. Oh, Mr. Glumly would have me to stop at the Art Union. But the pictures are half gone.

Min. Mr. Glumly, you drew a picture, did not you?

G. Yes, one of Cole's—it is capital.

Min. You will have Mr. Vansittart to see you. He is picture mad.

G. Very like, but he has seen this, you know, at the Union.

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Min. (*having addressed notes from time to time with the list of names in her hand, stops and hands it to her mother.*) Mother shall we ask that lady?

Mrs. D. What lady? Come, no mysteries here; we'll all give you an opinion.

Min. Mrs. Vindoboni, Jane Brinton, you know.

Mrs. D. Why not?

Min. Nobody knows anything about her husband.

Mrs. D. Then nobody knows any harm of him.

J. H. Yes—I do.

Mrs. C. What is it?

J. H. He is poor.

G. So am I.

Mrs. C. We won't exclude *you* on that account, any way.

Mrs. D. No, the rich in brains Halleck says, are a strong antithesis to the poor in pocket.

Min. Well, there's a note for the Vindobonis. Mr. and Mrs. Weeple—

Mrs. C. Leave them out.

Mrs. D. Why so? they have a fine house.

J. H. And they are very decent, quiet people.

G. If they are quiet, they are so far well bred.

Mrs. C. I don't like people blazing out so suddenly. And they say the Weeples came out of a rat-hole.

G. They did, and they brought a lighted candle. It would have been wiser to emerge by degrees.

J. H. Come, come, I give my vote for the Weeples. There's a note for them. They have cash, and they are willing to spend it; and there is no special objection to them. (*Looking over the notes in the basket.*) So, old Tom Pudney gets an invitation. I should like to know what for?

Mrs. C. So should I.

J. H. Tom has so established the fact that he goes everywhere, that now you can't leave him out. He circulates on the merits of the good wine and venison he has consumed.

G. Pudney is the residuum of a thousand dinners.

J. H. Exactly; or ten thousand as the case may be. But what is this? here are twenty or thirty notes not directed.

Min. Oh, those are for Mr. Brown.

J. H. Thirty notes to one gentleman?

Min. Yes; and yet he is not invited.

J. H. Why, who is Mr. Brown?

Mrs. D. Oh, Mr. Hollybush, don't expose your ignorance.

Mrs. C. He is Sacristan of Grace Church.

Mrs. D. Seneschal.

Min. Marshal—or, more quaintly, beadle.

G. Vulgarly, sexton.

J. H. I'm adrift, more than ever.

Mrs. C. Why, Mr. Hollybush, there are two sorts of men in society.

J. H. At least.

Mrs. C. Yes, but this is the grand division—gentlemen and Mr. Brown's men.

J. H. Well, the gentlemen I know; now who are Mr. Brown's men?

Mrs. C. Why, you know, Mr. Brown takes out the invitations. Well, we send him at the same time an order for thirty beaux, or as many as we want, and the notes with it. Well, he invites them from his list. Those are Mr. Brown's men.

J. H. He keeps the list, and puts names on and off as he pleases.

Mrs. C. Certainly; according as they behave. Now, the *gentlemen* who come to my party know my family, and observe some rules of politeness in speaking to me when they come in, and in calling afterwards. But Mr. Brown's

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men are under no such obligations; they come and go like the fiddlers; they are of use in the dance, and they get their pay out of the supper, and there is an end.

J. H. What a beautiful and independent position!

Mrs. D. Well, this seems to be all done.

Min. All but the sealing.

Mrs. D. Well, you and Mr. Hollybush can do that. I want your mother and Mr. Glumly to walk out with me.

Mrs. C. Shopping?

Mrs. D. Yes.

Mrs. C. With pleasure. I have something to do myself; come this way; my hat is below. Be very prudish with Mr. Hollybush, Minetta.

Min. Yes, mamma. [*Exeunt Mrs. C., Mrs. D., and Glumly.*

(MINETTA *brings a lighted candle and sealing wax.*)

J. H. Now, Miss Minetta, there are no witnesses.

Min. No, but all you say now must be sealed to.

J. H. No doubt (*takes her hand and kisses it.*) This is a seal and also a sign. I hope you understand it.

Min. I don't, indeed.

J. H. I'm sorry. I have much to say to you, if you only would understand me; but if you begin by refusing, I despair.

Min. I don't refuse. But really I can't guess riddles. I'd rather go on sealing my notes.

J. H. Minetta, you are right. You cannot guess riddles, and I ought not to expect it of you. But I am agitated, anxious. (*Takes her hand.*) I ask you for this hand, Minetta. You understand me now. Give me a gentle answer.

Min. What do you offer me in exchange for it?

J. H. A thousand thanks, in the first place, that you do not withdraw it. I offer a whole heart and the devotion of a life.

Min. It shall be yours. I am sure you will give me more than it is worth.

[*J. H. falls on his knees. Scene closes.*

SCENE V.—*Another room in* CAMPION'S *house. Mr. Campion walking up and down. Rings the Bell.*

Mr. C. Robert.

(*Enter* ROBERT.)

R. Sir?

Mr. C. When did Mrs. Campion go out?

R. About two hours since, sir.

Mr. C. Did she say when she would be home?

R. She is home, sir; she came in half an hour ago.

Mr. C. Oh, call her then, and send up dinner. I am in a hurry.

R. Yes, sir. [*Exit*

Mr. C. Shopping, no doubt. Bills to come in at dinner time—bundles to be unpacked, and examined, and paid for, while the soup gets cold.

(*Enter* Mrs. C.)

Mrs. C. Oh, my dear Josey, I have the greatest news for you.

Mr. C. Well, dear, out with it.

Mrs. C. What *do* you think has happened?

Mr. C. The devil! I don't know—why don't you tell me, or else let it alone?

Mrs. C. Only guess, now—guess once, and I'll tell you.

Mr. C. Guess, the devil! what cursed nonsense, to ask a man to guess what has happened. Speak out, you great baby, and don't humbug.

Mrs. C. Minetta's engaged.

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Mr. C. Engaged!—that is news indeed, but to whom?

Mrs. C. Guess.

Mr. C. Guess! Damnation, Mrs. Campion, (*raising his fist,*) tell me at once, who it is. Is this an ocasion to trifle with me? Is it Jacob Hollybush?

Mrs. C. Yes

Mr. C. A good, sound, sensible choice—a thorough going honest fellow, a true gentleman—a man of established character and fortune.

Mrs. C. Oh, I'm overjoyed.

Mr. C. When did this take place?

Mrs. C. This morning. I left them together sealing notes for the party, and when I came back an hour after, there was the candle burnt down almost to the socket—not a note sealed, and Minetta in a brown study, all alone.

Mr. C. Well.

Mrs. C. Well, and she told me all about it, and I kissed her and blessed her, and told her I hoped she would be happy.

Mr C. That was all very proper.

Mrs. C. Then I took all these notes of invitations and put them in the fire, for what's the use of our giving parties after Minetta's engaged?

Mr. C. By Jove, that showed presence of mind. But it won't do to give the public that reason.

Mrs. C. No, and so I'm going to put it on aunt Rossie's death.

Mr. C. Nobody knows we had such an aunt.

Mrs. C. No, but we will tell them; and I have charged Minnetta that her engagement must be kept secret a week.

(*Enter* ROBERT.)

R. Dinner is on the table, sir.

Mr. C. Very well. Call Miss Minetta. [*Exeunt.*

ACT II.

SCENE I.—GLUMLY'S *Apartments.* GLUMLY *alone.* (*Enter* VANSITTART.)

G. Oh, Mr. Vansittart, I'm glad to see you. Somebody told me you would soon be along this way to see my new picture.

V. Oh, it is not that. I've seen it often. But I want to borrow from you a volume of Retsch's Outlines.

G. With pleasure. (*Takes down the book and gives it him.*) How is the weather out?

V. It don't actually rain yet.

G. When have you seen Hartington?

V. I saw him yesterday.

G. Do you know, I have strong suspicions that Hartington is going in for one of the Miss Hollybushes?

V. He could not do a better thing.

G. But would he succeed?

V. I can't say that. I am the old man's counsel—not the young ladies'.

G. The old man will have a word to say in that matter I fancy, and perhaps his counsel too. If I had designs there, I would pay well for your good word.

V. Thank you; but you may rely on it, it would not be of any use to you. (*Looks out at the window.*) It rains a little. I must cover up this book. (*Takes out his handkerchief, and pulls out with it a note which falls on the floor.*) Good morning. [*Exit.*

G. He cut that pretty short. But he don't deny that Hartington is in for it. (*Sees the note and picks it up.*) Ah, what's this? (*Reads.*) "Dear V—

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I have just had another talk with Hay, and he urges me to write you again. We *must* have the money. Can you raise it for us by Thursday? Yours, Hartington." Now, here's something. But where's Vansittart? (*Looks out at the window.*) Still standing in the door. (*Calls.*) Holla, Vansittart, come up, and I'll give you an umbrella.

(*Re-enter* VANSITTART.)

G. I would have brought it down, but I wanted to ask you if I had got this picture in the right light. There—(*moves him back and forth before the picture, and takes an opportunity to slip the note into his pocket.*) What do you think?

V. It could not be better.

G. I'm glad you think so. Won't you stay awhile? It rains fast.

V. No; thank you. I have an appointment. [*Exit.*

G. There. He little thinks he has told me that secret. Now let us consider what use can be made of it. (*Sits down.*) [*Scene closes.*

SCENE II.—OLD HOLLYBUSH'S *house.* OLD H. *at table as after dinner.* JACOB H. *going out.*

O. H. Jacob!

J. H. What, brother? (*returning.*)

O. H. You'll be here again bye and bye.

J. H. Yes; we ought to go to Vansittart's office this afternoon.

O. H. Very well.

(*Enter* JOHN *with a card.*)

John. The gentleman is waiting below, sir.

O. H. Is he? (*hands the card to J. H.*) What do you think of that?

J. H. Mr. Glumly! I don't know. Did he ask for you?

O. H. Yes; it seems so. Eh, John?

John. Yes, sir.

O. H. Show him up. Has he come to ask for my crazy daughter?

J. H. Nonsense, Robert. I have seen the man a good deal within the last day or two, and he is not the fool that Vansittart made him out.

O. H. Very well. We shall see. [*Exit Jacob.*

(*Enter* GLUMLY.)

G. Mr. Hollybush, I beg pardon; perhaps I am intruding at an inconvenient time.

O. H. Not at all, sir. Pray be seated. Did you wish to speak with me, sir?

G. Yes, sir. I wish to ask the favor of a little advice from you. But I suppose you are often troubled in this way, and you ought to be allowed to choose your own hours to attend to such requests.

O. H. I am quite at your service now, sir. If the matter in question is one where my advice can be useful to you, you shall have it.

G. I believe, sir, you are a director in the Quondac Iron and Coal Company; are you not?

O. H. Yes, sir.

G. It is not for myself I ask the question. If I were to invest my own money, I think I know enough about the Company now not to hesitate. But I am called on to advise another. That is a more delicate matter you know, sir.

O. H. Yes, sir.

G. There is a widow lady, a friend of mine, who has $3,000 to invest, and the stock of this Company has been recommended to her, partly, I believe, on the strength of your example.

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O. H. I took $10,000.

G. So we heard; and my friend hearing that, was disposed to invest her little fund at once. But I persuaded her to let me come and see you first, and ask you whether you thought that stock one of those sure things to which those who cannot bear a loss ought to confine themselves?

O. H. I think it very good and very safe stock.

G. Yes, sir; but pardon me; a man with many investments made with judgment, may regard them all together as safe, and be quite right. But he would perhaps not risk the whole amount of all upon any one. Or, if he did, he would choose with an eye to absolute safety.

O. H. Certainly.

G. Well, sir, now this stock offers a prospect of pretty large profit. I am not a merchant, but I have an idea that a widow, with little to venture, ought to be shy of large profits; that there must be risk with them.

O. H. You are right there, sir; and though I consider Quondac stock safe, I think a good bond and mortgage safer.

G. That is just what I wished to know. (*Rising.*) I thank you, sir. I advised my friend so, and now she will take my advice. The education of her son, and his first start in life, depend in a manner on this fund.

O. H. Two things she ought not to put at risk. Though as for a first start in life, a young man of the right sort of stuff makes a very good start with nothing.

G. Many do, sir. But others find means to get on with nothing, and end in nothing. How they live upon it, is a mystery I never could see into; but they do it, and live well.

O. H. That mystery, Mr. Glumly, is to be explained by one word, debt, or sometimes you may add another, gambling.

G. It is very odd. I made a discovery this morning which illustrates what you say, Mr. Hollybush, as if it had been invented for the purpose. I learned by chance that two friends of mine—fashionable, elegant young men about town, living like men of easy means, though I never knew exactly how—were making an urgent application, through another friend, to procure a private loan of money. But I beg pardon, I have detained you too long. Good day, sir.

O. H. Good day, sir. [*Exit G.*

(*Enter* Jacob H. *at another door, as having waited there for* G. *to go.*)

J. H. Well, how do you like him?

O. H. Pretty well, considering the prejudice I had against him. But Jacob, did you hear his last words?

J. H. Yes.

O. H. Whom does he mean, do you suppose?

J. H. I don't know.

O. H. Two friends of his, borrowing money together. That must be Hay and Hartington.

J. H. Hartington is very little his friend.

O. H. It is them he means, and through Vansittart. I'll find out more about this. If those young men are keeping afloat by borrowing, they are not the men for my sons-in-law.

J. H. Poh, poh; don't be savage. It may be a lie altogether, or it may mean some one else. Besides, did you never borrow money yourself?

O. H. Not to buy white gloves and opera tickets.

J. H. Well, well. Let's go to Vansittart's. [*Exeunt. Scene closes.*

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POPULAR PORTRAITS WITH PEN AND PENCIL.

HON. WILSON SHANNON, LATE GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

BIOGRAPHICAL sketches of distinguished men are useful in proportion to their truth and fidelity. Inflated eulogy and exaggerated praise neither do honor to the individual whose life is portrayed, nor excite emulation in those for whom the sketch is drawn. That man whose life is not its own eulogy, and does not seal its own character, without the rhetorician's aid, had better pass unnoticed, than to be exposed to public view. It is under the full force of these truths, that we venture to trace some of the prominent features of the life and character of WILSON SHANNON, in the hope that the picture presented will strike all who know him as an honest copy from nature; and that its harmony and moral beauty will be attractive to the young, and induce them to admire the virtues, perseverance, and personal characteristics which it feebly represents—stimulating them to the love of virtue, of true patriotism, and of moral dignity,—and that they may thus be honorably animated in the pursuit of fame.

Among the interesting pictures of "Western life," we find a family growing up in the "backwoods" of Ohio—houseless, homeless, parentless, living in the midst of a dense wilderness, surrounded by the untamed beasts of the forest, and for many long years without the advantages of society, schools, churches, or public improvements, and yet most eminently successful in all they undertook. It will be seen that they were estimable in all that is patriotic, virtuous, and philanthropic, whether on the battle field, or in the councils of the state or nation. And the youngest of the group, (the object of this sketch,) who is now on his way to California, has seen the "Buckeye State" grow up, with himself, from a rude forest, to a great and civilized commonwealth, with cultivated fields in every direction—with towns and flourishing cities—with a vast trade—by which Ohio has become the granary and star of the West, possessing over two millions of industrious, prosperous and happy souls.

The father of this interesting family, James Shannon, was born in Pennsylvania, of Irish parents. He was among the first of that "immortal band" who took up arms in the struggle for American Independence; he served during the entire Revolutionary war, and shared, as a soldier and patriot, with his compeers, the dangers and privations of a camp, and equally participated in the tumult of battle, and in the shouts of victory.

After the war, he moved to Ohio county, Virginia, and thence to what is now Belmont county, Ohio, and located in the forest. This venerable patriarch, while on a hunting excursion in the severe winter of 1803, was frozen to death in the woods, leaving a widow and nine children to mourn their irreparable loss.

The family possessed no real estate, and only a few articles of personal property, such as appertain solely to the most indigent pioneers. But from poverty, and the humblest position in life, the sons have risen to

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stations of honor and distinction, by their own industry, energy and probity; and their example may be imitated, whether amid the tempest of war, or where our skies smile in the "rainbow of peace," without derogating from the dignity of human nature.

George, the eldest brother, crossed the Rocky Mountains in 1802,–'3, with the expedition of Lewis and Clark, under the auspices of President Jefferson. He returned after an absence of three years. On a second trip, while exploring the Missouri, he lost a leg in a pitched battle with the savage tribes. He returned home, educated himself, studied law in Philadelphia, and had a lucrative practice in Lexington, Ky., where he was chosen District Attorney, which office he held seven years. He was then elected for three years to the legislature from Fayette county; after which he held the office of Judge of the Supreme Court for seven years. He then moved to Missouri, and was appointed District Attorney for the United States; afterwards elected to the legislature from St. Charles county, but he died prior to the time he was to occupy his seat.

Thomas served at the head of a company of volunteers, during the war of 1812. He was elected, for many years, to each branch of the Ohio legislature, and represented Belmont county in Congress.

John, another brother, served a long time with distinction, in the war of 1812.

James entered the regular army, was chosen ensign, and served during the last war with Great Britain. At its close, he commenced the study of law, practised with success in Wheeling, Va., was elected for two years to the General Assembly, and then sent as Minister, by Gen. Jackson, to Guatemala. He died on the coast of Honduras.

David was a printer boy for some time. He then studied law, went to Florida, took charge of the territorial government under Gen. Jackson, was created Judge, and died at Pensacola, universally regretted.

Wilson Shannon, the youngest brother, was born in Belmont county, Ohio, Feb. 24, 1802. When a boy, he labored, with his mother at home, to gain a livelihood; and, until 1818, assisted in subduing the forest.* He was then sent, by an older brother, to Athens College, where he remained one year; thence he was removed to Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky., where he remained two years. He then settled in St. Clairsville, his present residence; and, in 1822, commenced the study of law, persevered despite every obstacle in his path, became acquainted with all the branches of his profession, mastered the great principles that lie at the foundation of all our political, civil and religious rights, and comprehended and conquered the details of an abstruse science, though covered with the dust and rubbish of centuries.

When he began the practice of law, he gained an enviable name by his talents, sterling honor, republican habits and success. He took a common sense view of life, countenanced no evil-minded clients, kept up a just equipoise of his passive impressions and active principles, and always deliberated with caution, and acted with a prudence that has ever distinguished him in the busy scenes of life. He was, therefore, never precipitate in forming or expressing opinions, and of course not preci-

* He often speaks of the time, when a mere boy, of his going 18 miles down to St. Clairsville, with a little bag of ginseng; and of his first purchase of a hat and knife with the proceeds of his labor, and when he felt as proud of his success, as if he had won a world of wealth.

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pitate in changing them. His theories are based on facts, and their truth is known by their practical application. His aim has been to enlarge his sphere of usefulness, by obtaining a knowledge of mankind; and, relying on his own judgment and experience, which are brought to a logical test, he is never taken unawares at the bar, or in his addresses before large public bodies.

He lays down his premises, based on facts admitted by all; argues closely every point; utters his sentiments in a bold, emphatic manner; grapples suddenly with his subject; becomes fluent, but not verbose; learned, but not pedantic; strong, but never coarse; and logical, without any attempt to mislead; nor does he even attempt to excite the passions; but they are often drawn into action by the warmth of his manner, and the soundness of his arguments. Dignified and impressive at all times, his ennobling views of man and nature, and of sound principles, are always heard with profound attention and delight. Having no personal enemies, he wins all hearts by his frank, manly and courteous demeanor. He has a copiousness of ideas, but not generally of words; and every speech teems with the thoughts of a comprehensive mind, and with *point*. All is vigor, truthfulness, and strength. He has a keen relish for humour, under a quick perception of the ludicrous; and yet he is rarely, if ever, satirical; for his disposition is too amiable to wound, and his conduct being ever guided by acts of kindness and generosity. If he is ever severe, pungent, and apparently loses himself, it is when vice has triumphed over virtue, and when a guilty criminal thinks he has so adroitly laid his schemes, that no trace is left, or connection is to be found, between the *cause* and the unavenged wrongs he has perpetrated—then it is that on dissecting the evidence, and laying bare the culprit, that Gov. S. is indeed terrible. His lofty frame towers—his brows expand with a proud defiance that causes the guilty wretch to tremble at the merited exposure, and the retribution that must inevitably follow the outburst of that voice, sentiment and feeling, which is riveting conviction on the jury, court, and auditory.

In 1832, Mr. S. was nominated by the Democratic party for Congress; and although ahead of his ticket at home, and in a strong Federal county, he was defeated by a few votes in the district. In 1833, he was nominated for Prosecuting Attorney, when that office was placed in the hands of the people, and he was elected by 1,100 majority. In 1835, he was re-elected without opposition.

In 1837, the St. Clairsville Gazette announced his name for the office of Governor; and at the Democratic Convention, held in Columbus, Jan. 8, 1838, he was selected out of a number of older candidates from among a body of men of fine talents and exalted purity of character, to be the standard bearer to lead on our legions against Mr. Vance, the strong man of the Federal party—the personal friend and protegé of Henry Clay. But Mr. Shannon, after personally visiting and addressing the people of nearly every county in Ohio, was elected by about 6,000. He boldly took ground against the Federal doctrine, that "our currency should be expanded to-day, and contracted to-morrow." He advocated a revenue tariff, the independent treasury system, and an economical administration of the government. He had long opposed a latitudinarian construction of the constitution, by which means the Federal party could foist on the

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country protective tariffs, national banks, a union of bank and state, and intermeddle with the domestic institutions of sovereign sister states, and squander money, by largesses on states or individuals, for internal improvements that were not recognized by the constitution, by wise laws, or sound policy.

From the time he was elected Governor of Ohio, he labored with assiduity to improve the currency; encouraged agriculture, and the mechanic arts; fostered and aided public improvements of general advantage, and sought out men who would extend the benefits of primary schools, and promote virtue, patriotism and intelligence. It is to instruction, conveyed cheaply to every dwelling, and a prompt administration of wisely enacted laws, that he looks as the sole reliance for the stability of our Union, its glory and its strength, and our physical, moral, and political prosperity.

In 1840, Gov. S. was again nominated by the largest Democratic Convention ever held in Ohio, without a single opposing voice; but he was defeated by Mr. Corwin, by about 16,000, when Mr. Van Buren lost Ohio by over 23,000 votes.

In 1842, Gov. S. was again nominated for the gubernatorial office, without a dissenting voice, and was pressed forward as a candidate when his private affairs would scarcely justify it. But he manfully armed himself for the struggle, traversed the state in person, addressed vast crowds of his fellow-citizens, and was triumphantly elected over Mr. Corwin, his competitor, by nearly 3,500 majority. When Gov. S. headed the Democratic ticket, he always carried Ohio. He has a strong hold on the affections of her people, who always found him among the first in the advancement of the common good, and in the promotion of the interests of all. Known for his honesty, his correct business habits, his benevolence and goodness of heart, well-directed perseverance and energy of character, he has received the credit and praise to which, by his labors and worth, he was so justly entitled.

In 1844, Gov. S. was in favor of the nomination of Gen. Cass for the presidency, and he addressed a large mass meeting in Columbus, the first public one in the United States, announcing that distinguished civilian for that important office.

In the spring of the same year, President Tyler, without any solicitation or knowledge on the part of Gov. S., tendered him the mission to Mexico, which, after consulting with the best men of the Democratic party, he accepted, and in May he resigned his post as Governor, and immediately left home, but not without the warmest wishes and expressions of the public for his safety while abroad, and his return in uninterrupted health.

Gov. S. having reached Vera Cruz, determined on making a visit to the Castle of Perote, that he might see, for himself, the *Texan* prisoners who were immured in its miserable dungeons. He accordingly went there, and found 104 prisoners confined in six rooms, and personally visited each one. He found many of the men almost entirely naked, and all of them in a most destitute condition. He assured them that he would use all the means in his power to procure an order for their release, and left them in tears of gratitude and joy, for they had confidence that he would exert himself in their behalf.

He reached the city of Mexico, and immediately addressed a letter to

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Santa Anna, President of that Republic, urging, in the strongest terms, the release of the Texan troops, on the score of humanity, duty, and gratitude, for that he had himself been liberated, when his own life was hovering on the cast of a die. Santa Anna replied in a friendly note, but his answer was evasive.

The following week, Gov. S. was formally presented to Santa Anna, and recognized as Minister Plenipotentiary. At this interview, Gen. Santa Anna gave him a verbal invitation to visit the palace at any time that might suit his convenience. Gov. S. accordingly availed himself of the offer, and went as soon as he prudently could, and was received in a friendly manner. On drawing Gen. Santa Anna to the case of the *Texans*, they had a conversation of about an hour, when Santa Anna relented, and gave an order for the release of all the Texan prisoners, wherever confined within the domains of Mexico. By virtue of this order, Gov. S. had the gratification of seeing 120 men released from the most horrid dungeons, where they had been confined for years, and anticipating daily new tortures, or death itself. This eminently successful mission of love and humanity, on the part of Gov. S., has been gratefully remembered by the fortunate men, who thus escaped narrowly with their lives, and by their families, as their correspondence most feelingly depicts.

The agitation of the question of the annexation of Texas to the United States rendered the situation of Gov. S. an unpleasant, as well as a most critical one. The government of Santa Anna was tottering to its base. It was, shortly after the arrival of Gov. S., overthrown. The people and government were in arms, and a dreadful revolution going on. Nothing could he accomplish with either side; and when the news reached Mexico that Texan annexation had been consummated, and that the Mexican minister at Washington city had demanded and received his passports, the government suspended all intercourse of a diplomatic nature with the United States; and as the presence of Gov. S. could be no longer useful to our citizens, or his own government, he asked and obtained permission to return home, which he did in July, 1845.

On arriving at Washington he was received with great favor, and ably set forth our relations with Mexico, predicting that war was inevitable on the part of Mexico, and that we should prepare forthwith to meet her on the sanguinary field. On reaching St. Clairsville, Gov. S. was publicly received by his fellow-citizens of all parties; and, in answer to their address, he feelingly contrasted our own happy and exalted land—our wise and liberal institutions, and our prosperity, with the military despotism of Mexico—her oppressed and tax-ridden population—their ignorance and privations, the public plunder, and daily connivance of murder, which characterized her rulers and soldiery.

From 1845 to this time, Gov. Shannon has been engaged in his professional duties, adorning his homestead and educating his children. Last year he took the field for Gen. Cass, traversed the state of Ohio, visited two or three states, and aided in swelling the democratic vote for that distinguished patriot and erudite scholar. The change of thousands from the vote polled in the month preceding, in the counties he canvassed, proved that his labors were not without their reward.

Perhaps no man, who has mingled as much as Gov. S. in the political excitements of the day, ever possessed so enviable a personal reputation;

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for on all God's earth we know of no man who is not his warm personal friend, unless it be some who are actuated by an envy as base as unworthy the true and dignified character of the truly great; and, in his departure from the far west, society has realized an irreparable loss, and the democracy of Ohio an advocate that can never be replaced.

Under the auspices of Gov. S., a company of young and active men have gone to California, where they intend to labor at mining, and developing republican principles—thus setting an example of industry and patriotism for others which they themselves acquired from the spirit of their leader in the enterprise.

With this imperfect but truthful sketch of Gov. Shannon, we would add a few remarks.

He is a well-formed man, somewhat stoutly built, with an animated, intelligent countenance; a bright, penetrating eye; a large and active brain; a clear perception; a retentive memory, and an unerring judgment. In his manners he is easy, frank, and cordial, and deeply attached to friends, children, and home. He has firmness in carrying out his plans; great concentration of mind; is methodical in business; and possesses sufficient self-esteem, caution, and conscientiousness, love of order, generosity, and a full development of the intellect, with all that presupposes a man of generous sentiments, noble emotions, sound judgment, and profound thought. He is abstemious, temperate, and frugal; and disciplined to the strictest habits of self-denial, so indispensable to a correct life and an unclouded mind. He has no selfishness in his nature, and reposes confidence in truth, and in the patriotism of the people. He speaks directly to the head, and less to the heart. His public career has never been controlled by private esteem or personal affection. Inflexible in duty, he performs it without asking: "What have I to gain thereby?" He is no politician, in the modern sense of the term, for he despises trickery and indirection, and would wield but one weapon for success—downright, *naked truth.* He detests all secrecy in managing public affairs—all sophistry to delude the people; and looks alone to measures, and not to men, to secure good government and the blessings of liberty. He is admired as a man and friend—beloved as a parent—esteemed as a virtuous statesman and sound republican. Like General Jackson, whom he resembles in many traits of character, he would scorn to do a wrong, and would never submit to one. To the youth of our country we can confidently say: *Abi tu et fac similiter*—Go thou and do likewise.

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THE PROTECTIONIST PROPHET, AN ENLIGHTENED ENVOY.

Among the singular anomalies that the aspect of the political world presents at this moment, is the fact, that republican and free-trade America is represented at the free-trade Court of St. James by a thorough-paced protectionist, whose enormous wealth has been accumulated through the aid of laws based on principles which the people of the United States abjured forever in the election of Mr. Polk, and which England has, in the repeal of the Navigation Laws, finally erased from her statute-books. The man, who, originally a free-trader, became, as usual with apostates, the most rancorous opponent of commercial freedom, and the most obsequious solicitor for government aid, where thrift would "follow fawning," is selected to represent America at the moment when free-trade principles have become fixed, and presents his credentials to the Court of St. James, at the moment when the last vestige of protection is being struck from the statute-books. At the moment when great questions of international interest are presented for discussion, an American minister appears, noted only for the rancour with which he has assailed foreigners, and the unscrupulousness with which he has urged proximate non-intercourse. There is, however, nothing in the history of Mr. Lawrence which will lead to the inference, that former avowals of principle will in any degree interfere with the expediency of the moment. How far, however, his published letters will tend to procure for his government respect abroad, may admit of doubt.

In the month of January, 1846, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, of Boston, addressed two letters of somewhat singular character to Mr. William C. Rives, of Virginia, ostensibly upon the subject of the "Resources of Virginia," but actually intended as arguments in favor of the tariff of '42, suited to the southern market.

In these papers many strange views were mingled with bold prophecies, that speak little when tested by events for the sagacity of the new envoy.

In his letter of January 16, 1846, page 8 of the pamphlet, Mr. Lawrence estimates the expenses of the government, at the lowest, at 30 millions of dollars per annum, for the five years then ensuing; and states the revenue of the government under the tariff of protection, at 28 millions; bearing in mind that the amount of the duties received must, under that tariff, have been constantly decreasing, (for otherwise there would be no protection.) we have here, to commence upon, the somewhat important admission, that that system did not furnish sufficient revenue to meet the current expenses. The revenue of the tariff of '46 has been amply sufficient to cover even extraordinary expenses, and in its nature will continue to increase.

The second stone of this specious edifice is equally unreliable. After estimating the imports under an ad valorem tariff at 65 millions, Mr. Lawrence continues:

"Our exports have not exceeded, nor are they likely at present to exceed, 120 millions: we then have a deficit of 45 millions to provide for; and how is this

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balance to be paid? State stocks are no longer current in Europe. Even the stocks of the United States cannot be negotiated on favorable terms."

What are the facts now developed? Our exports have kept pace with our imports; state stocks which, under whig financiering, were "no longer current in Europe," are in great demand, and those of the United States, which then could not "be negotiated on favorable terms," are now a favorite investment in England and on the Continent at 10 per cent. premium.

"If the importations fall short of 140 millions, we then have an empty treasury. In one case, the country will be made bankrupt to fill the treasury, and in the other, the treasury will be bankrupt, and resort to Congress for treasury notes and loans. It may be said that our exports will increase with our imports; this supposition I think fallacious."

Is the country bankrupt? Is the treasury insolvent? At no period of our history has the business of our country, in all its ramifications, displayed more vitality than now. The currency is sound, and, with the exception of certain interests which have not yet recovered from the expansion occasioned by a prohibitive tariff, the merchandize of our country is producing remunerating prices. The government, although contending with the financial difficulties attending a foreign war, have found no difficulty in obtaining loans upon unusually favorable terms, and this in spite of the injurious opposition of a whig House of Representatives.

The supposition "that our exports will increase with our imports," has not proved "fallacious." Indeed, it would be strange if the English or French merchants should be found so eminently patriotic, as to prefer to benefit their country by selling goods to us without pay, in order that the exports of England and France might exceed their imports.

Two extracts, showing the *far-sighted sagacity* of the would-be government financier, would seem to require little comment. The italics are our own.

"Wheat is prohibited by the "Sliding Scale," and in case of a total repeal of the Corn Laws, *very little wheat would be shipped from this country*, inasmuch as it can be laid down, in ordinary years of harvest, much cheaper from the Baltic: It is possible that Great Britain may abate her Corn Laws, so far as to admit Indian Corn at a nominal duty. *If it should be done, I have little faith in our being able to ship it to advantage.*"

The corn-laws have been repealed, and Great Britain has found it for her interest to take grain from her customer, paying for it in commodities of her own production, rather than purchase on the Baltic with specie, and incur the expense of an additional voyage.

It has been said that the defeat of Mr. Lawrence's motion last year, was owing to the famine of 1847. Alas, for the feeble argument! There is no famine this year, and the exports of bread-stuffs, as compared with last year, are as follows:

EXPORT OF BREAD-STUFFS FROM UNITED STATES TO GREAT BRITAIN, SEPTEMBER TO JULY 1ST.

	Flour. bbls.	Meal. bbls.	Wheat.	Corn.
1848	160,086	98,444	215,139	3,700,065
1849	1,007,640	79,704	1,048,593	12,333,890

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The following prophecy, worthy of Miller in his palmy days, is sufficiently amusing to be copied at length:

"In less than twelve months after the new plan shall have been in operation, this whole country will be literally surfeited with foreign merchandize; (if it be not so, the revenue will fall short of the wants of the government;) we shall then owe a debt abroad of millions of dollars, which must be paid in coin. The exchanges go up to a point that makes it profitable to ship specie; money becomes scarce in the Atlantic cities; yet bills on England and France do not fall; the loans made to the South and West are called in; demands for debts due from those sections of country are made; exchange cannot be obtained,—produce is purchased and shipped; and when it arrives at the North, it will not command the cost in the West; a paralysis will have struck the business of the country; produce will no longer answer to pay debts due at the north, and the next resort is to coin, which is to be collected and sent down the Mississippi, or over the mountains, to Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York, and Boston. Western and Southern credits are cut off, as the people of those sections can no longer promptly meet their engagements. The new states, and the outer circle of the Republic, are the weak points; and the first giving way of the banks is heard from those places where there is the least amount of capital. We see the storm approaching like a thunder shower in a summer's day; we watch its progress, but cannot escape its fall. It at last reaches the great marts of trade and the exchanges, having swept every thing in its course; and the banks of the Atlantic cities, after a violent effort to maintain their credit and honor, are forced to yield to this Utopian experiment on the currency. I have no hesitation in stating that all this will take place within the space of eighteen months from the time this experimental bill goes into operation; and not a specie-paying bank, doing business, will be found in the United States. Where will be the revenue which was to produce such a mighty sum under low duties? Where is the Treasury, and the Secretary? and the President and his Cabinet? The Treasury is empty; the Secretary is making his estimates of income for 1849, and preparing to ask Congress for a large *batch* of Treasury Notes; or perhaps the deficit is so large that a loan may be required."

Awful picture of destitution! The twelve and eighteen months of these "lamentations" expired one year since. Have these calamities indeed swept over the land while we were lying in the sleep of the renowned Rip Van Winkle? or do we recognise this prophecy to be the empty raving of a would-be financier? It would seem that we have here the clearest evidence of the entirely erroneous news of the sect of protectionists. The picture which they have drawn of the result of a revenue tariff being so far from the actual fact, can we but doubt in accepting as faithful, their "colored engravings" of the millenium to be anticipated under the operation of specific protection? Farther, are we not justified in interpreting their dream, as their prophecy has proved—*by the contrary?*

But we have not yet finished the examination of the predictions.

"If the present movement against the act of 1842 shall succeed, in accordance with Mr. Walker's plan, it must be followed soon by a counter movement; if not on the part of the people, the government itself will recommend it for revenue."

When and on whose part is this counter movement to commence? High whig authorities have denied the intention as well as the ability of the in-coming administration to restore the duties of '42, and certainly it cannot be expected of the democratic party.

How stands the government, which, in default of popular action, we are told, would recommend this counter action *for revenue?*

The average income from customs under the exclusive system was

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less than 24 millions of dollars, and as has been before remarked, the nature of that system implied the constant reduction of that amount. The net revenue, under the tariff of '46, has averaged 31 millions, being an increase of actual revenue of the sum of seven millions of dollars per annum. And this amount, in the nature of things, must increase with our population.

Thus much for Mr. Lawrence's prophecies. A few instances are quoted of his inaccurate statements of facts, by means of which dates and statistics are made to subserve his present purposes without regard to their other applications.

On page 33, Letter III., he says:—

"I assume the responsibility of stating, that a laboring man may be, and is, clothed with American manufactures, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, as cheaply as a laboring man in Great Britain, or any other part of Europe, who wears as comfortable garments; and that the revenue is raised principally from articles consumed by those classes of society who are in easy pecuniary circumstances."

If, then, clothing goods are as high in Great Britain as here, how happens it that Mr. Lawrence and his co-workers should be crying out for protection on those fabrics?

On page 14, Letter II., Mr. L. says:—"There have been three periods of universal distress throughout our land since the peace of 1783, and in each case under low duties, and dates one of these periods from 1815 to 1824." And in Letter III., page 24, he speaks of the "first high protective tariff in 1816," and remarks, "the tariff law of 1816 was founded in wisdom," and describes it as an act that has done much to promote the prosperity of the Union.

Here we must close this brief view of the inaccuracies of our pamphleteer, and it may not, perhaps, be amiss to do so in his own words:

"I have only to ask of those who are now the actors on our great political stage, not to experiment upon the prosperity and destinies of a happy and contented people."

One of the main arguments of Mr. Lawrence against the *ad valorem* duties was, that—

"I deem this feature in the bill a violation of sound principle, and such as must be condemned by men of all parties whose experience and knowledge are of value. It is no other in practice, than to drive from our foreign trade a large number of honest importing merchants, and to place their business in the hands of unscrupulous foreigners. Time may reveal the truth of this prediction."

Singularly enough, he has now been appointed to represent his country among those "unscrupulous foreigners;" and well will it be for our national honor if his bold and baseless statements shall prove no detriment to his usefulness among them. We trust that he will not have closed his eyes to the lessons of experience; and although wiser heads have been in the same situation dazzled by the splendor and blandishments of the British aristocracy, whose vast wealth, like his own, was derived from the people through the operation of oppressive laws, his safety will lie in the fact, that their principles of political economy are generally more sound than his own, and by visiting the fountain of aristocracy he may become more democratic in his sentiments.

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FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

The aspect of commercial affairs has not materially changed during the month which has elapsed. The tendency of exchanges has been downward, and of money to accumulate in the great reservoirs of business, as well from successful collections as through the absence of demand. The prevalence of the epidemic has checked that spirit of enterprise which usually manifests itself at times when money is easily obtained; and with abundance of supply on one hand, and limited demand on the other, the rate of interest has been very low at call. The exports of produce have continued large, and, as compared with last year, the value of cotton and breadstuffs exported from the United States is greater by $25,000,000, to which may be added some $9,000.000 stocks, drawn abroad by the demand on European account. As an indication of the rising value of American credits in London, we extract the following from the Circular of the Messrs. Barings:

QUOTATIONS OF AMERICAN STOCKS IN LONDON—BARING'S QUOTATIONS.

	United States 6's, 1868.	New-York 5's, 1860.	Pennsylvania 5's.	Ohio 6's, 1860.	Massachusetts 5's, sterling.	Louisiana 5's, 1850.
February	—	—	63 a65	—	—	—
April 7	— a —	—	63¼a66	85a87½	92 a—	76a80
July 7	94 a 96	89 a91	65 a66	85a87	96 a98	80a—
August 25	96 a 96½	89 a—	66 a68	90a—	—	—
September 22	96 a —	90 a91	66 a67	87a—	96 a98	—
November 10	97 a 97½	—	65 a66	88a89	94 a95½	—
" 17	95 a 97	88 a89	66 a67	89a90	93½a94½	—
December 1	96 a —	90 a—	67 a—	90a91	94 a96	85a86
" 14	96 a 97½	91 a—	70 a—	91a—	96 a97	86a—
1829, Jan. 26	104 a105	92 a—	71½a72½	93a—	98 a99	87a—
February 9	105½a106½	95 a—	73 a95	94a—	101 a102	86a87
March 9	106 a106½	95 a96	76 a77	96a—	103 a —	87a88
April 5	105½a106½	—	78 a—	—	102 a —	—
May 11	106¼a107	94 a95	78 a79	97a99	101¼a —	87a—
" 18	108 a109	94 a95	79 a80	98a99	101¼a —	—
June 1	110¼a111	95 a96	79 a80	99a100	101 a102	88a90
" 8	— a110¼	94 a95	80 a81	97a100	101 a102	88a90
" 15	*— a108	95 a—	80¼a81	——	101¼a102	—
" 30	109 a109¼	95 a96	82 a83	100a101	103 a104	—
July 14	109¼a109¾	96 a97	82 a83	102a103	104¼a —	89a90

The amount of stock sent forward to England has continued very considerable. The issues at Washington from 20th April to July 13, to foreigners, were as follows:

Loan of	Week April 28.	to May 11.	May 18.	May 25.	July 6.	July 13.	Total issues.
1842	16,000	18.400	—	—	54,900	24,400	113,900
1843	—	—	—	1,000	24,000	25,000	70,000
1846	2.000	150,000	3,000	5,000	3.000	10.000	38,000
1847	6,000	177,000	83,900	42,700	387,100	156,200	850,000
1848	31,000	54,400	41,550	19,000	83,800	33,000	262,750
Total,	$55,000	264,800	127,550	67,700	512,800	246,700	1,334,150

These issues nearly complete the amounts authorized by existing laws. There remains, however, a quantity of Treasury Notes, convertible at the

* Ex-dividend.

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pleasure of the holder, into stock. either transferable or coupon. The extent to which this process has taken place since Dec., is manifest in the following return of Treasury Notes outstanding:

	Issues prior to July, 1846.	Per Act of July, 1846.	Act of Jan., 1847.	Total.
Dec., 1848	$159,239 31	$237,700	$10,753,000	$11,149.939 31
July, 1849	146,189 31	119.350	3,768,950	4,034,489 31
Decrease	$13,050 00	148,350	6,984,050	$7,115,450 00

A considerable portion of the coupon stock has gone abroad, and altogether the amount is not far from $8,000,000 of United States, and $4,000,000 of New-York and other stocks, which has gone abroad since January. It will be observed, that inasmuch as this has been supplied by new issues to a considerable extent, the exportation has not directly relieved this market. Inasmuch, however, as the issues are now nearly done, and the demand continues good at still advancing prices, the probability is that much money now locked up or in these stocks here will be released at fair prices, and the money find other modes of investment. The prices in this market have, notwithstanding the inertness consequent upon the summer months and the prevalence of cholera, been sustained, as follows:

PRICES OF STOCKS IN NEW-YORK.

	United States.					New-York	Ohio	Ky.
1848.	5's, 1853.	6's, 1856.	6's, 1862.	6's, 1867	6's, 1868.	6's.	6's.	6's.
Oct...	93½*a* 93¾	103 *a*103⅛	103¼*a*103⅜	104¾*a*105	105 *a*105½	105 *a*105½	100	97½
1849.								
Jan. 22,	99 *a* 99½	105 *a*105¼	107 *a*107¼	109 *a*109¼	109¼*a*109½	108 *a*109	103	101
Feb.19,	98 *a* 98½	105 *a*105½	107 *a*107½	110¼*a*110½	111⅜*a*111½	108 *a*109	103¼	101¾
" 28,	99½*a* —	106 *a*107	109½*a*110	111½*a*112	112¾*a*133	108½*a*109¼	103½	102
Mar.12,	99 *a* 99½	104 *a*105	107 *a*109	110 *a*111	112 *a*112½	108 *a*109	103½	102
Apl.12,	97 *a* 97½	104 *a*104½	107 *a*107½	107½*a*107¾	110 *a*110½	108 *a* —	103¾	102
May12,	99 *a*100	106½*a*166¾	109¼*a*109½	112 *a*112½	113¼*a*113½	105 *a*106	106	103¼
June12,	100 *a*100½	107 *a* —	110 *a*110¼	115 *a*115¼	116 *a*116⅜	111 *a*111½	110	107¼
July 2,	101 *a*101½	107¼*a*107½	111¾*a*112	116¾*a*117	116¾*a*117	112 *a*114	108½	108¾
" 16,	101 *a*101¼	107 *a*107¼	111 *a*111¼	116¾*a*117	116¾*a*117	114 *a*114¼	109	107

The transfer of new stock abroad for the account of government has had an influence upon exchanges, although it has not directly influenced the supply of capital beyond what would have been the case had the stock all been taken at home. The government has got what money it wanted abroad, while the large and continued sale of American produce have continued to enhance the supply of money for commercial purposes. In 1844 there was no foreign demand for stocks, yet prices of United States' went much higher than they have now reached. The amount then outstanding was indeed very small as compared with now, the war loans having intervened. The resumption of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the compromises of Indiana and Illinois, have also contributed to equalize the value of the State and Federal stocks by restoring confidence in the former. Hence they have attained, under the present foreign demand, a higher comparative figure. The effect of this restoration of credit is to make capital available in all the states, and by facilitating the realization of credits, to promote investment in works of improvement and local factories. By this means the capital becomes rapidly reproductive; and if the sale of stock abroad involves the necessity of remitting money for dividends, the release of capital from stock investments for employment in productive enterprises enhances the quantities of produce that may be made available to meet those dividends. The rapid extension of factories in the Southern states is a very gratifying evidence of the reproductive power of capital employed in industrial purposes. It is probable that the accumulation of capital in the country now from

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reproduction and immigration is greater than ever before, and it may be questioned whether, if there is no general revival of bank credits, the tendency of which is always to consume real capital, there may not speedily be a permanent reduction in the rate of interest throughout the Union, and that, in spite of all usury laws, money will not command anywhere, as a general thing, more than 5 per cent. interest. The imports and exports of the port of New-York have been for six months as follows :—

IMPORTS INTO THE PORT OF NEW-YORK.

	1848.				1849.			
	Specie.	Free.	Dutiable.	Total.	Specie.	Free.	Dutiable.	Total.
January	$48,032	$480,829	$9,104,104	$9,632,965	$57,700	$285,117	$7,833,710	$8,416,947
February	49,502	141,539	9,566,859	9,757,900	21,323	590,849	8,257,786	8,564,226
March	23,781	2,199,749	5,971,601	8,194,131	130,895	1,401,500	7,938,478	8,650,214
April	65,719	475,314	6,689,716	7,180,947	638,746	2,192,798	5,808,658	8,639,703
May	133,922	1,283,754	5,087,278	6,504,952	1,137,932	887,180	5,778,628	7,804,760
June	69,532	525,088	4,718,404	5,313,044	122,743	344,434	5,057,275	5,524,452
Total	$391,488	5,106,273	41,087,963	47,083,949	2,109,339	5,601,878	40,665,025	47,600,277

The import of goods to be paid for has been rather less this year than last, while the exports of produce have been greater.

EXPORTS OF THE PORT OF NEW-YORK.

	1848.				1849.			
		FOREIGN.				FOREIGN.		
	Specie.	Free.	Dutiable.	Domestic.	Specie.	Free.	Dutiable.	Domestic.
Jan..	$1,183,517	$4,475	$222,689	$2,456,615	$122,582	$29,923	$122,633	$2,109,903
Feb..	433,746	15,540	432,909	1,979,428	106,851	42,554	308,824	2,190,649
March,	452,507	99,639	216,490	2,184,194	36,596	63,303	269,287	2,687,806
April.	1,180,422	21,793	183,139	1,650,046	73,558	45,713	77,383	3,737,013
May..	2,249,253	35,954	180,775	2,464,738	373,916	63,499	488,492	3,946,768
June..	1,971,915	12,213	147,019	2,231,844	596,411	29,464	416,428	3,317,740
Total.	$7,471,360	189,735	1,383,021	12,971,775	1,359,824	274,456	1,683,047	17,989,885

For the month of July the imports of goods will greatly exceed those of the corresponding month last year. The exports of domestic produce, owing mostly to the rise in cotton, will also be greater, and it is observable that the aggregate value of these exports for the first six months is nearly 40 per cent. higher than last year. The comparative value of cotton exported from the Union this year and last is indicated in the following table :—

EXPORTS OF COTTON FROM THE UNITED STATES, MONTHLY, WITH ESTIMATED VALUE, BASED ON PRICE OF FAIR COTTON IN NEW-YORK, ON 1ST OF EACH MONTH.

	1848.			1849.		
	Bales.	Prices.	Value.	Bales.	Prices.	Value.
Sept. to Jan. 1	327,448	9½a10½	$13,097,920	483,793	6¾a7½	$13,570,600
February	120,025	8½a 8⅞	4,080,850	179,317	7¼a8	5,469,168
March	195,605	8 a 8⅝	6,454,965	258,690	7¼a8¼	8,019,390
April	326,098	7¼a 7¾	10,082,980	360,353	7¼a8	10,810,590
May	266,249	6 a 6¾	6,922,474	293,168	7¼a8	8,795,040
June	216,565	6⅝a 7⅜	6,063,580	298,491	7¾a8½	9,551,719
July	183,905	6⅝a 7½	5,149,340	243,398	8¼a9¼	8,438,930
Total	1,645,895		$51,876,069	2,117,210		$64,655,430

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The exports of breadstuffs have also been as follows :—

EXPORT OF BREADSTUFFS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, SINCE 1ST SEPTEMBER, 1848.

From	Flour. bbls.	Meal. bbls.	Wheat. bush.	Corn. bush.
New-York, July 10	635 070	34,932	563,671	5,653,330
New-Orleans, June 30	152,269	4,063	122.641	2,531,947
Philadelphia, June 30	62,038	21,584	195,783	6,281,286
Baltimore, July 4	73,808	7,407	120,300	833,612
Boston, July 7	12,782	3,518	9,728	494,904
Other Ports, June 30	8,195	5,103	31,606	676,736
Total	944,162	76,607	1,043,729	11,472,015
Last year to July 5	159,221	95,971	215,139	3,386,636

The value of this enhanced export is nearly $4,000,000, and to a considerable extent promotes a depression in the exchanges, which continue heavy, notwithstanding that the abundance of money facilitates the remittances of importers.

The export demand for produce continues good, and the news from Europe is of further improvement, and an advance in cotton, resulting from the cheerful aspect of the manufacturing districts and the favorable accounts from India, as well as partially by the more tranquil aspect of Europe. The crops of France and England promise well; but there are already accounts of a re-appearance of the potato rot in Ireland, supported by a continued demand for Indian corn. The political aspect of Europe has not materially changed. The prospect of any serious military movements on a scale so extended as to disturb the industry of western Europe for the present year is not imminent; and the probabilities are, that the consumption of goods, amid the favorable circumstances for cheap production and the low price of food, will continue considerable, supporting the price of cotton under the large receipts. It is a gratifying feature of our own markets, that the free-trade principle, on which the tariff of 1846 was projected, has so far vindicated itself, that the quantity of raw material taken by American manufacturers increases more rapidly under the low tariff than it ever did under the protective scale. The quantities taken by United States manufacturers from the deliveries on the seaboard, are represented in the following figures :—

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON IN THE UNITED STATES, SEPT. 1 TO JULY 17.

	1848.	1849.
Stock on hand, September 1	197,604	144.815
Received to July 7	2,233,164	2,664,903
Supply, bales	2,430,768	2,809,718
Export, September 1 to July 7	1,710,216	2,148,145
Balance	720,552	661,573
Stock remaining	239,175	173,300
Taken by manufacturers	481,377	488,273

The state of the markets in respect of prices has generally operated to induce larger purchases by manufacturers at one season of the year rather than other. Thus, last year, when prices were falling, as seen in the above table, the manufacturers bought largely in the last half of the year, and this year, when the price has been advancing under an active export demand, they have bought less.

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The following table shows the number of bales taken by United States manufacturers from the quantity delivered on the seaboard:—

BALES OF COTTON TAKEN BY UNITED STATES MANUFACTURERS ANNUALLY.

	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	
First six months	275,296	314,313	235,956	248,812	207,303	
Second six months	113,710	108,284	192,011	282,960	180,970	4 ms.
Total for the year	389,006	422,597	427,967	531,772	488,273	10ms.

Under the tariff of 1842, the whole increase of consumption in four years was 154,747 bales; and thus far, under the tariff of 1846, the increase is already 130,000 bales, taken from the ports. The quantities of cotton taken from plantation by the rapidly multiplying factories of the South are not here taken into account. Those quantities were last year placed at 75,000 bales, and will this year fall not much short of 100,000 bales. Thus the consumption of the raw material in the United States has now reached a larger figure than the amount taken by British consumers. The enhanced consumption it is also to be considered, is by southern and western factories, which have no protection against the New-England factories of immense capital, and which manufactured this year for southern and western consumption equal to 535,200,000 yards of cotton cloth, against an importation from England of 17,000,000 yards. The exports of cotton goods of eastern manufacture were nearly 50,000,000 yards, and re-export of foreign manufacture 10,000,000 yards. Hence the production of southern and western factories, being equal to 120,000,000 yards, had to contend against 485,000,000 yards of New-England production, paying no duties, and 7,000,000 yards foreign, paying 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. It is evident that if the South and West have so successfully withstood the free competition of New-England, it is out of the power of Old England to affect them at all, while the low prices that have ruled under the free competition have induced a greatly-extended consumption of the raw material.

It is a consequence of selling large quantities of goods at low prices, that the producer of the raw material and the operative obtain a much larger share of the profit at the expense of capital. When a great deal of cloth is to be given for a comparatively small amount of money, there is a larger demand for raw material, and for labor to work it up. This increased demand raises the value of both, and the competition lies between capitalists, whose profits are diminished. For this reason it is that tariffs are so eagerly sought by the companies and millionaires. By preventing the competition of foreign capital, prices are kept at such a rate as guages consumption within the production of the raw material and the supply of labor; both these, therefore, are at the mercy of the manufacturer, and the margin of his profits is great in proportion. The moment, however, capital competes with him, and lower prices, under the continued rivalry of capital, stimulate consumption, the operative and the producer of the raw material are emancipated. On this healthy basis are the factories of the South and West growing up, supported by a steady currency; and they will continue to grow, as they have done, under the severe competition of the large capital of the East, until the local demand being supplied, the cotton will go down the Mississippi in the shape of cloths, instead of cotton.

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NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

1.—Rural Letters, and other Records of Thought at Leisure. By N. Parker Willis. New-York: Baker & Scribner.

Mr. Willis is an author possessing more notoriety than real fame. We question whether, even among ephemeral writers, there is one so well known yet so little appreciated. Criticism—oral or written—very readily allows him due credit for brilliancy of style, a modicum of fancy, a degree of wit, but little if anything beside; while it visits most severely the faults of his manner—and with cause; for these lie on the surface, beyond which the criticism of our times seldom ventures, for want either of inclination or specific gravity. Thus are many led to draw the rashest inferences; they notice the sparkling current of the stream and its rapid current, and they conclude that it must be shallow—as if sluggish waters alone had deep beds.

We are as keenly alive as any one to the faults of this writer; a perverse love of neologisms, a straining after effect, a determination to perceive analogies which nowhere exist, and a morbid affection for gentility, the more obnoxious, that it sometimes betrays him into the shabby genteel, viz., that finery in style which resembles a pair of white kid gloves slightly soiled, or a Camelia Japonica worm-bitten. But while we see, or think we see, his deficiencies, we also see evidence of some of the loftiest faculties an author can possess: Wit, Fancy and Imagination. His claim to the former two can hardly be gainsayed; his very sins result from the abuse of those powers; but we may have to break a lance to establish his claim to Imagination, owing to the superficial mode of criticism, which daily spreads abroad the most erroneous and unjust opinions.

What is Imagination? Here the dictionaries avail us not, and professing definition-mongers only cloud our vision. If we go to Leigh Hunt, Carlyle, or even Macauley, for light, we shall be entertained with rhetoric of the highest kind, vastly creditable to them as imaginative writers, but leaving us wholly in darkness as to what Imagination really is. For our part, although we do not pretend to define it, we have a test of our own which we consider as infallible as any in chemistry, to ascertain whether an author possesses imagination. After reading his work with what degree of attention he has the talent to exact at our hands, we shut our eyes and try to recall the *picture* which the perusal ought to have left in our mind. If we find there a clear *image*, we feel certain the writer has *imagination*. This, we feel, is a severe ordeal for any writer to pass through; but Mr. Willis can submit himself to it without apprehension. Thanks to him, there now dwells in our mind a vivid picture of rural delights, which makes us, in the midst of our labors, cherish a dream and a hope of some future Glenmary for ourself—trout-brook, sculptured forest, orioles, "beloved hand," and all; but particularly, that snug little place "under the bridge," where to scribble in sun or shade, at will. We are no fashionable *ennuyé* of Broadway, sighing for ideal felicity on a farm, and liable, therefore, to take fire at rural descriptions; our appreciation of those things—description and country—is well sobered and tempered by actual experience. Therefore, if, under the circumstances, the "Letters from under a Bridge" have left such a vivid impression upon us, we contend that Mr. Willis must possess a great deal of that invaluable gift, Imagination. Q.E.D.

What error of judgment, it may be asked, has betrayed a writer thus gifted into the extravagant affectations which have arrayed against him such a host of critics, great and small? Was it an inherent defect of the mind, or a determination to prove a fit organ for exclusive Japonica-dom? The following pretty passage, which we extract from the work before us, may furnish our question with a specious kind of answer, which, if not absolutely "*vero*," is certainly "*ben trovato*."

"As a 'stock' or 'starring' player upon the literary stage, of course you desire a crowded audience; and it is worth your while, perhaps, to inquire (more curiously than is laid down in most advices to authors) what is the number and influence of the judicious, and what nuts it is politic to throw to the groundlings. Abuse is, in criticism, what shade is in a picture, discord in harmony, acid in punch, salt in seasoning. Unqualified praise is the death of Tarpeia, and to be neither praised nor abused is more than death—it is inanition. *Query*—how to procure yourself to be abused? In your chemical course next year, you will probably give a morning's attention to the

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analysis of the pearl, among other precious substances; and you will be told by the professor, that it is in consequence of an excess of carbonate of lime in the flesh of the oyster—in other words, *the disease* of the sub-aqueous animal, who produces it. Now, to copy this politic invalid—to learn wisdom of an oyster—find out what is the most pungent disease of your style, and hug it till it becomes a pearl. A fault carefully studied is the germ of a peculiarity; and a peculiarity is a pearl of great price to an author. The critics begin very justly by hammering at it as a fault—and, after it is polished into a peculiarity, they still hammer at it as a fault, and the noise they make attracts attention to the pearl; and up you come from the deep sea of obscurity, not the less intoxicated with sunshine, because, but for your disease, you would never have seen it."

This, to say the least of it, is ingenious. But what if the disease, instead of originating in the excess of something, results from the want of a vital organ? We cannot recall a single sentence from the pen of this writer which shows a spontaneous flow of genuine feeling. Never, in reading his works, have we felt that delightful thrill which runs through our person, and makes us turn, with moistening eyelids, from the page of Dickens, Lamb, and (occasionally) Bulwer. There is no pathos in Mr. Willis. Not that he attempts it and lapses into Bœtian *bathos;* his native taste preserves him from so mortal a taint. He seems to distrust his power in that respect, and with a Pelham-like mask of extreme good breeding, avoids any approach towards that difficult ground. But for this want of pathos—but for this lack of a chastening background of sombre hue to his delightful miniatures, Mr. Willis would rank high among the very best essayist in the British world of letters.

2.—Lady Alice; or, the New Una. A Novel. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

This is a very remarkable book in many respects, and has consequently created a good deal of talk, much curiosity to see it, and eventually a great deal of wonder as to what it is all about. The author, it appears, projected a regular novel on the old stereotyped plan, with two lovers for heroine and hero, who encountered the usual romantic difficulties on their winding way to the altar, in the course of which a rogue is killed, and happiness crowns the virtuous at last; and in order not to deviate more than possible from the sentimentality of the old school, the scene is among the veritable aristocracy of the British Islands, with a plentiful supply of Cliffords, Courtenays and Coningsbys, &c., extracted from the peerage list. Its execution is what is called "artistic;" that is, the natural flow of life is trained into confined limits, as the German trims trees into geometrical figures, or as a meandering stream is straitened into a canal, and this latter object is more in point, as the purpose of the work is to transport Puseyite doctrine from the mind of the Rev. author into the noddles of novel readers. This mode of disseminating *truth* has been much in vogue of late, particularly with our Catholic brethren, whose example in this, as in other things, the learned author is disposed to follow. As it is sought, in the guise of a moral tale, to circumvent heresy by making "Puseyite truths" palatable, as modern pills are sugared over until the "children cry for them," so has the timid nature of American criticism been fairly taken by surprise, outwitted, and done brown, by this most sagacious teacher of moral truths. The devil and Yankee critics stand but little chance with him. The Rev. Mr. Huntington, in the course of five years' travel, it appears, spent a few days in England, and knowing the gullibility of John Bull, as well as the well-known weakness of his literary countrymen, determined, with the example of Cooper before his eyes, to take the "Bull" by the horns, and not only write an English book, but a book about English aristocracy, the very exclusive cream of British society. He accordingly bought Debrett's Peerage, price "one pun ten," and from materials therein contained, forthwith constructed a water-tight vessel to hold Puseyite droppings. This production was received with well-merited encomiums. The "Court Journal" averred that it exhibits extraordinary acquaintance with, and insight into British aristocratic society. Others, with sagacious nod, intimated their knowledge of the fact, that the highest leaders of fashion had aided the author. In short, all hands acknowledged the truth of the picture of aristocracy, as portrayed by a republican imagination. This success in London, of course settled the matter here, and the author, secure against the critics, also stole a march on the publishers, by getting the work copyrighted here simultaneously with its appearance in London. The management of the publication, we are inclined to think, is far preferable to the management of the work, which has very little of sound morality or practical sense, and deviates from the line of the probable, in its incidents, far more than the American public will think desirable. The most attractive feature of the book is its external appearance, which is really admirable, in paper, general style, and typography.

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3.—A Lift to the Lazy. George P. Putnam, New-York.

At this season of the year, when the debilitating influence of the summer's sun deprives the active of their energy, and makes laziness fashionable, a "lift" to those so afflicted is certainly desirable—more particularly at this time when an all-pervading pestilence adds its insidious load to the usual burden of life, and increases the languor of mind as well as of body. The present "lift" is apparently well calculated to aid in removing the load of doubt that hangs around many popular sayings, mysterious maxims and dimly-seen facts, that float in the world of every-day knowledge, and which the "lazy" are not expected to penetrate on their own hook. The collection is very comprehensive, and the explanations generally correct as well as amusing. Occasionally, however, we are inclined to differ; as a single instance, the Knickerbocker epithet of "loafer," by some roundabout process, is derived from the Spanish "*gallofear*," a vagabond. The fact is, however, that ours is a Dutch or German population more than a Spanish, and the German "laufer," signifying "runner"—"running footman," but generally used in German idioms in application to roadside beggars and loungers, has only been adopted into English from the immigrants among us, with very little change in import, spelling or pronunciation. The appreciation of a snob is, however, far more accurate.

"But a more familiar instance is afforded, in what may be called the 'Merchant Prince snob.' of our own day. With a palace for a residence, he occupies but the basement, the parlors being devoted to the four times a year reception of dinner or ball guests, unless a domestic funeral should put in a claim, with carriages and horses in plenty, yet riding in an omnibus, the fare of which, in the form of a six-penny piece, he generally pulls from his mouth, where he deposited it on entering the vehicle, 'that he might have it handy,' he pares and cleans his nails with a sharp-pointed penknife during the ride. With a library, containing at least a dictionary, he writes to his saddler for a sett of harness. (but all snobs spell set with a double t,)—and he talks to his tailor about 'pants.' He stops at the Wall-street auction room, in company with another of the same species, and gazes through his hollowed hand at an 'undoubted original,' in the shape of a fourth-rate copy from a very bad master, and talks over his shoulder of 'tone' and 'fore-shortening' to his fellow, who pokes the ferule of his cane against the stomach of one of the figures in a brick red cloak, and says it 'stands out,' &c. &c."

The attempts at wit are of a very lugubrious sort, and the supercilious sneers at other classes of society, betray the legal fop.

4.—America and the Americans. By the late Achille Murat, ci-devant Prince Royal of the Two Sicilies—citizen of the United States, &c. Translated from the French. By Henry J. Bradfield. W. H. Graham.

Prince Murat has been well known to and deservedly popular among the people of Florida, less as the son of Napoleon's renowned brother-in-law, the model cavalry officer of Europe, than as the talented and amiable gentleman and the worthy republican. His little work upon the country of his adoption, dedicated to his friend Count Thibeaudeaux, evinces much talent, and is of considerable interest. Its value has, however, been very considerably enhanced by the notes and additions of its editor and translator, Capt. Bradfield, who was an officer of a regiment of Lancers in the Belgian service, commanded by Prince Murat. Capt. Bradfield has been well and favorably known to the literary world, as well in England as in the United States, since his recent arrival. He is a gentleman of considerable attainments, refined literary taste, and what is rare among literary men at the present moment, is of great industry and research, tempered with excellent judgment. Having been among us but a few months, the notes and emendations of the work of Col. Murat show extraordinary information and perspicuity of judgment on the part of the editor in relation to our national affairs, and the operation of existing elements of progress. We conceive it not among the least of the advantages that flow from our glorious institutions, that gentlemen and scholars are drawn hither, and freely received into the bosom of our society, improving and being improved.

5.—Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. By Dr. John C. L. Gieseler, Consistorial Counselor, and ordinary Professor of Theology in Göttingen. Translated from the German, by Samuel Davidson, L.L. D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Ecclesiastical History, in the Lancashire Independent College. Vols. I. and II. Harper Brothers.

The peculiar merits of this great work of Dr. Gieseler are its profound research and rigid impartiality. The results of the most extraordinary labor are given in a few clear and condensed words, accompanied by such copious references as enable the

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doubting reader to recur readily to the sources of statement. The clearest proof of the rigid impartiality of the historian consists in the blame which has by opposing parties been imputed to him, for withholding his opinion on the side they most affect. This admitted fact has constituted a text-book rather than an extended history. The translator informs us that, on looking about for a text-book which he could put into the hands of his students, as the substratum of lectures on ecclesiastical history, could find none so suitable to his purpose as the present; and he accordingly recommended to the enterprising publishers to bring out a new version of the new edition, and this has been done in a most acceptable form. It is indeed a wonderful trait of the age in which we live, that works of such value can be presented in such admirable dress to the public for a sum so trifling.

6.—The History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Organization of the Government under the Federal Constitution. By Richard Hildreth. In 3 vols. New-York: Harper Brothers.

The second volume of this admirable history has made its appearance. The white paper, large type, accurate index, and marginal dates, make the work very attractive, and, from the reputation it has already acquired for comprehensiveness and faithfulness of detail, it must become indispensable to those who would desire a clear knowledge of the early men and things of our country, unbiassed by party views or the romantic glitter thrown around them by writers whose aim is effect rather than instruction. The mind of the reader is not distracted from the story, and his judgment confused by misty reasonings upon abstract questions; but the matter in hand is kept constantly before him, while the incidents are combined in the best manner to shed the strongest light without interrupting the view. That the volumes will have an extensive sale, there can be no doubt.

7.—The Domestic Practice of Hydropathy, with 15 Engraved Illustrations of important subjects. By Edward Johnson, M. D. John Wiley, 161 Broadway.

The progress of Hydropathy, or Water Cure, as a science, has been rapid in this country, as well as in England. The number of publications upon the subject, as well as the multiplication of public institutions for the practice of the treatment, are indications of the means of its dissemination as the manifestation of its effects. The present work of Dr. Johnson, of England, is a very able exposition of the principles of the treatment. It is to be remarked, however, that while the German and American books upon the subject inculcate full faith in the virtues of the water treatment in all cases, and all drug treatment as injurious, the English works, this of Dr. Johnson before us in particular, defends the use of drugs in connection with the treatment, forming a sort of compromise between Allopathy and Hydropathy, which, probably, approaches the true position.

8.—The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Abdication of James the Second, 1688. By David Hume, Esq. A new edition, with the author's last corrections and improvements; to which is prefixed a short account of his life, written by himself. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

The history, by David Hume, must ever be regarded as of the most elevated standard of English literature, when we regard its clear and admirable narrative, the philosophic dignity of its style, and the sagacity with which the views of parties are developed. If it is not always to be depended upon in relation to minor facts—nor, from its high tory principles, in any degree to be regarded, at this day, as a political text-book—its literary merits however, must ever render it attractive to all parties. It must be borne in mind that Hume passed away just previous to the great American Revolution, which was the first practical illustration of human rights and self-government, and that the before undoubted theory of divine rights has fallen into decay since that epoch. With respect to politics he is therefore of the *ancient* world; but his work is still one of the most elegant and interesting narratives in the language, and the points of the history are given with a picturesque and dramatic force seldom surpassed. While Hume took little interest in parties, and was utterly indifferent to religious tenets, his whole mind was devoted to the cause of letters, and he everywhere reiterates and illustrates the importance of the cultivation of literature. His history comes down to the close of the reign of James II., and the great work of Macaulay begins with the accession of James. Messrs. Phillips & Sampson, therefore, have promptly met a want of the public, in presenting a neat and well-executed edition of this great historian, uniform with their edition of Macaulay, when the public mind has been directed to the subject.

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9.—Two Lectures on the Connection between the Biblical and Physical History of Man. Delivered, by invitation, from the chair of Political Economy in the Louisiana University, Dec. 1848. By Josiah C. Nott, M. D., of Mobile, Alabama. Bartlett & Welford, 7 Astor-House.

These two lectures contain much that is interesting to the American public, more particularly in relation to the subject of the diversity of the races. There is at present, and has been for a long time, a class of unnatural fanatics, who labor to degrade the Caucasian race to the level of the blacks, and who depend mainly upon the doctrine of the unity of the races for support in their grovelling propensities. This doctrine, Dr. Nott shows very clearly. has been abandoned by all respectable ethnological writers, including the London Ethnological Journal; and he handles the subject with skill and precision. That the blacks are capable of improvement, is evident from the exalted condition of those in the United States over those in Africa, where they enjoy freedom. This improved condition reaches its limit in the second generation, and can be maintained only by constant contact with the superior race. The moment they are left to themselves they begin to retrograde. Hayti is an example. The blacks were taught the machanical and useful employments—also to read and write—put in possession of a well-organized government, prolific soil, and extensive commerce—no white race ever commenced nationality with such advantages; yet they have steadily and rapidly relapsed into barbarism, retarded only by the white blood mixed with a portion of their population.

10.—A Second Visit to the United States of North America. By Sir Charles Lyell, F. R. S., President of the Geological Society of London. Harper Brothers.

This new work of Mr. Lyell is of very considerable interest, as well to the American as to the Englishman. The author, it appears, left Liverpool in September, 1845, and returned thither in June, 1846, after a trip, *via* Boston, in the steamer, down the Atlantic coast, through the southern cities, up the Mississippi, *via* St. Louis and Cincinnati, back to Boston, where he again embarked; and the journal of his gossipings, observations, and reflections, is presented to the reader in a fair and candid manner. It is, however, in the experience of every one, that not all, or, indeed, few of the remarks he hears are worth repeating; and gravely to sit down and record the road-side chat, forgotten as soon as uttered by the speaker, as the enunciation of deliberate convictions, strikes one rather oddly, more particularly where those sayings are the merest twaddle —a conversation with two old negroes in the rail-cars, in New-England, is detailed, although the author states that subsequent observations convinced him what they said was false. In another place is gravely recorded the statement, as a fact, by some wiseacre, that the election of Mr. Polk was effected by "5,000 fraudulent votes in New-York." Apart from such quizzes, there is a vast fund of entertaining and instructive matter, well calculated to improve the American mind, as coming from an impartial foreigner.

11.—History of Julius Cæsar. By Jacob Abbott. Harper Brothers.

This is one of the excellent uniform series of histories of the lives of those great historical personages, who in their times, have exerted the greatest influence upon the destinies of their respective countries and the human race. The series is admirably adapted to the instruction and amusement of youth.

12.—Franklin's Bible Cartoons, for the School and the Family. Designed by John Franklin. C. S. Francis & Co., 252 Broadway.

It is undoubtedly true, that pictures addressed to the eye are in many respects the best mode of fastening important facts upon the youthful mind; and the cartoons of Mr. Franklin, illustrating the important events and personages in Sacred Writ, are admirably suited to bibular instruction. The numbers, published at twelve and a half cents each, contain each four pictures.

13.—Hearts' Homes; or Social Distinction. A Story. By Mrs. Ellis, author of the "Women of England." D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

Mrs. Ellis has earned an enviable distinction as a popular writer, and one who has inculcated useful and lasting lessons, endearing herself to the family circle, and making ever welcome the productions of her warm imagination. The work now in the course of publication is, undoubtedly, the best, as it is the most elaborate of her productions.

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Very Respectfully
Your
Howell Cobb

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THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

AND

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

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CUBA.

When we reflect upon the wonderful events that, on this continent, in the last 100 years, have conspired to promote the prosperity of the states, and to aggrandize the Union, we can but admire the mysterious manner in which the imperial governments of Europe have, undesignedly, been made the instruments of fostering our national growth. The long course of neglect with which the imperial government treated the English colonies, until they came to be important enough to plunder, undoubtedly laid the foundation of our practical system of self-government—giving birth to that hardy spirit of independence which, trained to resistance in a long series of increasing oppressions, became finally strong enough to triumph. Only so many colonies, however, and so much territory as could combine in a strong confederation, were emancipated. As these grew in magnitude, jealousy and supposed self-interests induced the imperial governments of Europe to cling tenaciously to their remaining dependencies, until the United States were prepared to receive them. England on the north, and France and Spain on the south, each held and continued to govern, with what success their systems would permit, their respective colonies. As, however, the government of the United States became consolidated, their population increased and their wants developed, circumstances compelled the European powers to cede just so much new territory as contributed to our strength and importance, without adding any weakening element to our system. Precisely at the moment when the possession of the delta of the Mississippi became of first importance to our internal quiet, was Bonaparte compelled to abandon his darling idea of transatlantic colonies, and sell Louisiana to the United States. No sooner had that fair territory become incorporated, and the pressure of the south upon Florida developed the necessity of its incorporation, than the feeble and arrogant government of Spain was induced

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to part with it, and also to accept the dangerous cession of Texas, which, in the course of our national growth, became the means of a new addition to the national domain, bringing with it California and New-Mexico, as soon as the further progress of the nation made such additions to its territory not only necessary but safe. The *quasi* occupation of Oregon by the English for a quarter of a century, prepared it for the reception of the American settlers as soon as the advance of civilization brought it within the reach of the hardy pioneers. Thus, on all sides, the hope expressed by Jefferson in relation to the Mexican states—viz., that Spain would be strong enough to hold them until the United States should be ready to embrace them, has been fulfilled. A new and more important movement is now at hand; and the last and most valuable of European colonies is about to be annexed to the "Model Republic." Cuba, for a century, has been a prize on which the eyes of Europe have been fastened, and which, perhaps, more than any other transatlantic possession, has in years gone by stimulated the cupidity of statesmen. The fact that the most despicable of all the European governments has contrived not only to hold it through all the convulsions of the present century, but, as it were, to preserve and gradually prepare it, by a system of gross oppression, (in which it is questionable whether folly or iniquity most predominates,) for delivery to the United States, precisely at the moment when this country is fully prepared to receive it, and when rival nations of Europe have lost the power, and perhaps the will, to object, certainly developes an over-ruling power in the destiny of nations, to which it becomes us to bow in reverence.

From the moment when Charles V., having acquired almost boundless territory in the New World, and firmly consolidated his absolute power in the defeat of the Castilians, thereby extinguishing all opposition to the sovereign will, the national spirit of Spain seems to have been broken; and while the inquisition exerted itself to crush all energy and independence of mind, the nation sunk into a state of stupid indifference. The invasion by Napoleon aroused it partially, and induced, in 1812, the formation of a constitution, by her ancient Cortez, newly convoked. This constitution was set aside by the pitiable Ferdinand, on his release in 1814. He was, however, compelled to restore it in 1820; but he again abolished it, by the aid of the French army, which entered Spain as the instrument of the holy alliance in 1823, and absolutism continued until after the death of Ferdinand, in 1833. This miserable Ferdinand had married, in 1829, Maria Christina, sister to the present King of Naples, and sister-in-law of Louis Philippe. In ten months after this marriage, was born a daughter, Isabella; and sixteen months later, another daughter, Louisa Ferdinand. The Salic law, which was in operation, gave the succession of the crown of Spain to Don Carlos, uncle of the young Isabella; but by the influence of the queen, Ferdinand set aside this law, and conferred the succession upon Isabella, with the queen as regent: Louisa to succeed in case Isabella died without issue. This led to a civil war, which finally resulted in the utter defeat of Don Carlos and his claims. The queen regent, however, as an element of success, was compelled to issue a decree adopting the constitution of 1812; and this constitution remains in force. How far the settlement of the succession hastened the death of Ferdinand, will probably never be known. At his death, however, the royal widow, 27 years old, became regent of

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the kingdom for ten years, her daughter being three years old at that time. A handsome private soldier, son of a cigar pedlar named Munoz, had, without any particular merit, except personal appearance, risen rapidly through all the grades of rank, until he had received a commission in the body-guard of the king, and become domesticated as a chief officer of the palace. Soon after this appointment, the queen regent was seized with a passion for adopting infants, whose similitude to the guardsman was wonderful. The scandal of the palace at length compelled the announcement, that a secret marriage had existed between the royal mother and the promoted sentinel, since the death of Ferdinand. This marriage, even if it ever existed, was required to be made valid by royal decree, which was accordingly promulgated October 11, 1844. Munoz, in this respect, was more fortunate than his prototype, Godoy, who, by the criminal favor of the queen of Charles VI., was, in a similar manner, raised from the ranks to be dictator to the nation.

The young queen having now reached her 13th year, had attained her majority; and the ex-regent having become Duchess of Rianzares, by obtaining that dukedom for the quondam sentinel, became anxious about the marriage of her daughter. Louis Philippe, at the same time, was under "exercise of mind" as to the settlement of his brood of dukes. A strong affinity thus existed between the royal intriguers. For the citizen-king to marry one of his sons to the Queen of Spain would be too much for his brother-sovereigns to swallow at one gulp; but there lived sons of the queen's second uncle, Don Francisco—Don Carlos being driven into exile. Of these, the oldest, Don Francisco, had been educated at a college in Paris, amid the spies of his uncle, Louis Philippe, to whom they reported his personal habits and condition. Through these means, the respectable King of the French ascertained that his marriage with the Queen Isabella would ensure the condition in the law of Ferdinand, on which the succession would devolve on Louisa. Accordingly, the marriage was brought about at the same time that the Duke of Montpensier was united to Louisa. The result thus far has been the banishment of the ex-regent from Spain, and the separation of Queen Isabella from her victimized husband. Taking advantage of the troubles in Mexico, recently a conspiracy was set on foot to restore a monarchical government to that country, and place the Duke of Montpensier and his Spanish bride upon the throne. It was ascertained, however, we hope satisfactorily, that kings and queens cannot take root in the New World.

We have mentioned these incidents in the lives of the persons who rule Spain, as indicative of the morality and wisdom which govern their conduct, and as somewhat explanatory of the spirit which has governed the colonies.

On the resignation of Charles VI., in 1808, the discontent of the American colonies, engendered by a long series of oppressions, burst into insurrections, which, after a struggle of some fifteen years, became successful, partly through the intrigues of England. As we have stated, the French entered Spain at the behest of the holy alliance, in 1823, to overturn the constitution of the Cortez, and restore the absolute power of Ferdinand. Although that was a most barbarous outrage, England did not interfere, as she was secretly not ill-pleased at the triumph of absolutism. Mr. Canning, however, in his bombastic cunning, satisfied the English nation for the course taken, by asserting, that even if Spain

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fell into the hands of France, it would not be the "Spain with the Indies," because, said he, "I called the new world into existence, to redress the balance of the old." This egotistical flourish was successful. It covered the movement of the allies against constitutional liberty in Spain, and at the same time prepared the way for that intrigue, in respect of Cuba, which the vigilance of the United States frustrated.* The policy announced by the United States, as well against the premature movement of the Congress of Panama, as the intrigues of England, was conclusive for the time. The loss of the Mexican colonies was, however, a severe blow to Spain, and for once, in the lapse of centuries, a gleam of wisdom shone upon her councils, and the first effect was favorable to Cuba. The Imperial Government, by adopting a liberal system, opening the ports of the island, and authorizing a representation of the island in the Cortez, at once secured its dependence, and gave a new impulse to its prosperity. After lingering out a period of nearly three centuries, in a sort of stagnation, it now started forward in the race of improvement, with a rapidity not unlike what we have seen in our own country, and which, under all the subsequent oppressions, is far from being entirely suppressed. Under this salutary reform, Cuba, represented by those deputies in the Cortez, was governed by the same politiçal laws of Spain, and if her taxes were oppressive, she was at least represented, and far more capable by her great fertility of discharging them than were the arrogant paupers of the Peninsula. On the breaking out of the war between Don Carlos and the highly respectable Queen-Regent with her quondam guardsman, the finances of Spain fell into utter confusion, and to carry on war required funds. Don Carlos opened a loan in London for $80,000,000, 5 per cent. stock, in four series, of which the first series for $20,000,000, was mostly subscribed. The queen did better: she had a chief in Cuba devoted to her interests, and drawing the revenues of the island, she had the sinews of war that enabled her to triumph. Cuba was her main-stay. She could not, however, keep the cigar-maker's son in splendor, fight Don Carlos, and keep Madrid, without squeezing Cuba rather more than its representation thought right; they were therefore dismissed from the Cortez, in 1836, and sent home, by a majority of thirteen votes. From that moment Cuba has been entirely at the mercy of such persons as Madame Munoz judges most capable of

* *Paris, 2d January,* 1826.

SIR,—In the month of July last, I had the honor to state to your Excellency, with the utmost frankness, the views of the President of the United States in relation to the Spanish Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. I informed you that the United States could not see, with indifference, those islands passing from Spain to any other European power; and that the United States desired no change in their political or commercial condition, nor in the possession which Spain had of them. In the conference with which your Excellency honored me on this day, I repeated the same assurance, and added, in a spirit of friendship, and with a view of guarding beforehand against any possible difficulties on the subject which might arise, that my government could not consent to the occupation of those islands by any other European power than Spain, under any contingency whatever.

Having understood your Excellency to say that the policy of the United States, as disclosed by me, corresponded with those of His Majesty's Government, I shall not fail to communicate the information to the President, who will feel happy in finding the two nations agreeing on a point of so much importance to the tranquillity of that portion of the globe. I request your Excellency to accept, &c.,

JAMES BROWN.

His Excellency BARON DE DAMAS, *Minister of Foreign Affairs, &c. &c.*

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extracting the largest revenue from the island, which presents the anomoly of a country intended for a paradise, oppressed and borne down by a system of Algerine despotism unexampled in the civilized world, yet surrounded on all sides by the freest and most liberal governments the world has ever known. The creature of the Imperial Government, appointed as Captain-General, commands about 14,000 troops, officers and men, from old Spain; with this force he has hitherto succeeded in weeding out all that had been done for the welfare of the island. Thus the *Junta de Fomento* (Royal Association for Improvement,) formerly composed of respectable merchants and wealthy planters, has been pruned of every healthy branch, and filled with the most abject tools of unscrupulous power, while its power of discussing questions for the welfare of the island has been almost altogether suppressed; the military exercising unbridled and licentious power, to the jeopardy of the domicils, property, and even lives of the Cubans.

The island of Cuba is possessed of a soil of unsurpassed fertility, and of a most salubrious climate, and yet, although one of the first discovered portions of the new world, it is to this day the least known internally, and is comparatively unsettled. The area of England and Walès, which contain now 20,000,000 of people, is 57,760 square miles. The Island of Cuba, including the Isle of Pinos, has an area of 64,975 square miles, and, after three centuries of possession, contains less than half a million white inhabitants. The United States, since 1794, has increased 17,000,000 people, while Cuba has increased but 900,000, and of this increase one-half has accrued since the modification of the government on the independence of the Mexican colonies. The population of the island is divided into three general heads, viz.: slaves, free blacks, and whites. The progress of these classes has been as follows:

CENSUS OF CUBA.

Years.	Whites.	Slaves.	Coloured free.	Total of Coloured.	Grand Total.
1774	96,440	44,333	30,847	75,180	17,620
1792	133,559	84,590	54,152	138,742	272,301
1817	239,830	199,145	114,058	313,.03	553,033
1827	311,051	286,942	106,494	398,436	704,489
1841	418,291	436,495	152,838	589,333	1,007,624
1846	425,767	323,679	149,226	473,005	898,752

The slave population does not naturally increase, but is sustained by a constant arrival of large importations from Africa, and these successive importations are, for the most part, composed of the various tribes which enslaved each other at home, viz.: the Caraballis, Lucomees, Palas, Gangas, Mandingoes, Congos, Maquas, Queesees, Breechees, and Minas. These bring with them, from Africa, all the animosity against each other which originates in the savage wars waged eternally in that benighted region. This is far from being a united class; and the *ladinos*, or those somewhat civilized by long residence, have little sympathy for the clumsy *Bozales*, while the free colored have almost all obtained their freedom by purchase, and are therefore the most intelligent and industrious, and their rights, as a class, are far better protected than in the northern states of the Union, as compared with the whites, with whom they would probably sympathise, in case of revolution, and by whom they are not regarded

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socially with the prejudice manifest in the northern states. The population is mostly divided into three great divisions, of whom the most powerful are the native Spaniards, filling all posts of honor and profit in the government, the army and the priesthood, and embracing many merchants. The second class is formed of the creoles, who are planters, farmers, and lawyers, and scrupulously excluded from the army, as well as all civil offices. The third class is formed of the free colored.

The creole population are the occupiers of the land, and owners of the slaves producing the wealth of the island The chief culture is sugar, coffee, and tobacco. The export of the former article has increased from 40,000 lbs. in 1800, to 156,000,000 lbs. in 1827; 190,-613,825 lbs. in 1833; 226,501,355 lbs. in 1837, and 653,419,200 lbs. in 1841. When the government, in 1836, changed its policy in relation to the island, rejected its delegation, and determined upon wringing as much money from it as possible, it became necessary to enhance the number of the troops, to restrict the privileges of the tax-payers, and to stimulate the vigilance of the government in every way calculated to suppress the discontents which the increased burden would not fail to produce. It is needless to enter into the detail of taxes. It may be stated in few words, that to such a condition have affairs now reached, that the Cuban is taxed beyond the exactions imposed on the citizens of any other known community; he is at the mercy of the military; he can neither write, read, nor speak upon political subjects; he cannot go a mile from his home, without purchasing a passport, and is liable, at any hour of the day or night, on any pretence, to be removed from his family, and incarcerated in a dungeon, where his innocence of offence can only be made manifest by the exhibition of large bribes; every action of his life, the buying of a servant, the selling of house or land, the killing of an ox, has its specific tax exacted with remorseless rigor. The aggregate of these impositions make up the sum of nearly $20,000,000 extorted from the planters per annum. From this sum is deducted the expenses of the Captain-General, his Spanish troops and officers employed in the extortion, with all the machinery of spies and police, and the remainder is shipped to swell the coffers of the dessolute government at home. That Captain-General stands best with his government who sends the largest sum to Madrid, no matter what may be the effect upon the Cubans.

It is to be supposed that this horrible oppression of a people, who, being in constant communication with the United States, are fully alive to the thraldom in which they languish, should for years have prompted them earnestly to look for an opportunity of redress. The blacks have more than once risen against their masters, but it was usual for the negroes, among whom no extended conspiracy can ever exist, to set fire to the cane, and escape to the mountains, where they were soon captured by other blacks, and brought back in triumph. In 1842, however, one of those infamous agents of which the English government makes use in its nefarious designs upon other nations, by the name of Turnbull, was appointed British Consul at Havana. This person formed the design of uniting the blacks in an insurrection, slaughtering the whites, and erecting a government on the St. Domingo plan, of which, as was proved legally afterwards, himself was to be the Provincial head. The cruelties that attended the suppression of this revolt were unparalleled;

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and in 1844, a movement of the whites was suppressed by the vigilance of the government; and the addition of new rigors has but stimulated the desire, and urged the necessity of an emancipation.

One of the chief sources of profit to the captain-general as well as the queen, has been the slave trade. The Imperial Government have long affected to consider the importation of blacks as necessary to the welfare of the plantations. On the 2d of June, 1843, General Valdez received from the department of state a royal order, issued on the 20th of March, in consequence of a request from the British Ambassador at Madrid, directing the general to appoint a commission from the planters and merchants of the island, who should be instructed to prepare the plan of a law for the punishment of such persons as might be found guilty of violating the slave trade treaties. The preamble to this order is worthy of remark, and is as follows: "Whereas, the treaty of 1835 is supplementary to that of 1817; and whereas, both have for their object to prevent the trade in slaves, *whose labor is so necessary to the cultivation, wealth and prosperity of the island*, therefore," &c. The body of the order breathes a similar spirit of protection to the trade—confounding the former condition of the island, when it was supposed that the blacks were mere laboring machines, and the whites incapable of cultivating a tropical soil, with the present state of things, in which these supposed machines are giving pretty significant proofs that they are men, and men not without some notions of liberty, and in which the planters and the whole population would gladly sacrifice the profit to be obtained by any further importation of blacks, to the care for their own safety, even were it not as it is already certain, that the climate of Cuba is as favorable to the natives of the Canaries and Spain, as that of Valencia or Andalusia.

The ex-Queen Regent herself, it is stated, is the head of a slave-importing company which sends into Cuba 10,000 slaves per annum, on which the profit is $250 each to the company and $50 each to the Captain-General. This trade has long been regarded by the Cubans with dread, and an earnest and universal wish has frequently been expressed for its abolition. While, however, it continues to be a source of profit to the iniquitous government, it will be forced upon the island. An attempt was made to colonise with Asiatic and Yucatan settlers, but this, it was supposed, would interfere with the profits of slaves; and among other acts for the *encouragement* of those immigrants, is the following:—

"*Article 11th.*—The colonist who disobeys the orders of his superior, either by refusing to work, or by refusing to fulfil any of his duties, may be corrected with twelve lashes inflicted with a cow-skin; with eighteen more, if he would persist; and if, notwithstanding that he would not do his duty, a chain shall be put on him, and he shall be made to sleep in stocks."

Certainly a most pleasant and hospitable mode of treating *free* laborers.

The difficulties which attend the importation of slaves from Africa, recently induced the Captain-General to ask of the Pretorial Audience whether the importation of negro slaves from Brazil would be a violation of the treaties of 1817 and 1835, and they replied that it would be no violation. The introduction of negroes holds out a political as well as a pecuniary advantage, inasmuch as that by multiplication, the hopelessness of freeing themselves from the Imperial Government, with such a

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danger at their doors, may make the creoles more submissive, while the ample supply of negroes may enhance their means of paying taxes.

When we reflect that 500,000 whites pay $20,000,000 per annum, say $200 per family, which is carried out of the island, we may well wonder at the fertility of the soil which permits such an outlay. It is, however, only when sugar and coffee command fair prices that the estates can afford it; at other seasons they fall in arrear, and their bonds multiply in the hands of the merchants. These, although many of them Spaniards, have thus become largely interested in the estates, and see clearly only ultimate ruin in the continued mal-administration of the island.

The Cuban, thus mercilessly fleeced, and kept in jeopardy of his life, is by no means free, either from the infamous espionage of the government, or from the daggers it puts in motion, even when he visits this boasted land of freedom. Our hotels, watering-places, and theatres, swarm with the emissaries of the despots; and the luckless Cuban who allows to escape him a word in favor of the institutions he sees around, or sigh for the liberties of the people with whom he sojourns, prepares a dungeon for himself on his return, and beggary for his family from the confiscation of his estates. The infamous persons who have sought our shores for refuge from the just punishment of crimes, lend themselves to the iniquities of the government in hope of earning pardon for their offences. The offices are filled with the pimps and slaves of the infamous Christina and her paramour, while the cities of the United States are but too often the scenes of their atrocities. A late outrage upon the honor of our flag, which has been forced upon the attention of government, affords an instance of the abuse of our hospitality.

The Cubans, in their natural aspirations for liberty, have been checked by the fact, that being deprived of arms by the government, they are placed on one hand in danger of the insurrection of slaves forced upon them, and on the other at the mercy of a foreign mercenary and licentious soldiery quartered among them. Under these circumstances they perceive that their only chance of freedom is foreign aid, in some force, around which they can rally, give expression to their opinions, and assert their rights in the government. They now pay $20,000,000 per annum to their oppressors. In little more than two years that sum per annum sufficed the United States to defray the expense of the conquest of Mexico. The hardy character and indomitable enterprise manifested by the Americans in that war, pointed out at once the feasibility of employing a sufficient force to disenthral Cuba, and to allow, henceforth, the wealth of the island to accumulate within itself, to the enrichment of all classes. Accordingly, an extensive organization was formed in Cuba and out of it. In New-York was established an able periodical, called "La Verdad," to advocate the cause of Cuban freedom. Many of the articles inserted in this paper were written in Havana, and some by Cubans who had become citizens of the United States. Several persons accused of writing those articles were arrested in Cuba; among others, *Machin*, *Tolon* and *Villaverde*. Tolon was condemned to death for having, as an American citizen, written in the United States, and published in New-York, articles in favor of the freedom of his native country. Villaverde is a scholar, full of the generous enthusiasm and patriotism natural to a cultivated mind. He is the organ of a formidable organization, extending

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throughout the islands, and embracing many respectable and influential families, whose object is to achieve the independence of Cuba. He was condemned to six years' transportation to Africa, to wear chains, although nothing could be proved but that he corresponded with *Tolon*. He was confined in the gloomy castle of Havana, in the same dungeon with another prisoner sentenced as a fraudulent bankrupt. These two prisoners bribed the turnkey, Rey, to let them out, and escape with them to New-Orleans. Villaverde, however, landed at Apalachicola.* Machin was assassinated, but was reported to have committed suicide. In his letters, written a short time before his death, he speaks of one Llorente as having threatened to make away with him, if he did not cease his traitorous designs of circulating *La Verdad* among the Spaniards. Now the escape of Villaverde, in connection with the turnkey, created the utmost anxiety in the breast of the captain-general to get Rey again into his power, in the hope that, by the aid of torture, he could force from him the whole secret of the organization. For this purpose he put his agents on the alert. The Spanish consul at New-Orleans, a person of great hauteur, is a friend and *eleve* of Munoz, the paramour of the ex-Queen Regent, and is crawling into the confidence of the government by the unscrupulous zeal with which he does that which is required of him. An agent of this consul is Signor Fulgencio Llorente, a poet, politician, and intriguer, who seeks to repair his decayed fortunes by zealous intrigues in behalf of the Cuban authorities, and is the same who threatened poor Manchin with the dagger. Connected with Llorente, is another agent named Ayala, a Cuban, who, sixteen years ago, slew his own cousin on the highway, and escaped the *garote* by flying to New-Orleans. He has property in Cuba, and the great reward he looks forward to for his efforts in behalf of the consul, is his pardon, and permission to return to Cuba. These two arch-conspirators undertake to hunt up Rey, and either by force or seduction, induce him to return to Havana, so that he may expose the parties who aided the escape of the prisoners. These intriguants decoy Rey from the protection of the friends of his brother refugee, ultimately force him on board a vessel, and transport him to Cuba. The absolute ignorance of the poor turnkey of all that relates to the popular movement, foiled the captain-general. The investigation held at New-Orleans has, however, revealed to the public the existence of a state of things in that city, in connection

* SAVANNAH, APRIL 19, 1849.

My Dear T. * *

At last I am resting under the wings of the American Eagle.

It may be that you are already apprised of my miraculous escape from the prison of Havana, where, as a man guilty of high treason, and accused of a capital crime by the District Attorney (Fiscal) I was lately watched with the greatest diligence. I see myself free, in the land of liberty; and I can hardly believe what I see and touch.

First, be it known to you that the District Attorney (Fiscal) had accused M. and me of a capital crime, and that the Council decreed ten years' transportation against you, (three of the members being of opinion that you should be condemned to death), and against M. and me six years' transportation. I succeeded in escaping two days after the Council of War had met, that is to say, the 31st of March, in the night. Since then I have received no intelligence from Havana, and I do not know yet whether the Captain-General has approved or disapproved the sentences. However, I believe he will approve them, and that the unfortunate M. who remained in chains in the Castle of *the Punta*, will be sent to Africa, to bear the torments of the iron hand that condemns him. Unfortunate youth! CIRILO VILLAVERDE.

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with the Spanish government, that calls for the immediate interference of our Executiae. A system of under-hand acting has been fully brought home to the Spanish Consul and the Captain-General of Cuba, under whose orders he acted, highly dangerous to the peace of the community here, and extremely offensive to our national honor. While these events were developing themselves, it transpired that a number of armed men, in various parts of the Union, were preparing for some expedition of which the object was unknown. The Executive Government availed itself of the vague rumors to issue the following proclamation, as a sort of pro-peace display:—

"PROCLAMATION.

"There is reason to believe that an armed expedition is about to be fitted out in the United States, with an intention to invade the Island of Cuba, or some of the provinces of Mexico. The best information which the executive has been able to obtain points to the Island of Cuba as the object of this expedition. It is the duty of the government to observe the faith of treaties, and to prevent any aggression by our citizens upon the territories of friendly nations. I have therefore thought it necessary and proper to issue this Proclamation, to warn all citizens of the United States who shall connect themselves with an enterprise so grossly in violation of our laws and our treaty obligations, that they will thereby subject themselves to the heavy penalties denounced against them by our acts of Congress, and will forfeit their claim to the protection of their country. No such persons must expect the interference of this government, in any form, in their behalf, no matter to what extremities they may be reduced in consequence of their conduct. An enterprise to invade the territories of a friendly nation, set on foot and prosecuted within the limits of the United States, is in the highest degree criminal, as tending to endanger the peace and compromit the honor of this nation; and, therefore, I exhort all good citizens, as they regard our national reputation—as they respect their own laws, and the laws of nations—as they value the blessings of peace and the welfare of their country—to discountenance and prevent, by all lawful means, any such enterprise; and I call upon every officer of this government, civil or military, to use all efforts in his power to arrest for trial and punishment, every such offender against the laws providing for the performance of our sacred obligations to friendly powers.

"Given under my hand the eleventh day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine; and the seventy-fourth of the Independence of the United States. Z. TAYLOR.

"J. M. CLAYTON, Secretary of State."

That our treaty obligations forbid any armed expedition to be fitted out within our borders against nations with which we are at peace, is undoubtedly the case; but the assumption that armed citizens are going to march against some particular state with which we are at peace, is a most absurd stretch of power. That American citizens have the full and undoubted right to enter into the service of any foreign nation, has frequently been asserted, and acted upon. Our gallant officers entered freely into the service of the Texans, when struggling for independence, and the Texans loaned money, bought arms, and procured aid among us, as did also Don Carlos, in London, when he attempted to seize the crown of Spain. Hundreds of similar instances present themselves, affording precedents that justify the entering into the service of the Cubans, against their ruthless oppressors. The practicability of the enterprize is unquestionable. A force of 3 to 4,000 Americans, landed in Cuba, in the winter months, would have to contend with perhaps 14,000 Spaniards, divided in small garrisons, throughout the island, each at the mercy of the people, if those people have a sufficient rallying point. Sixty days probably would suffice to place a provisional government at the head of affairs, declare the independence of the island,

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organize its revenues, and bid defiance to the utmost power of Spain. In fact, it is questionable whether that government could stand at all unsupported by the revenues of the island. No state of Europe is in lower credit than Spain. Its finances are in the worst possible condition, and its impoverished people little disposed to suffer new oppressions for the maintenance of a control over an island, the resources of which are served only to feed the debaucheries of rulers, odious to the mass of the people, and to afford places for the reward of the corrupt *eleves* of the ex-Queen Regent. The changed aspect of Europe has altered the views of France towards trans-atlantic possessions, and the republican sympathies of that people would hail the release of Cuba from the iron despotism that crushes it. In the views of England, the last twenty years have wrought an immense change. In that period of time, she has ruined her own West-India colonies, by paying $100,000,000 to emancipate the slaves. That she at one time sought, in the emancipation of the Cuban negroes, to raise the value of her own dilapidated colonies on the ruins of that island, may be true. But she abandoned the scheme, and in reducing the duties on slave-grown sugar, admitted the necessity her people had for the labor of the slaves of Cuba and Brazil. The progress of free-trade principles has further loosened her hold upon trans-atlantic colonies, and she is half-inclined to relinquish her feeble grasp upon Canada. At such a moment, she would have little desire to meddle with Cuba. It has been stated that the government at Madrid, foreseeing the impossibility of much longer holding control of the island, manifested a desire to get what they could by selling it to England for £20,000,000. But she will fail of her customer. The debt of England is already more than her people will much longer submit to, and was raised to its present amount by paying £20,000,000, say $100,000,000, in emancipation of her West-India slaves, in 1835, which sum was utterly thrown away. To give £20,000,000 more for Cuba, would involve a further outlay of £20,000,000 to emancipate the slaves; say an expenditure of $200,000,000, and to no purpose, since the repeal of the navigation laws, and the modification of the tariffs, would as effectually throw all the trade of Cuba, as an English province, into the hands of the United States, and perhaps more surely than if she remained independent with her own laws.

Under the influence of annexation, the property of the Cubans would immediately equalise with that of similar property in the United States, and the sugar plantations of Louisiana would find, in the hitherto untouched soil of Cuba, the means of underselling the world in sugar; while the capacity of Cuba to purchase and consume the beef, ham, flour, and other supplies of the Western states, would develope itself in an almost limitless degree. The $20,000,000 now drawn from the island, annually, for remittances to Madrid, accumulating in the island as a capital in the employment of its free industry, would draw desirable settlers from all nations to avail themselves of its limitless advantages.

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RADICALISM.

There are many terms in use, which convey to different minds ideas widely variant from each other. The import of the term is too often mistaken for the truth that it contains. The attempt to compress every great idea within the meaning of a solitary word—to define, by a single sentence, that which needs volumes to be fully expressed—to represent, by an imperfect symbol, what cannot be perfectly comprehended but by the most persevering study and reflection, has led to the erroneous conclusions with reference to grave and highly important subjects. The term which we have selected as the basis of some observations, has shared this melancholy fate.

It is our design to notice some erroneous views of Radicalism—to state, as far as possible, within a limited space, what is its real import—and to trace its workings in the history of the American government.

A class of superficial thinkers have considered it as something mysterious—theoretical in the extreme—having no connexion with the affairs of practical life. They give it a place among the thousand isms, that spring from the brains of visionary speculators—and attach to it a like importance. The reasonings of this class are so shallow, and their influence so limited, that it would be alike a childish and a useless task to endeavor to convince them of their errors. The great mass of mankind will acknowledge, that whatever is manifested in action, must first be developed in thought—that thought must be perfected in reflection before it can be exhibited to the world in its true light. Speculation must open the way for theory—and theory will demonstrate its correctness or futility when applied to practice. Philosophers must invent e'er mechanics can apply. Thus is it with Radicalism. The statesman in his closet developes those mighty ideas that are to control the masses of mankind and decide the destinies of nations. The radical thoughts of the reformer become the rallying cry to his followers—what is theory to him becomes action among them. The plans of the general are not more certainly decisive of the movements of his soldiers, the method of attack, and the events of battle, than the ideas of leading statesmen, be they radical or otherwise, are decisive of the action of the people and the policy of nations.

Dismissing, then, this class of thinkers, as too feeble to be hurtful, we find another portion of the community, whose views of Radicalism are of the most distorted character. We refer to those commonly styled conservative. They are often men of well-stored minds, and extensive influence. But their habits of thought, their tastes, their imaginations, all unite to fasten their connection to the must and fragments of by-gone years. The crumbling ruin, supported by the faithful ivy, instead of teaching them a useful lesson, becomes an object of pious adoration. Pondering over books, written time out of date, they catch glances of all the inspired wisdom that is not erased. From the alcoves of ancient cathedrals they hear the loud-swelling tones of the organ, and imagine that Heaven is breathing in the music of the past. They love to linger amid the tombs of departed empires—and, copying their inscriptions,

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blazon them forth as suitable constitutions for young and vigorous republics. They love the past with a fondness so devoted, that they will embrace even the corrupting forms that lie enclosed within its sepulchres. To them the *death-knells* of antiquity, sound sweeter than the alarum bells of revolution. Disgusted with the present, actual condition of things, they hover around the past with feelings of melancholy, and gaze into the future with the gloominess of despair.

We can well imagine the views that men of this stamp will entertain of Radicalism. Instead of regarding it with indifference, like the other class, they will see a horrid monster, whose mission it is to trample down and destroy. Tell them that Radicalism is but the hand that shapes and moulds old institutions to suit the present and future use, and they will point you to the past for the monuments of a wisdom that needs no improvement.

They will maintain that every radical movement must necessarily be a destroying one; and, if a destroying one, of course lead to the desolation of all that is fair and venerable in the works of past ages. Its tendency is to break up the established order of things, and therefore it must be an evil. Besides, when it has once commenced its work, no one can tell how soon it will cease its devastations. nor measure the extent of the injuries that it will inflict upon society. Every cloud that skirts along the political horizon, contains within its bosom the thunders that shake, and the lightnings that shiver the fair structures of antiquity. Every gale that sweeps through the political atmosphere, bears the dread malaria that is to poison the life-blood of the state. They regard Radicalism as the foe to law, to order, to safety and permanency. They judge of it, not by the truths of history, or the teachings of reason, but contend against it because it little harmonizes with their fondness for old associations—they dread that which their imaginations have invested with direst horrors.

Of the two elements that are constantly at work upon the political institutions of a nation, the class we have just noticed represents the conservative element—the tendency of which, is to keep the affairs of state in a condition of perpetual fixedness—to be stationary rather than advance—to build unseemly additions upon old and decayed tenements, rather than erect new and elegant specimens of political architecture. The best qualification of a statesman fitted for this school of politics, is to be a thorough antiquarian; he must avoid experimenting, as it leads to rashness; he must shun new theories, as they will pave the way for the overthrow of old practices. If any new improvement is loudly demanded, caution, almost approaching to timidity, will be the governing principle in the change. The festering, loathsome sores upon the body politic, must be approached with a caution similar to that with which they would dress the wounds of an aged father. Such is the manner in which the conservative element operates upon the minds of its votaries. In their anxiety to become pure conservatives they often make decided retrogrades.

Directly opposed to this is the radical element—which may be defined as that which is constantly *modifying*, *changing*, *reforming*, and *improving* the institutions of society. Imagination and fond recollection are laid aside when it views the structures of antiquity, and the "*cui bono*" becomes a subject of zealous inquiry. The principle, that because a thing exists it should continue, is not a doctrine known in the creed of the radicalist. Wherever abuses need removing, he is ready to apply the

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remedy. From the pages of the past, he draws the profitable lessons of experience. And, instead of pining over the follies of modern innovations, as contrasted with the hoary glories of the "olden time," he erects on the ruins of departed empires the beacon-light, which is to point out to future nations the shoals and breakers that have proved fatal to those that have preceded them. It is his *pleasure* to remodel whatever is capable of renovation—it is his *mission* to destroy, utterly, what time and decay have combined to render worthless for present purposes. He advances boldly and fearlessly to the work of reform—while the hand of innovation clears the moss-covered rubbish from his pathway. Progress his aim, and "onward" his motto, he heeds not the alarming cries of his conservative brethren. They have warmed their hearts at the smouldering ruins of the past, while his is gleaming with bright hopes for the future.

Whether the changes are effected by the mysterious influences of the pen, or by the sudden convulsions of the revolution, the same element is working in its beauty and power. Because a change is gradual, we are inclined to regard it as far from being radical. Whereas, it is one of the noblest features of Radicalism, that it often accomplishes its purposes in a quiet, silent manner. Peaceably it prepares the way, before it deals out its bold, effective blows. Necessity—urgent and pressing necessity—alone causes it to mount the war-horse of revolution, and sport amid conflict and carnage. The arm of a Brutus would never have driven the fatal dagger to the heart of his friend, had not the principle of liberty been constantly growing in the affections of the Roman people. The bold genius of Napoleon would never have formed the project of levelling the thrones of Europe, unless the tyranny of the Bourbons had fired the people with an insupportable hatred to royal power. The British parliament would never have been dispersed by a commoner, were it not that the writings of England's gifted sons had prepared her people to applaud such a bold undertaking. Thus we see causes which have been operating for centuries, silently but constantly manifesting themselves in sudden and startling effects. The spirit of Radicalism is always abroad on its mighty mission; no field so distant, but that it will some day experience the benefit of its labors. It will always find statesmen, over whose minds it can breathe the spirit of its truth and glory. It will always find hands ready promptly and faithfully to execute its designs. The present years are bearing witness to the long-continued labors of this element, in reforming and remodeling the political condition of the world. We hear of crushing thrones—the flights of monarchs—and the confusion of a whole continent in political anarchy, as if some sudden, unexpected acts had produced these remarkable changes; forgetting that this element of Radicalism, sometimes suppressed, but never extinct, has been working with constant force upon the minds of Europe, since the days of former Revolutions. The slumbering fires are now breaking forth from their secret caverns, to pour the lava of their wrath upon crowned heads, lolling in security, and royal seats become venerable amid the terrors of oppression.

But no nation has ever existed where the fruits of its labors have been so signal and beneficial as our own. From the very commencement, we have been a radical, progressive people. The country was settled by many, who left without regret the pomp and pageantry of kingly power. They came to a land where the wild luxuriance of nature "speaking in

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her thousand tongues," reminded them of the freedom it was their's to acquire. They found a place for sowing a better civilization than the world had yet known. In severing the bonds that linked them to the parent country, they but yielded obedience to the great radical principles impressed upon their minds. New ideas and new associations all tended to the same direction. Liberty became real—built her choicest temples, and lighted her holiest fires among them. The revolution—with its numberless instances of daring bravery, devoted patriotism, and patient endurance—with its thrilling incidents of contest and victory—brought home to Americans rewards too rich to be estimated, and opened to mankind higher hopes than had e'er been pictured in the wildest fancies. It was the result of the strong radical principles that had emanated from the pens of a Jefferson and an Adams, and been impressed on the minds of the people by the eloquence of an Otis and a Henry.

No sooner had the smoke of the contest cleared away, than the great question of organizing a government, suited to the wants of this young people, was agitated. Here, the favorite doctrines of the two classes of politicians manifested themselves. One class was in favor of following the plan of the English government, with some important modifications, while the other was for establishing a new and untried form of government. The former were distrustful of new theories, and looked upon the experiment as one of danger. The latter, inspired with a love for the great principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence, determined to exhibit to the world the sincerity of their professions. They understood the high duties that Heaven had given them to perform; and they labored with an earnestness worthy of their cause. But conservatism, though foiled, was by no means crushed; for it soon rose to superior influence in the cabinet of Washington, and gave tone to the administration of his successor. But the same man, whose confidence in the integrity of the people knew no bounds—and who had interwoven in the texture of his inmost soul the fundamental truths of liberty and equality—was the chosen champion to seize them from the hands of weak friends and designing foes. The administration of Thomas Jefferson was a complete specimen of pure, unadulterated Radicalism. We see the abuses that had crept into our system torn out without mercy. We see reforms boldly planned and faithfully executed. The purchase of a large tract of foreign territory, whose proximity rendered its possession necessary to the enjoyment of our own resources, was effected amid the moanings of political croakers, and the fears of hapless conservatives.

The war of 1812 again brought these two elements in collision. The feelings that each entertained toward the old country were wrought up to their highest extreme. The fears of the one and the boldness of the other were strongly exhibited. The conservative dreaded the provocation of Great Britain—the radicalist determined to maintain his rights at all hazards. He saw the principles that he cherished in imminent danger—and no means were too violent that would ensure their safety. At the close of the war the radical party was so powerful, that it met with no serious opposition during the administration of Monroe.

For a time the dividing lines of the two political parties were lost; but the greater portion of the bold, radical party, that had upheld Jefferson and Madison, soon rallied to the support of Andrew Jackson. His plain, republican habits, his bitter hatred of oppression, his inflexible courage in contending with wrong, recommended him to that party whose principles

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needed promptness and determination to promote their success. His was a noble task—and well did he perform his part. Did a monied monster threaten to overawe by its power the votes of the people, and the authority of the government?—with an alacrity that caused even friends to tremble, he at once, and forever, put an end to its dangerous existence. Was a single member of the confederacy, by sowing the seeds of disaffection among the rest, and bidding defiance to the laws, endangering the stability of the Union?—The man, above all others best suited for the occasion, fills the chair of state; and with an earnestness that sent a thrill of gladness to the hearts of his countrymen, he proclaims: "The Union—it shall be preserved."

Little do we realize how great the debt we owe to those two able champions of Radicalism—Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. The former was the great expounder of these truths which a sound philosophy had revealed to his mind, and a warm philanthropy made dear to his heart; the latter was the instrument selected to battle with their most terrible foes. Jefferson the more calmly—Jackson the more sternly—both of them effectively, gave to conservatism blows from which it can never recover. The convincing logic of the one, the clear earnestness of the other, have given the principles of Radicalism so strong a hold upon the affections of the American people, that time can never obliterate them. They have shown their fitness for all our wants—they have made it clear, that no other principles harmonize with the theory of our government. They taught us to guard with jealousy this rich birthright—to purge it from corruption—to preserve it from decay.

The administration that has just closed has left on record other triumphs of the great radical doctrines that have been gradually acquiring a strong pre-eminence. The acquisition of the wealthy country bordering on the Pacific, where is destined to arise the Tyre of modern times—the restoration of the currency to its constitutional standard—the bursting of those shackles that have confined our trade within too narrow limits, are measures that render it one of the most remarkable in the history of this nation.

We have to mourn that the steady march of the country in Radicalism has been arrested, and human progress thrown far in arrear, through the treason of the Van Buren faction. Through the unparalleled ingratitude of those who had received most from the country at the hands of radicals, conservatism is reinstated in the government, and popular progress retarded for at least a quarter of a century.

The only consolation left us, is, that this change has not been effected by any conviction in the minds of the people that the measures of the preceding administration deserved repudiation. Argument had no voice in the contest. Traitors betrayed the country into the hands of an old soldier, who surrounds himself with a cabinet of the toughes conservatives; he commits himself to them as an irresponsible agent, so completely, as to be but a solicitor of office for his friends, and most frequently an unsuccessful one. And thus is most fully illustrated that maxim of royal apologists—that "whatever wrong the king commits is solely attributable to the folly or wickedness of his advisers." They are not the Cabinet of the *President*—he is merely the President of his *Cabinet.* His administration has been conservative in the extreme; but we fear he may become somewhat radical towards the measures of his predecessor.

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MY FIRST WEEK IN PARIS.

(CONTINUED.)

M. GAILLARDET.

THE next day, Tuesday, after breakfast, I was poring over the contents of the morning journals, which are daily overrunning with important news from all parts of Europe, when a visitor was announced, whose *entrée* afforded me the liveliest pleasure. It was M. Gaillardet, former editor of the well-known *Courier des Etats Unis*, of New-York. His residence in Paris had greatly improved his health, seriously affected at one time by his unremitting labors; and his conversation, always animated and intelligent, was more attractive and striking than ever. We talked a good deal of present affairs; but I found him wrapped up in a thick cover of caution, or very undecided in his judgment of affairs. This, however, is not to be wondered at; for, at the moment, whatever one may think ought to be done, of course no one can oppose or condemn when nothing is done. The policy of the government is evidently for the time to do nothing further than seek to preserve order in the country; but it is a question whether wiser means than the mere employment of police could not be adopted for that end. A good programme of rational reforms would go further to maintain tranquillity than a dozen armies. M. Gaillardet agreed readily enough in these opinions, but entertained sanguine hopes that all would go well. He expressed himself warmly in favor of the President; but seemed, like others, a good deal perplexed what conclusion to form finally about him. He was so unlike the usual type of French character—so calm, reserved, and moderate in his sentiments and conduct, that it was almost impossible to get at his real views or sentiments of men and things. "*Je commence à croire que c'est un homme tres fin, et beaucoup plus fort qu'on ne croyait,*" observed M. Gaillardet: "Yes, you may depend on it, he has been underrated; he is both abler and more calculating than people supposed." I passed from public matters to his private affairs, and found that the energy of the *ci devant* New-York journalist was by no means appeased by the success which had attended his previous efforts, but was straining itself up to new exertions and greater triumphs. M. Gaillardet was at that moment making active preparations for canvassing an electoral district, on well-grounded hopes of representing it in the new assembly. He will be fortunate if he succeed; for his long absence from France, together with his limited opportunities of making himself, previously widely known—both militate against his chances of success, in comparison with rivals more advantageously situated. Accustomed to vanquish obstacles with rare good fortune, he is not dismayed at the difficulties before him, but persists in his intention of going to the polls; and should he ever arrive at the Assembly, he has no apprehensions, little as he has been habituated to that trying kind of employment, but that he will play his *petit bout de rôle*, his small part there, with more or less of usefulness to his country. For my part I entertain no doubt of it. M. Gaillardet has enjoyed such ad-

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vantages as no other Frenchman of his day possesses; for his residence in the United States, and the daily necessity which compelled him there to closely study her institutions, and his vigilant observation of passing events, have enabled him to come to practical conclusions on the true policy of a popular government, which it will be his own fault if he do not turn to the benefit of her fame and influence in his own country. He is unquestionably a man of very superior parts. His mind is agile, logical, and well-informed. His powers of application, the great secret of success, are disciplined by long effort, and his knowledge of the world is varied and profound. He unites every element for a great reputation in public life. His history is not a little singular, and for the most part quite unknown. He made his *debut* in Paris as a knight of the pen. In the last age, every adventurous spirit who set out in quest of fortune, expended his last ducat for the purchase of a sword, which he put cheerfully at the disposal of truculent power. Now the world is no longer regarded with Pistol, "as an oyster, which I with mine sword will open;" but the intrepid spirits of this country who would rise to renown, are now compelled to take more pacific and laudable means of elevation. They employ pens instead of poignards, and seek to amuse or instruct the people, who were formerly the playthings of mere brutal propensities. This remark is illustrated by the mode in which nearly every public man of France has risen to eminence. M. Gaillardet began his course as the author of a striking and successful drama; and there was little prospect then that he would soon become distinguished as a politician. But soon after this he grew apparently dissatisfied at the slow and precarious employment at which he was toiling, and he determined upon an entirely new method of directing his industry. He invested his small patrimony in a commercial adventure, and embarked for the new world, where, doubtless, his fancy had been enflamed by the oft-repeated stories of rapid acquisition of fortune in commercial pursuits. He selected New-Orleans as the theatre of his new exploits, and the result was totally contrary to his sanguine expectations. In a short time, after one unlooked-for calamity and another, he wasted the whole of his means, and found himself not merely a bankrupt, but a helpless debtor to a considerable amount. In this desperate condition he set out, in a mood nearly bordering on despair, on his return to France, and arrived in the spring of 1846, in New-York, prepared to embark for his home. Here a sudden and unexpected revulsion in his melancholy fortunes took place. He heard that the French journal, the *Courier des Etats Unis*, was for sale, at a very low price; for owing to the long illness of its owner, which ended finally in mental alienation, the journal had dwindled away almost to ruin. M. Gaillardet contracted for its purchase for the sum, I believe, of $5,000; and put himself at the head of its direction. Here he found himself in a sphere of action entirely congenial to his tastes and talents; and by extraordinary assiduity, the finest tact, and great administrative talent, he rapidly raised the fortunes of the sinking journal, till in two or three years it became one of the most prosperous establishments in the United States. M. Gaillardet had the good sense to keep clear of all entangling connection with parties, but took infinite pains to report with accuracy and impartiality, the political progress of the country, in a regular series of articles which he styled *Bulletins*, and whose precision and lucidity attracted the admiring attention of all readers. They were largely read abroad; and what little cor-

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rect knowledge is possessed by the statesmen and journalists of Europe, may be solely traced to this singular source. In this respect, the French journal of New-York, which is widely circulated in Europe, renders the country immense services, which cannot be too highly esteemed. Without dwelling on the many interesting details of his management, suffice it to say, that in the incredible short time of six or seven years he amassed a handsome fortune, from a source always uncertain, and, in his case, far from promising. An important point I should not to his honor omit to state, is, that during the whole term of his editorship, M. Gaillardet was laboring under a severe pulmonary attack which repeatedly threatened his life. On more than one occasion I gave him up as lost; but, from the jaws of death, he would rise up, debilitated but indomitable, and renew his labors. His ambition enlarged its scope with the success of his enterprise, and he accepted a brilliant offer for the sale of his journal, in the spring of last year, and confided its promising destinies to the worthy hands of his energetic and able successor, M. Arpin. Returning to France at one of the most interesting periods of her checquered history. M. Gaillardet is seeking, like a true patriot, to dedicate his services and experience to the benefit of his native country. He is busily engaged in preparing a work on his residence in the United States, which cannot be otherwise than immensely advantageous to both countries. We have never had amongst us a more acute observer, or one whose opportunities have been so ample of acquiring a correct knowledge of our national character and institutions. Whilst I admit the entire competency of M. Gaillardet to undertake this work, I can as little doubt the perfect impartiality he will adopt, as in the facts displayed in all his statements respecting us. This is an admirable idea; and M. Gaillardet could hardly introduce himself better, to his country and Europe, than in the brilliant pages of such a publication as he will not fail to produce, of a country which, throughout the world, is gradually concentrating, on her marvellous progress, the astonished eyes of all thinkers, and especially of all lovers of free institutions.

MR. RUSH.

Among the visits I paid to-day was one full of interest—to our widely esteemed minister in France. I have not for many years seen him in better health; and I find his attention keenly aroused to the importance of the great events passing around him. I talked to him a great deal of the last Revolution, of which he was an eye-witness, and where he felt called on to take a prominent part He was the first and only diplomatist who stepped forward at the most critical moment to recognize the advent of the Republic; and this act was not more intrepid than sagacious. Mr. Rush here found himself in one of those trying situations, where—amid circumstances the most doubtful and with consequences the most grave dependent on his words and conduct—a public man is sometimes compelled to act according to the sole dictates of his unaided judgment; taking on himself an amount of responsibility that may, if not wisely assumed and ably borne, infallibly crush him under its tremendous weight. The sudden apparition of the French Republic of 1848, threw the whole diplomatic corps at Paris into dumb consternation. They looked with doubt and amazement on this half-formed monster, and then stared wonderingly on

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each other, to know if it was real, or some horrid contrivance of a mob in the street, that would disappear at night with its dispersion. Mr. Rush —with that instinctive perception of the truth which an American always displays in all acts where the people are concerned, and which, besides, is natural enough, for he is more familiar with their nature—at once comprehended the whole extent and importance of the great event that had transpired, and prepared himself to act as his sympathies and sense of duty inspired. He took the precaution which judgment and courtesy both suggested, of calling on the different members of the *corps diplomatique*, and conferred with them freely on the unexpected state of things, of which they were joint witnesses. He received from them but one and the same auswer—that they would await instructions from their respective governments; and meanwhile they would hold no relation whatever with the existing authorities. Mr. Rush then frankly stated that he had decided on a different course, which he should not hesitate taking at whatever risk, though he felt sincere regrets at being thus obliged to separate himself from his *confreres*, with whom, up to that moment, he had been upon terms of the utmost harmony. He explained his situation, which they knew was every way so different from their own. His distance from his own country was so great, that if he adopted their course of abiding instructions, it would make him, probably, the last, instead of among the first, to acknowledge the new government, which he was sure would be anything but satisfactory either to the government he represented or to his fellow-countrymen. He admitted all the responsibility of his position, and could not disguise from himself the fatal effects of his conduct upon his personal fortunes, should the new power, which had so suddenly sprung into existence, and with which he intended to open relations, as quickly disappear again—a result which he could not deny was within the range of possibility. In fine, he received from his brother-diplomatists neither counsel nor encouragement; and thrown entirely on his own resources, he allowed it to reach the Provisional Government that he was disposed to resume diplomatic connection with them, the moment he received notice of their organization. I have since learned from others, all the value of this resolute conduct upon the destiny of the young and tottering government, which derived new strength and courage from this bold official act. The effect of it on the population of Paris was transporting in the extreme, and went even to the amusing length of laying hold, one day in the streets, of some adventurous Yankee, whom they mistook for the minister, carrying him about in triumph, in spite of remonstrances and entreaties to the contrary. Too much praise cannot be accorded to Mr. Rush for his judicious and independent conduct; and this result, amongst others, was achieved by it: he has shown to the French people how sincere and warm are our American sympathies for their political progress; and that we are in fact the only nation in the world that disinterestedly and earnestly rejoices in her welfare, believing that always to be clearly associated with the adoption of liberal institutions. It would be curious enough to know, were it possible, what effect the recognition of Mr. Rush of the Republican government had upon the various powers of Europe; but it is certain that it was not without an important and instant influence. It was immediately reported to the European governments; and the English cabinet, not knowing what possible advantage it might procure us, hastened to follow suit. What our

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minister did from a lofty motive of respect for national feeling, other countries imitated either from interest or apprehension. This much is certain, that the Provisional Government of France owed a deep sense of regard, to say no more, to the frank and fearless act of our minister; and it was naturally to be expected that it would gladly seize the first occasion that arose, to make a marked display of such laudable sentiments.

What, then, was the surprise of our Envoy, and the dissatisfaction of Americans at Paris, in May, 1848, when they found that, in the discourse of M. de Lamartine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the National Assembly just met, wherein he gave a detailed account of all events that had occurred during his stewardship, that he, Lamartine, *made no mention whatever of the United States*, though he omitted not to signalize with emphasis, the ready cordiality of all other countries in acknowledging the faith of the Republic. It was due to Mr. Rush, who was the first, and only foreign minister, who invoked a prompt benediction on the bantling of the *Hotel de Ville*, scarce a day old; it was doubly due to the people of the United States, who, with bonfires and shouts, assembled in all parts of the Union, to give loud expressions of their joy at this renewed attempt at national independence on the part of the French people; yes, to both it was unquestionably due, in courtesy, at least to put the United States on an equal rank with the other governments, who more tardily followed her example. But she was deliberately passed over on this solemn occasion by M. de Lamartine, who, but a few weeks before, when his power was less assured, had given such eloquent expression of his thanks for the timely and effectual service of the American Minister. It was, perhaps, beneath the dignity of our representative to take any official notice of this gross and undeserved slight, almost reaching to the extent of an insult;—and I cannot but stop here, to admire for a moment the characteristic caution of Mr. Rush, who habitually avoids what other men so often seek, picking up causes of disagreement, which invariably lead to unpleasant results. But though our minister may not have thought fit to stoop to notice so unwarrantable an act of disrespect to a great nation, which had only just manifested its kindly sympathies to the very thoughtless individual who committed it, yet no obligation of any kind is imposed on third parties, to prevent their searching for the motive of such strange neglect. I have taken no small pains to investigate the matter, for I believed from the first, that it was far from an accidental circumstance. From authorities of various kinds, and in which I am bound to place implicit reliance, I have received but one and the same account, which is so strange and inexplicable, that I am sure it will be a difficult matter to make the people of the United States credit it. It is a fact, nevertheless, of some importance, and therefore it should be stated. It is becoming daily more and more necessary for our country, to know all they can gather as to the secret springs of action of foreign governments. There was a time when such things were of exceedingly small moment; when our relations were few and distant, and our interests beyond reach or danger. But in the present day, all that is changed. Our intercourse with Europe is constant; our connections are steadily increasing, and political and moral influences are widely spreading over both sides of the Atlantic. The study of Europe, therefore, and of its policy and interests, become of paramount importance, and every fact which tends to reveal it more clearly

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to the American view, is one which belongs to history, and should not, from any short-sighted notions, be suppressed or modified. The reason, then, why M. de Lamartine studiously evaded any reference to the United States in his report to the National Assembly, touching the conduct of foreign governments towards the young Republic of France, was *credat Judæus*, simply to conciliate the good opinion of the English cabinet, and in *compliance with its intimated wishes*. This is, beyond question, a novel and extraordinary revelation; and thus, it appears, that in some two months after the Revolution of February, 1848, which was incontestably the sole act of the people of France, or of what English writers delight to call the *canaille* of the streets, the democratic government which sprung out of it was not ashamed to truckle at the footstool of the British aristocracy, at the price of its independence and nationality. It is perfectly true, and perfectly disgraceful, that most of the men who presumptuously put themselves at the head of the Revolution of February, instead of honestly seeking to carry out its principles, and give relief to the oppressed and suffering masses, occupied themselves only with unworthy attempts to conciliate the good graces of their bitterest enemies, the English government, and deliberately slight their well-known friends, the American people. Louis Phillippe, in all his zeal for the famous *entente cordiale*, never took such pains, certainly never descended to such sacrifices to cultivate intimate relations with the English, as has done the successive governments of the French, from February '48 up to this time. A foreigner would be led to think, from the crouching policy of her statesmen, that France could not stand a day without the arm of England to support her, or her friendly smile to calm her fears. I am far from blaming any French government who desires to maintain an amicable understanding with all countries, with a view to the commercial interests of all; but a government, whose origin is purely democratic, like that of last year in France, seeking to form a close political alliance with another government, whose nature is directly opposed, and absolutely aristocratic, is a contradiction so flagrant, as to subject the men who engage in it to have their suspicion to downright accusation of betraying the cause they professed to espouse. Why, let me ask any man of sense, should England be courted, even at the sacrifice of honor, and why should the United States be shunned by any government of the French? Certainly not from motives of interest, the only legitimate ones between governments, for France has infinitely more to gain from a close commercial alliance with us than with England, though I admit she would be wise to encourage intimate connexion with both. If, then, considerations of trade did not influence her statesmen, political views alone could have induced them to ally themselves to England; and then it follows clearly that they are aristocrats in their ideas of government, and not democrats.

I began this chapter relating an interview with Mr. Rush; but the conversation in which I engaged with him ran so entirely on the Revolution, whose daily progress he contemplated, that in alluding to it I had been led into a digression, which, I am afraid, may be considered a little out of place. And that, perhaps, is not the worst of it; for I run the risk of having my own reflections set down to the account of our esteemed plenipotentiary, who of all men else would be the most annoyed at such an inference. Whatever Mr. Rush may think on such matters as pertain

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to state affairs, he is exceedingly discreet in expressing his opinions touching them. I think it fortunate that our country was represented in France, at this particular juncture, by a diplomatist of so much experience and judicious reserve. Another, with the best intentions in the world, but led astray by the supposed kindly sentiments of the leading politicians of France, might have compromised himself and the dignity of country in a manner that would not improbably have led to unpleasant consequences. Mr. Rush from the beginning has stood on the defensive, and sought no more familiar connection than mere official duties required. He has kept up a sufficient friendly intercourse with succeeding governments, and avoided all intermeddling whatever. He cannot but see and regret the mistakes in policy of some of the leading statesmen of the day; but he, no doubt, concludes, as all do who look beyond the hour, that these statesmen will live to discover their errors, and perhaps be called to a severe account by their indignant countrymen. For myself, I do not hesitate to assert, that the policy which cultivates an exclusive alliance with England, and jealously stands aloof from the United States, is not only a mistaken one, but repugnant to the sentiments and opinions of the French people. There is no nation in the world held in such affectionate esteem by the French as ours; and perhaps no better proof can be given than the behavior of the lower classes during the late Revolution to the Americans in Paris. It was only necessary to declare yourself *an American* to the most infuriated mob you met in the streets, with arms in their hands and dripping with blood, than you were sure to be enthusiastically cheered, as "fellow Republicans," and the cry given to let you pass in safety to your homes.* It is just these touching demonstrations of paternal feeling of the French people for their Republican brethren of

* In corroboration of this, I am delighted to relate an anecdote which reached me, by mere accident, some days after I had written the above.

Two American families who were living in Paris in February, 1848, becoming alarmed at the increasing agitation of the capital, determined, only at the last moment, to leave for some quieter neighbourhood, and on the very day that the Revolution broke out they took their departure, and made all haste by railroad to reach Havre. They had not got more than nine miles from Paris when the train stopped, and they were told by the conductor, that the bridge ahead of them was on fire, and that proceeding further was hopeless, and that it was equally impossible for them to run back again, for the rails behind them had been already taken up. There was nothing else to be done than get out, and return on foot, at the imminent risk of insult and outrage from an infuriated mob, that already lined both sides of the road, to the extent of thousands. This was a situation alarming enough to fill the stoutest heart with terror, and the effect may be imagined in the present, when there was only one man to protect three or four ladies, with several children; to say nothing of *femmes des chambres*, and small parcels. Their fright was excessive, but escape was out of the question. Nothing could be done but return to Paris, and run the gauntlet that awaited them. They passed along in a drizzling rain, covered with mud, and worn down by fatigue. Shouts and imprecations made the air resound around them, for the very earth seemed teeming with armed and savage men. With shrinking hearts they pushed along, dreading every moment to be waylaid, robbed, and perhaps slain, when to their infinite joy they reached Paris, and believed their tribulations over. Hurrying through the *Barriere* they struck down the first street that seemed to lead in the direction of their residence, when, of a sudden, to their consternation, they found themselves hemmed in behind a vast barricade, and in a moment were surrounded and seized by hundreds of fierce and desperate insurgents, disguised in masks, and armed to the teeth, who brandished their weapons, and threatened them with death.

"Ha, ha!" they shouted in furious tones, "you vile aristocrats, you have endeavored to escape—but you are not gone yet And we'll take care of you now." Their situation

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the United States, that excites the alarm of monarchical politicians, and stimulates them to court a connection with England, and give the go-bye to the ministers and the people of the United States. These paltry efforts to alienate two nations, bound together, not only by the strongest ties of amity in the past, but more closely allied by similar political principles and identity of interests in the present, are as short-sighted as they will prove abortive. France and the United States are destined sooner or later to enter into the closest bonds of fellowship, and to form an union which, based on mutual sympathies and common interests, shall prove a bulwark to freedom, and, perhaps, the last hope of nations.

There are no two people on earth which so singularly resemble each other in elevation of ideas, generosity of sentiment, and force of character. It is only necessary for them to know each other better, and no meddling, jesuitical politicians will hereafter succeed in throwing obstacles in the way of their fraternization. I have heard that there is nothing the

was really fearful. Inflamed with drink and passion, these terrible men, further exasperated by the combat in which they were hotly engaged, were capable of any, and every excess, even to murder. The unhappy party seeing themselves cut off from every resource, threw themselves on their knees, and endeavored to move their ruthless captors by supplications and tears. They declared "they were no aristocrats—but Republicans like themselves—they were of them in principle and sympathy—they were not English but Americans." At which shouts of bitter derision were returned, accompanied by exclamations and oaths, full of contumely and hate. "You think you'll cheat us that way, do you, by setting up as Republicans, and passing yourselves off as Americans No, that won't do, as we will soon convince you." The danger increased every moment, and cries of *a bas les Anglaise—a mort les reches*—rose on all sides, amid frantic yells and demoniac threats. At this agonizing moment one of the ladies, whose nerves were strung by the imminence of the peril, roused herself to one more heroic effort. "But what," she cried, "if we give you proof, my friends, that we belong to you—that we are fellow republicans—that we are not monarchists, but Americans. "The proof—the proof," they roared in the hoarse tones of the coming tempest. Every eye was bent on her—every upraised arm refrained—a breathless pause ensued At this Revolutionary period in France, scarce a family resident there but had deemed it prudent to provide themselves with an American flag, and in hurrying away from Paris, by a mere chance, the lady in question stripped the banner from its staff, and rolled it up in a package she carried with her. In the desperate hope that it might now possibly stand her instead, she unfolded, and raised it aloft. On one of its white stripes was written in large red letters, *Les Etats Unis d'Amerique*—the United States of America. The display of the national ensign, proving beyond question the origin of their prisoners, had a most extraordinary, a perfectly magical effect on the powder-begrimed mob around them. Off flew hats and caps—cheers rent the air—*vive les Americains—vive le drapeau de la liberte*—"long live the Americans—long live the flag of liberty," was shouted from countless rude throats. The wildest enthusiasm seized on these tumultuous, but gallant men. They entreated a thousand pardons for their unthinking violence, and in their frenzy fell on their knees, kissed the hands of the ladies, and would, but for their earnest remonstrances, have carried them home in triumph. As it was, they detailed a formidable guard, and following the American flag, which was mounted on a lance; they escorted, amid every token of respect and homage, the grateful objects of their democratic sympathies back again to their longed for residence.

Nothing could more happily confirm all my speculations on the reality of French affection for America, which is found, to be sure, only amongst the masses, since the upper classes are naturally devoted to aristocratic privileges, and seek alliance with anything but democratic communities.

To confirm in every particular the thrilling facts I have related, I would be happy to give in full the names of the parties in question, whose respectability would be a sufficient guarantee; but as they consisted chiefly of ladies, I feel a certain hesitation in taking such a liberty. I will merely state, that I received these particulars from the "heroine of the flag" herself, Mrs. J. R. H——, of the Fifth Avenue, New-York.

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monarchs of Europe dread so much, as a good understanding between the free and high-spirited people of France. and the United States. Their apprehensions are well founded, for it may, by the will of Providence, yet devolve upon these two great nations, who have so largely contributed by aid and example to each other's freedom, to unite their irresistible forces, and emancipate the people of Europe from the toils of a pitiful minority of kings and oligarchists. Whoever doubts that the American people would not leap to join in such a glorious work of deliverance, underrates their humanity, and belies their chivalry of soul. They are not, as Napoleon called the English, "a nation of shop-keepers," who would rather see mankind perish than sacrifice a day's profits in trade. Whoever entertains this opinion of the American people will find themselves, *when the occasion arrives*, egregiously mistaken.

LA FORIE AUX IDEES.

On the evening of the same day I have been speaking of, I went to one of the theatres, then giving a piece which enjoyed great popularity, and was nightly represented amid shouts of laughter and torrents of applause. The name of it I have written above, and which I find hard to translate in a way to make very intelligible. "Ideas at a Fair" will, perhaps, do for an explanation; but the purport was a running-fire at the follies of the day, enacted in the political world. Many of the prominent characters in public life, and well-known at Paris, were broadly caricatured on the stage. It might, in an American point of view, be considered exceptionable to introduce in such places, and in such a way, political doctrines and their expounders, that more properly belong to scenes that should always be respected by the satirist, and considered altogether beyond the pale of the dramatist. In the United States such licence would lead to serious results, endangering public order, and violating the tacit defence paid by all parties to the opinions of their adversaries. But with us such absurdities and such monstrosities—as we see deliberately shaped in Paris into all the logical proportions of a system of philosophy—are utterly out of the question. We have no party amongst us who gravely sets up the thesis, "that all property is robbery;" and who, by way of bettering the present condition of things, calmly propose, in the most scientific order, to overthrow all the present existing institutions of society, for some fantastic combinations of *labor* and *capital*, which the theorists would have us believe, in the face of sense and repeated experiment, will lead to results entirely satisfactory to all—in fact, to nothing less than to perfect happiness. With propositions so trivial as these, perhaps the best answer is ridicule; for then they are put to one useful purpose, at least, that of amusing the people. The ludicrous conceits of the Socialists made up the staple of the lively farce all Paris was going night after night to laugh at; and I felt, both from the ingenious manner in which these were exposed, as well as the general merriment they were received with by the audience, that there was not much to apprehend from their adoption by the present generation, at least, of Frenchmen. I had been somewhat misinformed, I found, as to the character of the play, for many assured me that it abounded with sharp hits at the expense of the Republic itself: and this was quoted daily, by many, in testimony of the general unpopularity of this form of government. But no such

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thing There was here and there a playful allusion to the altered state of things, but nothing whatever condemnatory, or even sarcastic; nothing that even so sensitive a republican as myself could take the slightest offence at. The French, however, are so excellent in their wit—of such "exquisite fancy"—that they can venture to shed over the subject, the dearest to you, the flickerings of their light and graceful humor, without giving you the least annoyance in the world. They never knock you down with a coarse and heavy jest, nor irritate you with spiteful sarcasm; but they make a ring around you with a gay string of *bon mots* and *jeux d'esprits*, that sparkle and burst with so mirthful a report, leaving no sting or trace behind, that you are disposed at once to join in the sport, and consent cheerfully to be the victim, for the sake of the fun.

Who would think that I am writing of the French, and assigning to them traits of such winning amiability and attractive good-nature, when we so often read of their ferocity of character, and terrible blood-thirstiness. But it is perfectly true, that the French are really the most amiable people I have ever met—and if not the most difficult to offend, certainly the easiest to conciliate. The magic word of—"Pardon, Monsieur," will instantly efface almost an irreparable injury, and convert the man coolly preparing to cut your throat into an agreeable companion; or your *vis-a-vis* in a quadrille, should you happen to be at a ball.

There was one thing, I confess, surprised me a little, as I looked around the theatre, during the *entre-actes*—and that was, to see it so crowded with the same elegantly dressed people as formerly—just as gay, as ogling, and as naughtily disposed, as they ever were when the Revolution and Republic of 1848 was little dreamt of. Here was a monarchy turned, with the rapidity that a conjurer turned your handkerchief into a omelet—presto!—into a Republic, with its presidents, its universal suffrage, and nobility without titles; and yet the theatres are just as crowded, the pieces just as piquant, and the actresses just as irresistible, as if nothing at all had happened. Well, really these French are getting as expert in producing revolutions as they are in manufacturing new plays; so that they make no more of them than they do of a *representation extraordinaire.* They think no more of these terrible events, that shake the whole land to its foundation, than a Yankee captain does of an iceberg—who is rather willing to take a bump, for the fun of scaring the breath out of his passengers. Verily, these French are a queer set, and there's few who understand them. I have taken no small pains to study them out; and it will go hard but that I give you a better notion of their oddities than you ever had before. So endeth my second day in dear, delightful Paris.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

I hurried off early on Wednesday morning, between nine and ten o'clock, his hour of reception, to pay a visit to young Napoleon, whom I met some two years ago in London. He was now living with his father, Jerome, ex-king of Westphalia, who was lately invested with the functions of Governor of the *Hopital des Invalides.* I regarded, with deeper interest than ever before, this noble edifice, as I slowly approached it from the main avenue in front, and could not help giving way to many strange reflections on the vicissitudes of human affairs. This noble hos-

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pital, built by Louis XIV., with all the splendor and prodigality he bestowed on his palace, was now almost entirely occupied by the mouldering remnants of the "Grand Army" of Napoleon. But a few years ago it became the mausoleum of the Emperor himself, who came back in death to join those who had so largely contributed to his glory; and now it was the last refuge of his only surviving brother, to whom fate in its caprice had awarded the graceful and touching task of officially watching over the illustrious remains of his immortal relation. As I passed the principal gate, where my business was demanded, and entered the grounds, which are handsomely laid out in flower-beds, grass-plots, and gravel walks, I met, hopping about here and there, numbers of the invalides, venerable men, but who had much the same effect on me as of so many wounded old birds, with their legs or wings clipped off; for all of them was minus something, and who moved along with slow, irregular jerks, which could hardly be considered walking. The unpleasant effect of all this cruel mangling of the human body, was almost entirely removed by the neat appearance of these *vieux braves*, in their blue uniforms and white plated buttons, and by their calm and cheerful manners. Some were clustered together in groups, discussing with subdued animation the news of the day; others were sitting alone, contemplating with complacency the surrounding objects; many more were fluttering and skipping about after what fashion they could; but all seemed perfectly contented and happy. Notwithstanding the novelty and charm of the *tableau*, I could not refrain from putting to myself a few democratic queries, such as—the utility of employing men, all the early part of their lives, in butchering each other, to gratify the bad passions of governments; and then, as to the expense inflicted on the state, in keeping up these vast hospitals for their reception all the rest of their days, with its costly retinue of governors and officers. The day will yet come when the famous *Hopital des Invalides* will be tenantless, or I am mistaken in the pacific effects of democracy.

So saying, I turned down a corridor of the main building I had entered, and coming to a closed door, I rang, and a servant presented himself. "*Le Prince Napoleon*," I asked. "*Montez, Monsieur*," was the reply; and I ascended a broad staircase which conducted to the private apartments of the governor. A valet met me at the top, and took my card in to his master. He returned in an instant and ushered me in. The Prince was kind enough to meet me in the anti-chamber, and shaking me warmly by the hand, conducted me into his saloon. I found him in no wise changed in his manners by his sudden elevation of fortune, but just as frank, hearty, and off-hand as before. We sat down and indulged in mutual inquiries. He thanked me very cordially for the "flattering mention," he was pleased to say, I had made of him in print, and which a mutual friend in Paris had sent him. I referred, naturally, to the extraordinary events which had transpired in the short interval which had ensued since I saw him in London; and felicitated him warmly on his return to France, under circumstances so creditable, alike to his family and the French nation.

The conversation then turned on politics; and I found, to my surprise, that he still entertained the same broad, democratic sentiments he expressed, under circumstances so different, two years ago. I feel indis-

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posed to give any verbatim report of his remarks, though he makes no secret whatever of his opinions.

He agreed with me entirely in thinking that the election of his cousin to the presidency was never meant by the people merely, or at all, as a protest against a republican form of government; but was designed to convey an expression of national feeling in favor of the heir of the Emperor, whom they desired as their ruler, without any *arriere pensée* whatever.

"Is it true, Prince, will you allow me to ask," said I, with some hesitation, "that you have suspended friendly relations with the President, which is so generally rumored?"

"Not at all," he answered, with vivacity, "I see him very often. We are good friends, for he is always *doux et bon*—mild and kind. He allows me to say just what I think; and I take no pains to disguise before him, or publicly, what my opinions are of those gentlemen of the *Rue Porteus*, who now gather so officiously around him. But he has only one reply to me—that he will wait till the new Chamber assembles, and then he will see what can be done. If he trusts to these new friends of his, there will be no more done then, I fear, than now. But have you seen *Louis* yet?"

"No, for I have only just come to Paris; but I inscribed my name at the Palace yesterday."

"Oh, he will never see or hear of that; but you must go to his ball to-night, and you will meet him there."

"I should like nothing better, Prince," I answered; "but where am I to get an invitation?"

"I will take care of that," he returned; and ringing a bell, he said to the servant who came: "Tell my secretary to write immediately to the *Elysei*, and request an invitation to the ball to-night to be sent—where are you living?"—turning to me. I gave him my card with my address.

"*C'est ca.* Here, inclose this card, and order the invitation to be sent immediately. Say, merely, it is for an old friend of the President's, and at my application."

"You are very good-natured, Prince," I said, bowing my thanks, "to take so much trouble to oblige me."

"Not at all. I am happy to do you so small a service——"

I rose to take my leave, for I had observed, in passing, several persons in the anti-chamber waiting for an audience.

In bidding me adieu, the Prince begged me, with the utmost kindness, to come and see him often. "Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning," he said, "you will always be sure to find me."

I bent my way, of course, most agreeably impressed, as I had reason to be, with the genuine politeness and unaffected amiability of my former London acquaintance. I mused for some time over what had occurred, and I found that my first ideas of his character were entirely confirmed by what I had seen again of him that morning. Two years, to be sure, had elapsed, and great events in which he was, necessarily, called to play a part, had intervened; events, indeed, which had given him ten years of ordinary political experience. Time and history had not passed over him without leaving their traces; but all the elements I had early

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discovered in his nature still remained undiminished. A penetrating mind, strong convictions, and determined energy, these were the salient traits that first struck me, and this last interview only brought them more clearly to the surface than ever. It was evident that he was forming for himself independent views of politics, and that he was resolved to cling to his original opinions, in spite of influence or temptation to the contrary. Whether his sympathies were with the masses, I had not yet any chance of judging, but this, too, was probable, from what I had heard of his real kindness of heart; but what was equally important, his mind had firmly settled down in favor of an honest application of democratic principles to France. If he had intrepidity of character enough openly to proclaim these views, and ability enough to defend them skilfully at the National Tribune, then it was not difficult to foresee that he was destined to give great embarrassment to the monarchical party all over Europe. He was, in all probability, likely to become a leader of the masses, and how far he went with them, or they with him, depended entirely on his capacity to conduct and control them. From what he had let drop, it was to be apprehended that his cousin, the President. had yielded something too much of his own moderate. sensible views, to the reactionary influence pressing around him. This is just what those who like him best feared the most, for his nature is so well expressed in the words, that the Prince Napoleon had that morning applied to him, being really of so mild and amiable a texture, that he was, perhaps, in matters where he might be in doubt, very apt to concede to those, who professed with show of reason to be better informed.

I foresee with great regret the early chance of the two cousins, who have hitherto lived in bonds of the closest amity, separating into widely different paths of politics. Not that I believe that, at the bottom, there is much, if any, dissimilarity of purpose; for though the President of the Republic may not in his political conclusions be quite so determined a democrat, yet in his honest sympathy for the masses, he would go, I doubt not, quite as far in progression and reform. But what I apprehend is this, that the President, entirely surrounded by a class of men who, whether from obstinacy or incapacity, seem quite incapable of comprehending the steady progress of popular power in France, may by these insidious or ignorant counsels, be led so far astray from his own original intentions, as, perhaps, to forfeit the favor of the people, and seriously compromise the interests of his country. The prominent public men of France are, for the most part, irretrievably ruined in the estimation of the country; for their political conduct has been so contradictory, their want of principles so evident, and their derelictions of common honesty so frequent and flagrant, that no person puts any faith in their professions, or any hope in their guidance. Without setting them down as more dishonest than politicians generally, I believe they cannot bring themselves to comprehend, or admit that there is truth or solidity in popular progress. They cling to the idea that the masses are ignorant, capricious, and brutal, and that, consequently, they can be deceived, imposed on, and oppressed. All the grand political events of the last sixty years in France, prove incontestably to those whom neither passion nor interest blind, both the intelligence and decision of the masses, who thus show that they know their power, and are determined on remedy; all these extraordinary events, I repeat, are interpreted by these false and foolish men as so many *acci-*

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dents, without motive or aim; and that to escape from their consequences it is only necessary to invent new tricks, and persevere in the same stupid course of resistance and duplicity. It is, indeed, a subject of mysterious wonder, that Providence should allow the happiness of men and the destiny of nations to be jeopardized for long years by the mischievous intrigues of corrupt and wicked men, and that the dazzling radiance of truth should not be permitted to shine out, like the sun at meridian, so as to enlighten the whole world in one day, and forever confound the plottings of the designing. To return, however, to the reflections I was just indulging, on my walk home from the *Invalides*, I began to give way to gloomy apprehensions of the future. My previous acquaintance with the President had inspired me, as all those who approach him, with sincere regard; and the many conversations he had honored me with, had always led me to entertain confident expectations of vast reputation for himself, and immense advantage to his country, should it ever be his good fortune, which seemed then so improbable, to arrive at power. And now, by a change in the wheel of fortune so miraculous, as to let the hand of Providence be seen in its result, Louis Napoleon found himself at the head of the French nation; and no sooner was he then ready, and devoted to fulfil the mission apparently assigned him, than, it appears, a noxious band of men, hitherto his most inveterate enemies, spring forward, blind his vision, poison his ears, and struggle desperately with each other, to lead him towards a fatal abyss. Can this be so?—This query I repeated over and over to myself, each time growing more anxious and depressed. I had no data yet to lead me to a safe conclusion, and I sought rather to hope it otherwise. The Prince Napoleon, whom I had just quitted, might himself be misled by his fears or his true affection for his cousin; and after all, when I came to think of it, what could be more sage and discreet than the conduct the President has marked out for himself, in the words he had used to his cousin, "to wait till the new chamber assembled, and see what the country required." My interest now was keenly aroused, and I was bent on keeping a vigilant gaze on public affairs hereafter, "wearing my eye thus," as the alarmed Othello said, neither too suspicious, nor yet too confident. I deem it a matter of paramount importance, for the sake of truth, of honesty, and of the future peace of the world, that passing events in France should be honestly chronicled; and I am as fit for that task as another, and perhaps, enjoy, by accident, some advantages that all have not obtained. I shall report impartially, "nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

I dined to-day with an old friend of mine, but lately a resident of Philadelphia, and who, for the sake of his wife's health, has resolved on spending a few years in Paris. He has a noble fortune, and is making a judicious application of it to his own comfort, and the advantage of his friends. There is no city, as I have before said, so much frequented by foreigners as this, and many of those of high rank and great wealth, which is prodigally dispensed in gorgeous entertainments. But it is strange, that amongst them all some American or another, ever and anon raises his republican head, and maintains with intrepidity a successful rivalry in social splendor, which redounds equally to his own credit, and the importance of his country. It is only a few years since, that not Paris only, but all fashionable Europe, talked with incredulity of the princely magni-

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ficence of an American mansion, which, by the elegance of its company, and the surpassing richness of its costly fêtes, became the most recherché rendezvous of the *beau monde* in this capital. And in the present case, another American house has succeeded, which, without any ambitious pretensions to fashionable eclat, has already acquired an enviable distinction among the *elite* of Parisian society. On every side I had heard, since my arrival, flattering mention made of my friend's establishment; and I went to one of his grand dinners with no little curiosity, to ascertain by what display of good taste, and elegance combined, always indispensable in Paris for a *succes*, he had, without striving or effort, contrived in so short a time to reach so lofty a position in French society. His residence was situated in the consecrated quarter of the Faubourgh St. Germain, and consisted of the greater part of one of its old and finest hotels.* Passing through a commodious anti-chamber, I found the company assembled in a good sized and richly furnished saloon, from whence we proceeded, on the announcement of dinner, to a *salle á manger* of very noble proportions. The guests numbered some twenty-five, consisting chiefly of foreigners, with the addition of some American families resident in Paris, the American minister and his amiable family included I was greatly struck with the pleasing effect of the *garniture de table*, which was of frosted silver, very little used in France, and of a style entirely new, which I afterwards learnt was suggested to the manufacturer by our host himself. The chief centre-piece consisted of a large vase filled with fresh flowers. Two capacious *rafraichinaires* for wine, garnished at the end of the table, whilst a blazing mass of light from numerous candelabra, all in silver, threw its radiance over the whole. Each of these various pieces were supported by small figures, which, for want of another name, I will call cupids, and for perfection of form, gracefulness, and animation of attitude, could hardly be surpassed. Of the dinner itself it was beyond praise for the rarity and delicacy of its viands; and to measure by the vulgar standard of cost, it seemed as if outlay had never entered into the consideration of our generous Amphytrion. In leaving the dinner-room, we entered by a different door into the grand saloon, a truly splendid apartment, decorated in white and gold. Another saloon was open beyond this of a smaller size, but great beauty. An evening party began to assemble by ten, and the room of reception soon echoed with the loud sounding titles of the oldest families of France, which are all the more dearly clung to from a deep and painful sense, that their *prestige* is rapidly passing away. Amid this affluence of rank and high-breeding, nothing gave me a keener glow of satisfaction, than to behold the perfect ease and grace with which the lovely lady-hostess presided over her company. Her extraordinary beauty has long been the marvel of more than one European capital; but what, perhaps, is still more surprising to the representatives of genealogies some centuries old, is the singular self-possession and quiet *reticence* of an American lady, whom our history shows could not borrow its authority from a family over some two or three generations. Such a fact as this must be a violent blow to the illusions of Europe, which is so much given to suppose that breeding, like certain wine, requires long years to soften and enhance its quality.

* I should apprise my readers who have not visited Paris, that "Hotel" is applied to the private mansions of the aristocracy.

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This firm steadiness of manner, which the French so aptly expressed in the word *a plomb*, is strikingly characteristic of the Americans generally; and I remember a pleasant chat I had on this point with an experienced and close observer. It was in Holland, in 1845, that I went one day to court to be presented by our accomplished charge there, Mr. Davizac, to King William, lately deceased. We were standing in an ante-room, previous to our audience, where there was collected a large group of distinguished persons, from different parts of Europe, with their respective ambassadors, waiting for presentation. Every now and then the doors of the audience-chamber were thrown open, with a good deal of *fracas* to admit some new party, when I could hardly help smiling at the species of tremor which seized the greater part of the company at the thought of a nearer approach to royalty. My comments on this drew Mr. Davizac into one of those lively conversations for which he is so renowned, and he gave many instances of the singular composure which on similar occasions he had always seen evinced by the Americans of both sexes. Without ever being wanting in decorum or due respect, they seemed of all other people the only ones perfectly impenetrable to that sacred awe which poets will have it, "doth hedge a king."

It was not much after ten, when I drove away from the hospitable roof of my American friend in the Faubourgh St. Germain, to attend the ball of the President, at the *Elysée National.*

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

REMEMBRANCE.

WRITTEN FOR MUSIC.

When first we met, in happy youth,
Unschooled in life's stern ways,
What sunny dyes,
Before our eyes,
Bright fancy spread o'er coming days.
We little knew
Each fitful hue
Would fade and darken, as the light
Of youth and mirth,
Which gave it birth,
Withdrew its magic from our sight.

Look back—where are the flowers that cheer'd
Our morning with their bloom?
They're dead, they're gone,
We two alone
Are left to mourn their early doom.
Earth was not meet
For aught so sweet
In cheerless exile long to stay.
The fairest things
Bright morning brings
Are ever first to fade away.

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FLOGGING IN THE NAVY.

Part II.—Objections to its Abolition Met.

We will now endeavor to show the insufficiency of the objections urged against the repeal of the laws which sanction flogging in the navy.

All injurious imputations upon those officers of the naval service who entertain different opinions, will be avoided with sedulous care. Should any harshness of judgment be expressed, it will be understood to apply to the acts of legislation, and not to the agents who have been designated to execute those acts. Opposition may come from some, who, instead of replying to arguments and to facts, will assail the motives of the writer. In fair combat and with lawful weapons, we do not mistrust the issue of the conflict; but where a feeling of personality exists, the advocates of the relics of barbarous times may resort to the mode of warfare of barbarous nations, and trust rather "to the venom of the shaft than the rigor of the bow." At all events, we will discuss the question without passion or violence. In the language of an eloquent friend of the cause, Mr. Brown, of Philadelphia, we will advocate this thing temperately, but firmly. Virtue never accomplishes her object by storm; vice always resorts to it. We are not for breaking down the system in spite of the law; but we are for reforming the law, and abolishing the soul-sickening and degrading sight of a man tortured by the application of the lash.

In the discussions which have taken place upon this subject in the halls of Congress, and in the public prints, it is presumed that all the arguments have been elicited which the advocates of the law can adduce in its support. These will be examined severally.

It is contended, in the first place, that the antiquity of the practice of flogging sailors affords a proper ground for its continuance. The same argument has been made use of, and with as much propriety, to perpetuate every abuse that has ever existed, and to oppose every reform that has ever been agitated.

Nothing is more obvious than the softening influences of civilization upon the human character. We remark this in the less harsh methods of correction practised, as refinement advances, in the work-shop, the school-room, the domestic household, and even the prison. But milder substitutes have in no age been proposed without having to encounter violent opposition from those conservative advocates of the olden time, who forbode evil from every change. It is the same with the laws which sanction flogging and arbitrary punishments in the navy. Although these are admitted to be discreditable to the civilization of the age and the republican professions of the country, they still find upholders among the most distinguished legislators of the land, upon the ground of time-honored usage.

The origin of flogging sailors, for aught we know to the contrary,

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may have been antediluvial. It is sufficient for our present purpose to be assured of the indisputable fact, that the existing naval code has undergone scarcely any change, so far as the rights of seamen are concerned, from the regulations used for the English navy in the reign of the latter Stuarts, when the military and naval services were, for the first time, entirely separated. Doubtless the practice enjoyed high favor, and was in vigorous employment at that period; but the treatment of sailors was not more barbarous than may have been expected in a state of society where the lash was of such general application. Merciless floggings were then an ordinary punishment, observes Mr. Macaulay, for political misdemeanors of no very aggravated kind. Men were sentenced, for hasty words spoken against government, to pain so excruciating, that they begged with unfeigned earnestness to be brought to trial on capital charges, and sent to the gallows.

Our naval polity being derived from that of the English, and their's having received the stamp from the particular period referred to, renders it proper to mention, from the authority of the distinguished writer quoted above, a few instances of punishments inflicted on individuals at that time, and learn from them the value to be attached to precedents of that historical era: Alice Lisle, for affording a hospitable shelter to an unfortunate friend, and Elizabeth Gauntt, for charity bestowed upon a distressed fugitive, were sentenced to be burned at the stake. A woman, for idle words uttered during a period of rebellion, was condemned to be whipped through all the market towns of her county, after the insurrection was quelled. The sentence of a boy for seditious words was, that he should be imprisoned seven years, and during that period be flogged through every market town in Dorsetshire every year. That floggings in those days were horribly severe, can be judged of from a record made of one, where seventeen hundred stripes were inflicted upon a single occasion. The blood is described to have run down in rivulets, while the bellowings of the sufferers were frightful to hear. It was in times that tolerated legal cruelties like these,—where a man, pressed to death for refusing to plead—a woman burned for coining—excited less sympathy than is now felt for a galled horse, or an over-driven ox.* That those who had the making of laws for the navy, from which our own have derived much of their letter and all of their spirit, mercifully ordained, for the government of a ship's company, that if the offender be a private, he might be flogged by order of the captain, or be punished according to the custom of the sea service. The obsolete cruelties of keel-hauling, and running the gauntlet, prevailed at that period on board English ships.† That they are not now part of the usages of

* Macaulay.

† Keel-hauling was executed by plunging the delinquent repeatedly under the ship's bottom on the one side, and hoisting him up on the other, after having passed his body under the keel. The punishment of running the gauntlet was inflicted in the following manner: The whole ship's crew was ranged in two rows, standing face to face on both sides of the deck, so as to form a line, whereby to go *forward* on one side, and return aft on another; each person being furnished with a small twisted cord, or spun yarn, called a *knittle*, having two or three knots upon it. The delinquent was then stripped naked above the waist, and compelled to march forward in ordinary or quick time between the two rows of men, and aft on the other side, a certain number of times, rarely exceeding three; during which every person gave him a stripe

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the sea service, may be thought, by the admirers of antiquity, to detract from the means of a wholesome discipline for the navy. The introduction of these anomalous features into the statute book of this country, has been shown to have occurred at an epoch the least favorable to the grand principles of republicanism—viz., 1799 and 1800, during the domination of a party, whose monarchical measures shortly afterwards consigned them to political perdition. That the "act for the better government of the navy" has not been regarded in the same objectionable light as its cotemporaries, the alien and the sedition law, is due to the friendless position of the seaman, and because the nature of his occupation affords him no political weight.

Kindred in character to the argument derived from ancient usages, is the objection urged against the repeal of these laws—of its being opposed by the general experience and unanimous wishes of the officers of the navy. Navy officers are not so unanimous upon this point as has been asserted; but if they were, what is the positive value of their experience? Have they ever made the experiment of dispensing with it? It is doubtful whether a ship of war of the United States Navy ever yet perfected a cruise without a resort to stripes. And if experience, deduced from actual trial, was adverse to the propriety of its abolition, even that would afford no proof of its necessity, as long as the law which confers the authority to scourge remains upon the statute book. Besides the introduction at once of a better class of persons into the navy, the repeal of the laws giving the arbitrary power of degrading a fellow-man, would be followed by a moral effect, that might immediately change the whole aspect of the argument. The sailor, feeling himself elevated to the dignity of a man created in God's image, and looking to other inducements for his good conduct than the fear of bodily chastisement, would attain to a greater self-respect; while the officer, deprived of the power to order this humiliation, would attach to his subordinate the consideration due a fellow-being—his equal in the eyes of their common Creator. How far this moral obligation would remove the necessity for severe measures of punishment and restraint, we do not pretend to say; nor is it the present intention to enter into this branch of the inquiry: it is mentioned here merely to show that the experience of officers is not entitled to the weight that would at the first glance be supposed. Accustomed to see the lash used as almost the sole means of correction, individuals among them are naturally led to infer, without any particular examination into, or reflection upon the subject, that there exists no other safe or sure means of checking the vicious; for no one will deny that minds of the best capacity and well improved, are constantly adopted to the mould surrounding influences by insensible effects. It is not conceded, however, that the universal sentiment is what it has been proclaimed. Indeed, it would be difficult to arrive at correct results respecting in-

with his *knittle* as he passed along. Although the punishment was termed running the gauntlet, yet the delinquent was never permitted to *run* between the ranks of his executioners, because it was usual to compel him to march in ordinary or quick time, preceded by the master-at-arms with a drawn sword pointed in the rear towards him, while the corporal followed him behind at a proper distance with another drawn sword; or, instead of the corporal, it was sometimes usual to cause the boatswain's mate to follow him, furnished with a cat-of-nine-tails; but he never applied the lash of it in the march, unless the offender retrograded.—*M'Arthur, Vol. II.*, p. 328.

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dividual views, as the current sets so strongly against any change, that an open opponent might give offence to those whom he esteems, and is in daily association with, besides having his motives for expressing a candid opinion called in question. The position of such an opponent can be estimated by those who recollect the storm of bank indignation with which prominent men in commercial cities, (Philadelphia especially,) who upheld Gen. Jackson in his contest with the United States Bank in 1833, were assailed.

Complaints against flogging in the navy do not come from sailors, it is contended: those whom its abolition would most affect, do not ask for any change. Demagogues and disappointed persons, who have no business whatever with nautical affairs, are alone concerned in agitating the subject: sailors, we are told, are satisfied as they are. This method of reasoning has ever been the shift of the advocates of exclusive privilege. Opponents of the English game laws are met with the taunt, that the agricultural community do not object to them, as affecting their prosperity; but that town councils and city politicians, having no personal interest in the matter, busy themselves with what does not concern them. He who warns the public against the notes of a bank, whose over-issues threaten an early catastrophe, is told that the unsuspecting holders, but for him, would not object to such a currency. When, by an artificial system of protection, a few have been enriched at the expense of the many, we hear it said, that the poor and the needy, whose misery have been thus induced, do not ask for any change. And so with sailors. It becomes us to inquire how far such an assertion is correct; and if so, to what causes it is due.

Public gullibility has not yet been baited with the declaration, that all sailors who serve in men-of-war wish corporal punishment retained. Good seamen, who are disposed to do their duty, and are unwilling to have imposed on them the duty of others, alone are said to desire it. "Good seamen," says one of the most eminent advocates of flogging, the Earl of Dundonald, "are thoroughly aware that they have nothing to fear from a judicious minded captain—a man of sense, who knows his duty, and their own." Will his lordship underwrite all naval captains for judgment, sense, and professional knowledge? Otherwise "good seamen" ever will have something to fear. "There are always a set of vagabonds in every ship," continues his lordship, "who, unless it were for the fear of corporal punishment, would throw the whole of their proportion of the duties to be performed, on the good and willing men, whose work would then be largely increased: hence, the really well-disposed seamen have no sympathy for these fellows, and always consider the lash to be justly and properly applied in all such cases of skulking and neglect."

Passing over, for the present, the obvious response—that to have seamen "good men," as a class, their character and tone must be elevated, and that this cannot be done as long as arbitrary and degrading punishments are legalized—we will inquire how many American sailors, according to the views presented above, will be recognized as petitioners for the lash. If by "vagabonds" are meant all those who at some time or another, during a considerable service in the navy, have been flogged at the gangway, there will be found few, comparatively, to be included in the other category of "really well-disposed seamen." For the sake

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of the argument, let it be assumed that one-half of the seamen serving in United States' vessels of war are of this description. The number of privates in the navy authorized by law, but the compliment is rarely full, is seven thousand and a half. Deducting from these, the landsmen, boys, servants, &c., there may be employed about 4,000 seamen, of whom 2,000 are to be included in Lord Dundonald's class of "really well disposed." It would be perfectly safe to assume, that at least one-half, (most likely that four-fifths,) are foreigners, whose opinions, of course, are not to be taken on American legislation. Thus, by a liberal calculation, and allowing all that the advocates of the lash gratuitously claim, as to the views of sailors, it appears that on account of the wishes of one thousand American seamen, who stand in the relation of the whole mass as one to one hundred and fifty, that a practice should be retained, degrading in its character, pernicious in its effects, and foreign to the benign nature of our glorious institutions.

If there are seamen in our navy who prefer to have flogging retained as a means of discipline, they are generally petty officers, who are scarcely obnoxious to its infliction.* These are surrounded by many who would not receive employment in the navy, if better men could be procured. Without incentives to stimulate their pride, or a character to be upheld by good conduct, their object seems to be to get along with as little work as possible, ready at any time to yield to the worst impulses of their degraded condition. It is not surprising that the really good men should feel little sympathy for these persons, or that they should acknowledge the propriety and justice of a punishment, which alone appears to keep them in check. But here, it will be observed, that although the worthy sailor may approve of the corporal punishment of the "vagabond," under the relative circumstances in which they are thrown, and in the particular instances where they judge respecting it, yet that affords no evidence as to their opinions of the general principle involved in this discussion; which is, whether the law authorises corporal punishment in the navy should be repealed, and not whether the officers of the navy should carry this law into effect.

False impressions respecting the general views of seamen on the subject of corporal punishment, have been derived, most probably, from admissions, founded on that subserviency of opinion on the part of men in a situation where they may be oppressed, to those having the legal power to oppress them, which must be expected always to exist. But if it were true, that sailors preferred to have the practice of flogging continue among them, it is not a sufficient reason why it should so continue, if the wisdom of Congress judged otherwise. Immigrants crowded on board ships to their own detriment, knowingly and voluntarily, until the law humanely regulated the number to be taken; and so with a variety of sanatory measures of state and municipal authorities. So if it can be shown, that a more civilized legislation towards sailors shall elevate and improve them, thereby adding to the efficiency of the navy, and to the interests of

* Custom, in the navy, has made it a law, more potential than a legal statute, not to flog a petty officer. The Act of 1800 does not forbid it. When a petty officer is guilty of an offence supposed to merit the lash, he is first disrated, and generally at the gangway, antecedent to the punishment; although he may be restored to his former rate before the shirt is restored to his lacerated back.

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commerce, as well as to the cause of humanity, it surely ought to be adopted.

Unfortunately, it is too true, that the moral sensibilities of sailors have been often so blunted, as to render them unfit judges of the propriety or necessity of the practice of flogging. Hence, as a proof that the sailor does not disapprove of corporal punishment, it is averred that he does not feel degraded by it. If he does not, it must satisfy every right-thinking mind of its extremely debasing consequences. No man of natural sensibilities and proper spirit, can have his person denuded publicly, his hands tied with rope to the gangway stanchions, his feet lashed to gratings—and then, under the inspection of all, officers and crew, to have the cat-of-nine-tails* applied with a vigor sufficient to make every cord leave its distinct mark, forcing involuntary exclamations of anguish, with uncontrollable writhings and contortions of the naked body, from him of the firmest resolution, and not experience an acute sense of degradation. If there be men in the navy so seared and so shameless, it only furnishes the more convincing evidence of the brutalizing effects of our laws regarding punishments, and the more urgent necessity for their immediate repeal.

To corroborate the assertion, that sailors do not wish to see flogging abolished, the fact is adduced of their voluntary shipment, with a knowledge of the law; and that no difficulty has existed in filling the lists of the navy—but that men who have once served in men-of-war, constantly return to the service. Allowing all this, it would prove nothing, since whipping is practised likewise in the merchant-service; so that the sailor, unless he abandons his vocation, may have no alternative. Still the actual facts, from the deductions, are adverse to the absurd opinion of its popularity with sailors generally. Flogging, though sanctioned by judicial decisions, is rarely resorted to in the merchant-service, except on long voyages, where there is no restraint upon the captain, and none but the crew to testify against him. "On such voyages as these," says the author of "Two Years before the Mast," "there are many cases of outrageous cruelty on record—enough to make one's heart-sick, and almost disgusted with the sight of man; and many, many more, which have never come to light, and which never will be known until the sea shall give up its dead. Many of these have led to mutiny and piracy. Stripe for stripe, and blood for blood." But the laws there afford protection when an opportunity for appeal for them is presented. Unlike the almost irresponsible power conferred by the law for the navy, to punish according to the customs of the sea-service, the merchant captain is justified only when he inflicts moderate punishment for a sufficient cause. There is no act of Congress which invests the master of a merchant ship with the authority to punish with stripes. "In the treatment of those under his authority," remarks Dana, "the captain is amenable to the common

* "*Cat-of-nine-tails*—An instrument of punishment consisting of nine pieces of line, or cord, fastened to a piece of thick rope, and having three knots at intervals—used to flog offenders on board ship."—*Webster*.

The knots, at intervals, are believed to be pretty generally dispensed with at present. McArthur says, that one dozen lashes, according to the present mode of discipline, applied to their back by a boatswain's mate, furnished with a naval cat-of-nine-tails, is equivalent to at least fifty lashes laid on by a drummer with a military cat. This arises, not so much from the expertness of the one executioner over the other in the mode of laying on the lashes, but chiefly from the comparative thickness, hardness, and severity of the instruments of punishment.

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law, like any other person. He is liable, at common law, for murder, assault and battery, and other offences; and, in addition to this, there is a special statute of the United States, which makes a captain, or other officer, liable to imprisonment, for a term not exceeding five years, and a fine, not exceeding a thousand dollars, for inflicting any cruel punishment upon, or withholding food from, or in any way maltreating a seaman. This is the state of the law upon the subject; while the relation in which the parties stand, and the peculiar necessities, excuses, and provocations, arising from that relation, are merely circumstances to be considered in each case." The frequent and heavy penalties to which the skipper has been subjected in the exercise of his authority, already has abolished, virtually, the lash, in the greater portion of our merchant service; and it is worthy of remark, that the improvement in the moral character of the merchant seamen has advanced, *pari passu*, with the various steps of progress, towards its relinquishment. Whether a stripe would ever again be inflicted there, by arbitrary rule, if flogging were abolished in the navy, may well be questioned. Once dispensed with in the national service, the sailor would no longer be looked upon as a being, *sui generis*, possessed of different senses and affections from others of his kind.

The merchant seaman of good character and manly pride, aware of the distinction between the two services, prefers his own. Comparatively few American seamen serve on board our national vessels. This fact, by no means creditable to the character of our naval service, can be established before an investigating committee of Congress. This proud Republic takes for her defenders upon the ocean, for the most part, the refuse of other nations, along with those Americans whose morals have been first corrupted by dissipated habits. This description of persons are induced to go into the navy, in the first instance, either because they cannot get employment elsewhere, or because the landlord to whom they may be indebted introduces them at the rendezvous, in order to secure their three months' advance. Once in the navy, such individuals will be likely to remain. The inducements to enter will recur with the same force after they have returned from a three years' cruise, and spent their money in a drunken frolic; for, during the cruise, their predilections for indulgence in intoxicating drinks, have been fostered daily by the spirit ration, and their pride has certainly not been exalted by knowing that at any hour, for an idle word, or thoughtless act, they may be placed on a level with the convicts for petty larceny, in those states of our Union where the whipping-post is still found in their country towns. When the young and thoughtless, previously of fair character, attracted by the seductive novelty of a man-of-war, enter the service, it is almost a miracle if they escape the contaminating influence of evil association, and do not become in all respects as bad as their companions. These different classes first going into the navy, and afterwards returning and remaining there, does not prove that they would not more cheerfully have done so, if corporal punishment was not allowed.

The statement is not strictly correct, however, that no difficulty has existed in procuring a compliment of seamen for the navy. Although rendezvous are pretty constantly kept open, in our chief commercial cities, at a charge upon the treasury of the nation, approximating to fifty thousand dollars, annually, (perhaps exceeding it,) it frequently happens that vessels suffer delay in getting to sea for the want of a crew. By an act of Congress, the number of seamen, ordinary seamen, landsmen, and boys,

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is fixed at seventy-five hundred, and has been for a number of years, except during the Mexican war, when the limit was withdrawn, or put up to 10,000. It was found impossible, however, to increase the number materially beyond the "peace establishment." During no period of the war was the number beyond 8,000, notwithstanding the increased activity of the recruiting service. In December, 1847, Secretary Mason complained to Congress, that the difficulty of enlistment "has delayed the consummation of contemplated arrangements, and the increase of our naval forces in the Gulf and the Pacific." The cause of all this embarrassment in the prosecution of war measures, was due, doubtless, to the prejudices of merchant seamen to the naval service, preventing them from passing from one to the other. Those addicted to drinking, and willing to risk the lash to get their grog ration, go into the navy, and stay there. Those possessed of manly pride, remain where it is less likely to get humbled.

The difficulty of manning the navy under the existing system, will become so serious at length, as to force its consideration upon the attention of Congress. Should the philanthropic efforts of those who have interested themselves in improving the moral condition of sea-faring men so far succeed as to reform the merchantmen as a class, it will be impracticable to keep up the navy quota. Allowing that those now in the service remain generally, there will be a constant demand upon the merchant service to fill vacancies, as the navy is not what it might be made, and should be made—a nursery for seamen. Congress will then be driven to the necessity of repealing the present debasing naval code, in order to equalize the tone of moral sensibility in the two services. But before this necessity arises, if our antiquated barbarities are clung to pertinaciously, then may arise a storm of popular indignation, (already seen like a small black cloud in the horizon,) to expend its fury upon the whole naval establishment. Recently, we hear it whispered from a high source, that under certain contingencies, "the wisest policy would be to break up the navy, save the millions drained from the treasury for its support, extinguish its cruelty and oppression, and put an end to a service so wholly and completely aristocratic, that it has not, even under monarchy, its equal in existence."*

It is alleged, that although during a state of peace, the sailor may prefer the merchant service, in a period of war, he will rally to the defence of his country. No evidence of such a spirit appeared during the two years of the Mexican war, when the land service was in some instances absolutely oppressed by the rush for admission. But in a war with a maritime nation, it is contended, the case will be different; the commerce of the country will be so crippled, as to throw many out of employment, who will eagerly seek the navy to participate in the chances of prize money. This may have been so in the war of 1812, before philanthropy had effected any improvement in the moral condition of seamen. Neither patriotism nor lucre can induce men of character to risk the humiliation of stripes, which the arbitrary power conferred by our laws cause to be inflicted for offences due to mistake, or accident.

Proofs might be produced of the correctness of the above views, were it in good taste to go into our navy for illustrations, and refer to statements which have been made public. The following extract of a letter

* Commodore Stewart.

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from before the mast, taken from an English Naval Magazine, maintains the position we have assumed, and is interesting as coming from a quarter seldom heard from directly in newspapers:—

"Another point I must refer to—that of capital punishment: it is argued by many naval commanders that it cannot be dispensed with. I speak the language of one who has been subject to its inflictions; and in so doing, I am sure I speak the language of seamen generally, that the fear of being flogged or started for every trifling thing that might occur, has prevented merchant seamen from entering the British navy. * * * * Some I have heard say, the first land they touched, they would run; and if taken, they would rather suffer at the yard-arm than be tortured and degraded again. Reason would tell you that no man in his senses would run and leave two or three years' hard earned pay behind, if it was not for fear of the torture. And where did these men generally go? The answer will be, in most cases, to America. I have seen hundreds of men flogged, and in most cases the men become sullen and spirit-broken, regardless of what might happen."

Experience in the United States army has been educed against the proposition to abolish flogging in the navy. It has been asserted that its abolition there has been pernicious, and that it has been found necessary to resort to more cruel, and equally degrading punishments, in order to maintain discipline. The only authority we have noticed who endorses this view, is that of a venerable and distinguished gentleman, who was Secretary of War a quarter of a century ago, and whose opinions seem now to be the result of the apprehensions that may have been entertained at that time as to the consequences of having recently dispensed with it. Certain it is, that the officers of the army, with whom we have conversed upon the subject, some of whom were of long experience and high standing, do not regard the effects of its abolition as unsalutary, and think there exists no necessity for its renewal. As to the other punishments referred to, as the ball and chain, we are assured that they are not resorted to so frequently under the present regulations, as they were under the former. None of them compare with scourging, however, as a source of degradation. The kind feeling known to exist between the officers and soldiers, is in manifest contrast with what could prevail under laws similar to those which govern the navy. Under the state of discipline in the army, it is not a rare event for men of "broken down" moral and physical constitutions, to be discharged after their term of enlistment, so improved in every respect as to become valuable members of society. It is still more common for them to reform, and from attachment to the army and its officers, to remain permanent and useful soldiers, without the desire to change their employment. No one will deny that the discipline of the navy produces results far less agreeable to the friends of moral reform. And yet the "raw material" to be worked upon, is more susceptible of improvement. Of the naturalized citizens who go into the army, a large majority are from the "Green Isle," the Celtic blood of whose sons is quickly aroused, and when excited, none are more difficult to restrain. Americans seeking employment there, are, for the most part, those whose habits disqualify them for civil business. Both classes having been brought up to other pursuits, enter for some temporary purpose, and look forward to a future time to resume their original vocation. Seamen are differently circumstanced. Irishmen are not partial to salt water. The mattock, and the musket, are preferred by them, to ropes and marling-

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spikes. Foreign seamen in our navy, are, in large majorities, of the Saxon race—a staid, reflecting people—not moved by sudden impulse. Both the foreign and native sailor, (whose fraternization as shipmates is thorough,) follow the sea as a permanent occupation, to be skilled practically in which requires as much of an apprenticeship as other handicraft. The nature of their life tends to the expansion of the mind. Visiting various countries, and observing every variety of manners and customs, they acquire a considerable amount of general knowledge, and are freed from local prejudices. Besides this, the reading of books may occupy their leisure hours. Their duties do not demand of the mind at all times "to wait upon the hand."

But why need the army be instanced as furnishing an argument against the proposition to abolish flogging in the navy? The law of 1806, which authorized corporal punishment, on conviction by a legal tribunal, was repealed six years afterwards, before the present corps of officers (with a few exceptions) had entered the army. During that period, it could not be directed by the capricious dictate of an individual. Added to this, the temptations to crime are greater in the army—the facilities for indulgence in intoxicating drinks more numerous, and the restraints upon personal liberty less. Moreover, the soldier is more of a machine than the sailor. The movements of the former are directed implicitly by his officers, and the more automatic his obedience, the more perfect his soldiership. The sailor moves freely, and of his own judgment. His obedience should be of that impulsive and cheerful kind, in which the heart lends enthusiasm to the understanding, and professional pride becomes the handmaid of professional skill. In view of these distinctive differences in the character, situation, and duties of the sailor and the soldier, it must appear obvious that if it is at all practicable to maintain discipline in the army, without the one-man-power to inflict stripes, there is not the shadow of an excuse for it in the navy.

The large proportion of foreigners in the navy has been referred to. This circumstance is placed in bold relief to favor its perpetuation. "Because of the privates of the navy," observes a senator, "three-fourths are foreigners, uneducated, and unacquainted with our laws and our habits." The weak point in this argument consists in the low estimate placed on the intelligence of the British seaman, for most of our foreign seamen are of that nation. There is no class of persons whom it were more politic in our government to encourage to seek an asylum under the Constitution, from the tyranny of their own laws. They are by no means so uneducated, or so unacquainted with our laws, as has been insinuated. In point of fact, the best men in the American navy are foreigners. The majority of our petty officers are foreigners. The lash is not retained for the numerous foreigners who are in the service, so much as for the degraded Americans. If our navy is so badly provided for, can a stronger necessity be urged for improving the condition of its seamen? Should not the navy be upon such a footing, that out of the 150,000 American seamen in the country, a sufficient number may be procured to obviate this difficulty? Those who would adhere to the lash on account of the foreigners in the service, either are greatly deceived in the facts which determine such an opinion, or make use of the argument disingenuously, when the true cause of their objection is, that they cannot bring themselves to trust the masses, or to honor the laborer.

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The advocates of flogging oppose its abolition, on the ground, that in place of it, punishments would have to be inflicted more sanguinary in their character. This is a pure abstraction, unsusceptible of proof, and destitute of probability. It has been urged against its abolition in monarchical armies; but we defy any one to show that punishments in our army, where flogging is not allowed, are more sanguinary than in the navy, or that the absence of flogging has rendered them more so than they would otherwise be. In the navy, the lash is applied in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred by the order of one officer, for misdemeanors not regarded as of sufficient magnitude to be brought before a court-martial: and why a policy calculated to improve the moral condition of seamen, should induce them to commit crimes meriting more sanguinary punishments, it is difficult to conceive. As such a result would be against all experience heretofore, we leave to our opponents the burthen of proof. With the downfall of the cat-of-nine-tails will terminate that system of irresponsible power, by which the feelings of the weak can be disregarded, and their rights trampled upon with impunity,—nay, which denies the existence of a right to others than those belonging to the privileged classes. To maintain this state of things, after flogging is dispensed with, we admit, will require a more sanguinary code; and this is what is expected by those using the argument.

It is further urged, in vindication of the practice of scourging sailors, that flogging in the navy is inflicted by the authority of a law which provides ample checks to restrain its capricious or improper use; so that few, comparatively, are punished, and only the vicious and unruly; that, in fact, flogging is only resorted to when a crime has been committed. All the authority given by law is that derived from the act of 1800, which has already been noticed at some length in Part I. Philadelphia lawyers will be sorely puzzled to find ample checks in that statute to restrain its capricious or its improper use. Let us glance again at the powers of the commander. The letter of the law, it will be remembered, contains but few offences, comparatively, for which he can subject the sailor to corporal punishment; but the sweeping clause of "other scandalous conduct tending to the destruction of good morals," most persons would think, gives sufficient latitude to embrace unavoidable omissions. Our law-makers thought otherwise; and hence another article directs the commander to correct all such as are guilty of dissolute and immoral practices, according to the usages of the sea service. But even this was not enough. To remove all excuse for misapprehension, the thirty-second article provides that "all crimes committed by persons belonging to the navy, which are not specified in the foregoing articles, shall be punished according to the laws and customs in such cases at sea."

Now, what is the practical effect of these laws? Must the offence be of an aggravated kind to impose stripes upon the sailor under their legitimate operation? No person who understands the meaning of the phrase, "usages of the service," can maintain such a position. The sailor may be whipped for not moving briskly: he may be whipped for a soiled speck upon his trowsers: he may be whipped if his beard is too long: he may be whipped for an unlucky projection of his tobacco quid, which, not falling into the spittoon, soils the deck: he may be whipped for a want of culinary care: he may be whipped if he does not hear the boatswain's call: he may be whipped if he does not descry a distant

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sail: he may be whipped if his hammock is not lashed neatly: he may be whipped if the belaying pins are not polished brightly: he may be whipped if the top-sail braces are not coiled smoothly: he may be whipped if he grows restive under the invective reproofs of a "novice in the trade," or replies with the spirit of a man, to the rude and boisterous insults of a boatswain or his mate. Such are the crimes for which the American seaman may be scourged by the authority of a republican law.

We have referred to the insufficiency of the safeguards thrown around the exercise of this power. As illustrations, cases like the following will be recognized by those who have served a number of years in the navy, as having occurred more frequently at a former day, than, it is hoped, they do at the present, or ever can do again: A sail is improperly reefed,—some *one* on the yard-arm is at fault, but who of all the number belonging there cannot be ascertained;—so to make sure of punishing the proper person, the *whole* are called down, and flogged. Damage is done a boat: some *one* of the boat's crew are doubtless guilty of carelessness or neglect; but which of them, it is impossible to discover;—so the *whole* are whipped. These examples might be multiplied indefinitely. Nor can it be doubted, under arbitrary rule, or under a system without rule, punishments are liable to be inflicted upon the subordinate, in order to protect the superior from the consequences of his own neglect. A number of men may incur the ignominy of stripes, because an evolution failed from a bowling not being let go, or a sheet eased off at the proper time; when the fault consisted in the superior having neglected previously to designate an individual for the performance of the particular duty.

In the matter of making reports of punishments to the department, it has been shown that we are behind the English. It may be added, that in the English navy, not only are punishments reported, but the name of the officer making a complaint giving rise to a punishment. "This order," says Captain Campbell, R. N., "very properly tends to place the officer under the same responsibility as the captain. Before it was given out, I have known instances of captains who were deficient in the firmness and address that are necessary to keep all classes in their proper stations on board, to be frequently placed in situations which endangered the good discipline of the ship; between the admiralty restrictions, on the one hand, and the pettish complaints of inconsiderate officers, on the other—particularly when their tempers happened to be ruffled by censure for their own negligence or mismanagement." As considerable stress is laid on the order to report punishments, it should be borne in mind that the returns may lead into error as to the character of the offence, unless distinct specifications are made. "Disobedience of orders;" "neglect of duty;" "disrespect to superior officers," sound to the ear like grave charges; but when the specific offence is made known, a different impression may be left upon the mind. The capital crime of disobedience of lawful orders may, then, be found to have consisted in talking in too loud and hilarious a key. An oar, not being feathered at a satisfactory angle, may have constituted the capital crime of the negligent performance of duty.

Corporal punishments are said to be very rarely inflicted in the navy, and that few, comparatively, of a ship's company, are ever flogged. This

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is not the case. The frequency and severity of punishments differ in ships according to the feelings and views of their commanders. Some are known to order them with great reluctance. This reluctance has been increased, undoubtedly, by the agitation of the subject in Congress, and in newspapers, as well as the order to report them to the Department. Nevertheless, as long as the discipline of the navy is to be maintained by the lash, and the seamen of men-of-war are of the character of those who will enter the service under such a state of things, it can scarcely be otherwise than that floggings should be numerous. On board a large class vessel of war, the application of the lash to a dozen or more sometimes precedes the "clearing of the brig."*

Frequent punishments, it may be averred, result always from the abuse of a proper law. Not so. If all the circumstances connected with the naval service are taken into consideration—that is, the depraved morality of many of the privates of the navy, the effect of the early training of the officers, in estimating the character of the seamen, and the arbitrary power wielded by those in authority, (all due to the legislation, and the want of legislation for the service,) the present state of things is precisely what might have been expected. Or, it may be objected, that examples have been furnished to prove a rule, which are but its exceptions. Without conceding this, it may be replied—that if, under the lawful or received operation of a statute, there occurs a solitary instance of the wanton violation of the inalienable rights of a citizen, it affords a sufficient ground for its repeal or modification.

If what has been stated be admitted, the repeal of the law which authorizes corporal punishment in the navy is loudly called for. The friends of the system, however, insist, that before anything be done, the opinions of the officers should be received. Why, we ask, should the views of officers control legislative action upon this subject? Officers of the navy, although they may be enlightened by the wisdom of men, and sanctified by the religion of the Gospel, are but of frail humanity, partaking of the same passions and prejudices as all others of their kind, who, preceding them, have possessed privileges and prerogatives that placed them above their fellow-men. Do kings grant to their subjects freedom, as long as they can avoid doing so? Have feudal barons released their serfs from bondage as long as they could retain them in chains? Have the aristocracy of England accorded to the commonalty free suffrage and equal rights? In fine, have privileged classes ever admitted voluntarily to share their rights those debarred from them by the force of circumstances? Yet kings, lords, and aristocrats, are no worse than others. Convinced of the justness of their cause, they suppose that their own rights would be invaded, and the interest of society suffer, by the elevation of their inferiors. These views become so firmly established in their belief, as to deprive their sentiments of the character of selfishness.

* To clear the brig, is to release prisoners from confinement. This is often done when a ship gets to sea after remaiuing in port for some time. When we reflect upon the description of privates often found in our ships, it can readily be imagined that a large number should render themselves amenable to punishment, in a very short space of time, in a port where spirituous liquors are to be obtained. The amount of flogging, under these circumstances, is not mentioned in order to reflect upon those who direct the execution of the law; but to impugn the statement made in high places, that punishments are seldom inflicted on sailors.

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Officers of the navy occupy a similar position. Introduced at an early age on board ship, as a warrant officer, whose order must be implicitly obeyed by subordinates, his seniors in years, and vastly his superiors in acquirements, the first lesson he learns is to view all below him in station as inferiors in everything. The midshipman, having obtained his commission as lieutenant, the difference between him and the common sailor being still greater, acquires a far more exalted sense of his own elevation, and a lower appreciation of his subaltern's position. Advanced finally to a rank which entitles him to a command, he looks from his lofty station upon the humble seaman, as upon an order of creatures whom it may be charitable to protect and defend, but altogether unsafe, if not absurd, to confide in. Thus, early education, long habit, and the fashion of opinion, convince them of the propriety of maintaining the present humility of the private. They may even think that a sense of public duty demands it of them, in order to preserve thereby the dignity of the superior officer. The power to inflict a degrading punishment must obviously render the distinction wider than it otherwise could be. They are firm, therefore, in their impressions, that any change calculated to lesson this disparity, would be destructive of all the proprieties of naval life. Their notions of sailors, moreover, are derived often from those who may be regarded as the outcasts of their class. Men who expose themselves voluntarily to a debasing system, where an act of independence is viewed as one of insubordination; where every hour something occurs to remind them of the humility of their position; and to know, that of all their countrymen, they alone are debarred from those rights guaranteed by the constitution to the humblest citizen—under these circumstances, it is useless to combat the prejudices of officers respecting corporal punishment. There is reason to believe, however, that a change of opinion in the navy is taking place upon this subject. Its unpopularity abroad is manifest, and the sagacious know that its continued agitation will augment the opposition to it in Congress, to the rapid downfall of the system. Meanwhile, the officers are, without cause, often sufferers, in consequence of public prejudice being directed against them as inflicting it, rather than against the law which directs it. Sailors, too, are aware of this feeling, and may take advantage of it to the injury of the efficiency of the service. No improvement in the latter respect can be anticipated, until a better class of privates are encouraged to go into the navy; but under the existing organization it is impossible to effect any improvement of consequence.

Among navy officers of the highest reputation in the country will probably be found those who will first relinquish the prejudices of their rank, and accede to the necessity of elevating the seaman's condition. From such men as the veteran Stewart, the gallant Stockton, and the intrepid McKeever, as distinguished in the service for their kindness to the sailor, as they are throughout the country for their sound republican principles, the friends of reform look for "aid and comfort." Nor is less expected of younger officers, like Porter, (Lieut. D. D., a "chip of the old block,") who, prominent in new professional enterprises, stand ready to emerge from the darkness of ancient error and prejudice on the dawn of the new and improved light.

No one denies that many officers are not impressed in good faith with an actual apprehension of the risk which the discipline of the service

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would incur by the abolition of flogging. The quality of that discipline, however, deserves to be understood. Persons not in the naval service would consider a ship of war in good discipline, wherein the guns and sails were well handled, an order cheerfully obeyed, and a feeling of kindness existed among all classes. But ships which have exhibited other features, are those that have enjoyed the widest fame, and exacted the greatest praise in the navy. It is on board those vessels, when to alacrity of movement and skilful manipulation, the practice obtains of promptly administering the lash to every private against whom a complaint may be made to the captain, or his executive officer, by any other officer. It is where all murmurs and complaints on the part of the unprotected subaltern are entirely suppressed, although the duty imposed on him may have been extraordinary in its character, or the outrage gross to which his feelings had been subjected. On board such vessels, vulgarly denominated *crack*,) we find, ordinarily, every metallic surface polished brightly, when a coat of paint, every six months, preserves the property better, and removes a daily and odious, because an unnautical task, from a large portion of the crew. We observe on board these *crack* ships, and too often in ships making no such pretensions, the crew kept huddled like flocks of sheep, in the port gangway when at anchor, and in the lee gangway when under weigh, in order that the berth deck —which should be as sacred to them as the cabin is to the captain, or the ward-room to the commissioned officer—may be "kept clear," and present an appearance esteemed in good order, according to the sea-service standard of taste. We find in *crack* ships, likewise, the men required every day to adopt a dress adverse to their wishes, unnecessary for their health or comfort, uncalled for by propriety, and demanding increased labor and expense to them. Above all, we find there frequently a discontented spirit, showing itself by unwearied efforts to desert, and sometimes by outbreaks of a mutinous nature.

It cannot be questioned that a state of discipline which requires a system of terror to enforce, would be impaired by the withdrawal of existing means; but it does not follow from this, that the efficiency of the service would be less. National vessels are intended for national defence—to be ready at all times to fight an enemy. To this end, various restraints upon personal conduct are necessary; but their imposition must not be exercised capriciously or without cause. Men do not object to submit to restraints as long as there is a necessity for them. They become irksome when they are manifestly unnecessary. It will not do to say, that under military rule, the subordinate must defer his opinions and judgment in all things to his superior officer. The mind at least is free; and even sailors and slaves cannot be prevented from thinking. How much more difficult is it to cause men coming into the service, from a comparative social equality, to submit to uncalled-for privations, and annoyances, and restraints, although they may belong to the class of "insect vexations, that sting us and fly away; impertinences that buzz awhile about us, and are heard no more."

The following observations of De Tocqueville, replete with philosophic truth, bear upon this subject, having as appropriate an application to navies as to armies:

"It is a very general opinion, especially in aristocratic countries, that the great social equality which prevails in democracies, ultimately

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renders the private soldier independent of the officer, and thus destroys the bond of discipline. This is a mistake; for there are two kinds of discipline, which it is important not to confound.

"When the officer is noble, and the soldier a serf—one rich, the other poor—the former educated and strong, the latter ignorant and weak—the strictest bond of obedience may easily be established between the two men. The soldier is broken into military discipline before he enters the army, or rather military discipline is nothing but an enhancement of social servitude. In aristocratic armies, the soldier will become insensible to everything but the orders of his superior officer: he acts without reflection, triumphs without enthusiasm, and dies without complaint. In this state, he is no longer a man; but still he is a most formidable animal, trained for war.

"A democratic people must despair of ever obtaining from soldiers that blind, minute, submissive, and invariable obedience, which an aristocratic people may impose on them without difficulty: the state of society does not prepare them for it; and the nation might be in danger of losing its natural advantages if it sought, artificially, to acquire advantages of this particular kind. Among democratic communities, military discipline ought not to attempt to annihilate the free spring of the faculties: all that can be done by discipline is to direct it. The obedience thus inculcated is less exact, but it is more eager and more intelligent:—it has its root in the will of him who obeys; it rests not only on his instinct, but his reason; and consequently it will often spontaneously become more strict, as danger requires it. The discipline of an aristocratic army is apt to be relaxed in war, because that discipline is founded on habits, and war disturbs those habits. The discipline of a democratic army, on the contrary, is strengthened in sight of an enemy; because every soldier then perceives that he must be silent and obedient, in order to conquer.

"The nations which have performed the greatest warlike achievements knew no other discipline than that which I speak of. Among the ancients, none were admitted into the armies but freemen and citizens, who differed but little from one another, and were accustomed to treat each other as equals. In this respect, it may be said, that the armies of antiquity were democratic, although they came out of the bosom of aristocracy. The consequence was, that in those armies, a sort of fraternal familiarity prevailed among the officers and men. Plutarch's Lives of Great Commanders furnish convincing instances of this fact. The soldiers were in the constant habit of freely addressing their general, and the general listened to and answered whatever the soldiers had to say: they were kept in order by language and by example, far more than by restraint and punishment: the general was as much their companion as their chief. I know not whether the soldiers of Greece and Rome ever carried the minutiæ of military discipline to the same degree of perfection as the Russians; but this did not prevent Alexander from conquering Asia, and Rome the world."

Instances are numerous of an over-rough system of discipline producing disaffection and mutiny. Those familiar with English naval history will recognize striking examples in the cases of the Hermione and Africaine.

It is a favorite position with the advocates of stripes, that a substitute

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should first be adopted before the laws which authorize flogging in the navy are repealed. If this be intended to perpetuate the lash, by opposing all substitutes, we answer, that the very act which shall remove the legal right to inflict stripes, will, in a great measure, do away with the necessity for them. Two circumstances will produce this result: In the first place, better men would at once seek the service, especially if proper measures were adopted to favor it. But the principal circumstance referred to is, that the sailor, being looked upon with greater respect, would more carefully avoid the commission of offence. This respect would beget a mutual kindness between parties, who at present have few sympathizers in common. An authority of some eminence has remarked, that it is extremely questionable whether flogging in the navy does not tend as strongly to debase the heart and brain of the officer who permits it, as the sailor who receives it. Without altogether agreeing with the spirit of this remark, it cannot be controverted, that its effects upon the mind of officers is to cause the two parties to regard each other very differently, from the feelings which exist between laborers and their employers, in the various pursuits of industry among us. Whipped men do not respect themselves, nor are they respected by those who cause them to be whipped. Those who at all times are exposed to such an ignominy, do not occupy a much higher pinnacle.

Yet, in spite of their debasement, great injustice is done sailors, when they are regarded as gangs of desperadoes on board ship, only to be governed as Driesbach keeps in awe the ferocious animals of his menagerie—by harsh words and severe chastisement. The vast majority of them are reflecting men, cheerful in the discharge of their duties, and possessed of unusual intelligence, for persons whose employment has always been that of laborers. It is true, that government and society have done much to degrade them; and that such efforts have not been always entirely successful, clearly proves, that no ill-consequences need be apprehended for reforms designed to elevate them in the scale of humanity. But even if they were the outlaws they have been represented, do they merit or require a more barbarian rule than the convicts of a penitentiary, or the inmates of a house of refuge? Some years since, sympathy expressed for the severities resorted to for the correction of criminal men, or bad boys, would have been denied. What has later experience proven in reference to their management? Ample testimony might be produced to show, if its notoriety did not exclude its necessity, that their conduct and character improved as the discipline of the prison became more humane. Even veterans in crime are now corrected without a resort to the infliction of corporal whipping, under some systems.

It is certainly desirable to provide a substitute for the last, before dispensing with it—we should rather say, before dispensing with the Act of 1800; for, as now exercised, this Act without the *cat*, is properly compared to the play of Hamlet, with the character of the Prince of Denmark omitted. But this is not a sufficient reason for any great delay. Legislative blundering is defied to produce anything worse, or less efficient. And even if flogging were abolished by a sweeping clause in the Naval Appropriation Bill, there would still remain for the protection of good order, besides other means, the authority to hold offenders in confinement. To this it has been objected, that the effective force of the ship's company would be impaired by making a prison-house of the ship. Gentle-

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men making use of this argument on the floor of Congress, may not be aware of the extent to which the practice of confinement (often in irons) has been carried on board our national ships. Indeed, the necessity for confinement is incident to our present system, far more so than it would be, if flogging and the spirit-ration were abolished. Public attention should be called to the fact, that the one-man-power, conferred by the Act of 1800, imposes no restriction upon the time a man shall be confined. No such protection is afforded by the laws for the navy, as is contained in the Articles of War for our army, (copied from the English, of course,) which expressly provides that none shall continue in confinement more than eight days, or until such time as a court-martial can be assembled. In the navy, if the offence, in the captain's opinion, calls for a worse punishment than twelve lashes, there is nothing to prevent the culprit from being kept in irons for weeks, or even months, to receive his twelve lashes on being restored to duty. What other functionary of a civilized government has entrusted to him a power over a fellow-being so arbitrary? No report is required by law to be made of this punishment, even to the commander-in-chief of the squadron.

Hints on re-organization, in view of the repeal of laws which sanction corporal punishment, will be submitted in the next part; and before concluding we will suggest, with a becoming feeling of deference in our capacity for so delicate a task, the basis of an act to take the place of the existing statute for the government of the navy.

VERSES.

FROM THE FRENCH OF BERANGER.

Poor fools, come let us beat the ground! in train
Our tinkling bells should ring:
We all, just like those handsome mules in Spain,
March to the ring, ding, ding.
Many the errors of the human race;
Heaven wills to each his share:
On Wisdom's mantle Folly finds a place,
A bell to fasten there!

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RAILROAD TO THE PACIFIC.

The necessity of a direct internal communication between the Valley of the Mississippi and the Pacific states of the Union, is apparently universally admitted. None, not even those whose political intrigues induce them to trifle with the best interests of Western America, and hazard by insolent neglect, in the furtherance of party schemes, the welfare of the Pacific states, doubt the ultimate necessity of a railroad communication. Since the breaking up of the great Roman Empire, there has never been embraced under a single government so great an extent of continuous territory—peopled by an active, intelligent people—as is now subject to the laws of the federal government. The immense territory, which, subjected by the Roman legions, gradually fell under the sway of the "eternal city," was cemented and held in subjection only by the prompt construction of those wonderful highways, whose firmness has withstood the efforts of fifteen centuries. From the wall of Antoninus in Scotland, through England, France, Italy, Byzantium, to Jerusalem, a distance of 3,740 English miles, the solid structure perforated mountains, bridged on bold arches the broadest and most rapid streams, connecting all the chief cities of the empire with the Roman Forum. At every five miles of this distance existed a station-house, supplied with forty horses, by means of which the route could be travelled at the rate of 100 miles per day, for the conveyance of intelligence. As soon as a territory was annexed to the empire, the prolongation of this road was at once effected to facilitate the march of the legions, and consolidate the imperial power. These roads were the arteries that gave vitality to the government; and if in those days, they were important to facilitate the movement of troops —which were the instruments of territorial aggrandizement—how much more so are they in our country in the 19th century, when industrial enterprise is the agent of annexation, and commercial intercourse the means of consolidation? The necessity has been universally recognized, and works of proximate importance have, from time to time, been perfected by individual, state, and national enterprise. Multitudes of turnpikes and railroads testify to the first. The noble canals of New-York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, are examples of the second, while the Cumberland road is not altogether an insignificant imitation of the Roman highways. On the opening of the north-west territory to settlement, it was determined to procure the construction, by Congress, of a national road, running from east to west, in order to make accessible the interior of those states to the eastern markets; the natural outlet down the Mississippi then being in the hostile hands of Spain. For this object Congress, in 1806, passed a law to construct a national road from Cumberland, in Maryland, to Ohio. This was opposed by many, on the ground that the federal constitution conferred no power on Congress to spend the public money for works of improvement. Certain it is, that if Congress possesses such a power in an unlimited degree, in connection with the right to borrow money for such purposes, it is the most dangerous prerogative which can exist in our country. After debate, the mat-

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ter was compromised by a provision in the law, requiring the assent of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, through parts of which states the road must pass, for its construction. This was merely an evasion; for if Congress did not possess the power, the assent of these states would not confer it; and if it did possess the power, the assent was unnecessary. Public opinion is now apparently settled down to the strict construction of the constitution, which confers no power on Congress to undertake works of internal improvement. It may well be supposed that the expenditure, by Congress, of a considerable sum of money in a new state, was far too desirable to the people and landholders of that state, to suffer the matter to slumber; and some forty different acts have prolonged the road from Cumberland, through Pennsylvania, part of Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and across Illinois, running from Wheeling nearly parallel to the River Ohio, to Alton, on the Mississippi River. The amounts appropriated by Congress have been, from the commencement of the road in 1806 to 1838, east of the Ohio River, $1,901,041; in Ohio, $2,081,008; in Indiana, $1,135,000; in Illinois, $746,000, making a total of $5,863,049, until the stoppage of the road, in 1838. Of the whole sum expended by Congress, a portion was to be reimbursed by the new states, from the per centage of public lands sold within the states, allowed to each on its admission into the Union. It has been the custom, on the admission of a new state into the Union, for Congress to make to it a grant from the public lands, for schools, a seminary, a seat of government, &c., and to allow to it 5 per cent. of the proceeds of lands sold within its border, after paying expenses, for the construction of roads and canals. Of this sum of 5 per cent., 3 per cent. is paid over to the state, to be expended under its direction, and the remaining 2 per cent. is expended under the direction of Congress. This 2 per cent. fund has supplied part of the sum expended by Congress. Since the Cumberland road was undertaken, the purchase of Louisiana by Congress has taken place, mainly for the purpose of opening the navigation of the father of waters to the sea, in order that the west might have an avenue to market. That is to say, it was the purchase rather than the construction of a great highway.

What the situation of the country west of the Alleghanies was, in relation to the Atlantic states, before the construction of the national road, and the purchase of the delta of the Mississippi, is that of Oregon and California now to the Valley of the Mississippi. Immense mineral and agricultural wealth, with vast commercial advantages, are held in abeyance, for the want of available avenues to market. That an avenue will be constructed by and through which the immense natural wealth of the Valley of the Mississippi, and the Pacific states, shall be mutually exchanged, has been carried, as it were, by general consent, and the question is narrowed down to the manner of construction.

So important and popular a work has, of course, not escaped the attention of the trading politicians; and many projects have been put forward to throw the work either directly or indirectly into the hands of the federal government, in order that the huge expenditure and great patronage it will involve—as the leading measure of a vast series of similar works in the back ground—may strengthen the power of the executive, and consolidate the strength of party. One of these plans proposes that a company shall be chartered by Congress, with a capital of $100,000,000,

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to be aided by $98,000,000 of United States stock, besides a grant of a strip of land, ten miles wide, throughout its whole extent. So exaggerated a proposition requires no comment. Another plan, is for the work to be constructed directly by government, with funds derived from all the proceeds of sales of lands on the line of the road, and half of those of all other public lands. This, of course, opens the door to the most limitless extravagance and corruption—is antagonistic to all the principles heretofore recognized by the democratic party in relation to the powers of Congress upon the subject, and as ratified repeatedly by the great body of the people at the general elections. It recognizes, however, one principle which is sound, and the right application of which, free from political objections, will form the mode by which the object may be realized. The public lands, which constitute the domain of the United States, present the means of constructing the road. Those lands are of vast extent, and valuable according to fertility and situation. Where nature, by means of a river, has formed a highway, on which produce, with little expense, may be transported to market, the contiguous lands have a value superior to that of soil of similar quality remote from an highway, and subjected to inordinate expense of land carriage. For all practical purposes, a railway has an effect upon land similar to that of a river. It will attract settlers along its borders, and will deliver produce from farms hundreds of miles from its terminus, on terms more favorable to the producer than can be afforded by land carriage for a comparatively trifling distance. Hence, a railroad gives value to the soil through which it penetrates, and equalizes the price of lands through the whole range of its operation. From the shores of Lake Michigan to the borders of the Pacific, the ownership rests with Congress; but the land is of variable value. As the traveller proceeds from the Valley of the Mississippi, the fertility of the soil fades into arid and sterile tracts, hundreds of miles in breadth, until the chain of rocky mountains being penetrated, the renewed verdure of the eastern slopes rewards the enterprize of the pioneer. Based on these facts, the project of Mr. Whitney proposes, that Congress sell to him a tract 60 miles wide, and in length equal to the route from Lake Michigan, to some favorable point on the Pacific, at 10 cents per acre. This land to be so disposed of, that the good lands shall be made to produce sufficient to defray the cost of the road through their own extent, and also through the barren waste, where the agricultural value of the soil will be of little account; whatever of land should remain, after the whole road is put in successful operation, to become the property of Mr. Whitney, and his assigns, as a reward for the work. The road to remain in possession of government as security for its progress, and Congress always to regulate tolls, so that the revenue shall never exceed the accruing expenses, and wear and tear. The process would be thus: as soon as 100 miles of road should be located, Mr. Whitney would provide funds for the complete construction of 10 miles; when the commissioner appointed by Congress should be satisfied that the work was efficiently done, he should issue to Mr. Whitney patents for 5 miles, by 60 wide, of land, or 192,000 acres, which would realize sufficient to pay for the 10 miles of road; the other 5 miles, or 192,000 acres, remaining untouched, in possession of the government, in addition to the 10 miles of road, as security. When the poor lands are approached, this half would no longer be sufficient for

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the construction of the 10 miles; and it would become necessary to recur to the remaining alternate reserved half to carry on the work, until good lands should be again reached across the desert. Thus, according to the bill, Congress sets apart and sells to Mr. Whitney 60 miles wide of the public land, from the lake to the Pacific, and an equal number of acres for any already sold on the tract; and, as before stated, the good lands, which extend 800 miles, must be made to produce means to construct 1,600 miles of road, (800 miles through poor lands,) or one mile by 60, being 38,400 acres, must furnish means for two miles of road. He would, immediately after the bill becomes a law, survey and locate the route for 200 or 300 miles, so as to secure the lands; then make a contract for the grading of 100 or 200 miles of the road, and make all arrangements and preparations, with machinery, to go on with the work; and when, having completed 10 miles of road, as the bill provides, on the best plan of construction of railroads of the present day, on a guage of not less than six feet wide, and with an iron rail of not less than sixty-four pounds to the yard—all to the full satisfaction of the commissioner and government; then he would, under the certificate of the commissioner, be allowed to sell 5 miles by 60, the one-half through which the road had been completed, or 192,000 acres; which, at the present price, (72 cents per acre,) for soldiers' bounties, and which must be the price of the best lands until some 16,000,000 of acres are disposed of, would amount to $138,240. Now, such a road as the bill calls for, cannot be built short of $20,000 per mile, and the 10 miles would cost $200,000; for which outlay, he would receive lands which can now be purchased for $138,240, or $61,760 less than the actual outlay—the government holding the other half, (five miles by 60,) 192,000, through which the road had been built, and also holding the road. Now, if he could not make this 192,000 acres produce enough to return the $200,000 expended on the 10 miles of road, then the work could not be continued, and the government would not allow him to take one acre of land, and the $200,000, and as much more as had been expended in the experiment would have been lost. But if, from the results of his energies, efforts, and labor, the 192,000 acres should be raised from its present value, to or beyond the $200,000 expended, then the work could be continued, and the 192,000 acres, the other half held by the government, would experience an equal increase in value from the same causes. Such would be the mode of proceeding for 800 miles through the good or available lands, or so far as the 5 miles by 60, or 192,000 acres, would furnish means to construct the 10 miles of road, the government always holding one-half, (alternate 5 miles by 60,) of all the lands, and also holding the road as security for all; each and every ten miles of road being always completed in advance of the sale of lands, and the road with the alternate settlements imparting benefits to, and enhancing the half held by the government, far exceeding the value of the first sales.

In this plan, there are avoided the great evils of extending the patronage of the government—of creating a gigantic debt, or of giving life to a corporation of dangerous magnitude. On the other hand, the work creates for itself the "meat on which it feeds." Lands, which are now 100 miles in the interior of a prairie, are of no comparative value, because inacessible to market; but as soon as penetrated by the road, and brought within five hours of its terminus, they become at once of great value, and will command prices superior to those, which less

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fertile soils on the borders of western streams might sell for. As the favorable localities on the natural avenues become crowded with settlers, the rare advantage offered by the new avenue, through hitherto untouched soil of surpassing richness, will be eagerly sought for; and western migration will receive a new impulse, while the great work will derive new strength from the population pressing on its track.

This proposition affords, therefore, the most feasible mode of perfecting the stupendous work, and grasping as it were, with an iron arm, not only the natural wealth of those wonderful states springing upon the Pacific, but of nationalising their trade and creating a point of attraction for the commerce of Asia, as well as a direct home market for the produce of our fisheries, which, for want of such a facility, are in danger of being altogether denationalised.

That California is to yield, annually, a large quantity of gold as a staple production, is now no longer problematical. Almost (if not quite exhaustless quantities of the precious metals) are known to exist, and they are to reward the hardy toil of the persevering miner in such increasing volume as materially to affect the currency of the world. They are to impart to commerce a material accession of monied capital; and the increase of this wealth must manifest itself in a rise of prices. That prices are always higher in that country which is the richest, is but another mode of stating that money being there more abundant is of less relative value. If the gold of California is by prompt means of communication poured into the lap of the United States, and gradually swells the volume of the circulating coin as it passes in new and shining pieces from the mint and its branches, a gradual increase in the distributive wealth of the whole Union must manifest itself in a rise in values, and enhanced ease in the discharge of obligations and taxes. That a portion of this golden product will flow off as a staple export of the United States, in conjunction with corn and cotton, for the purchase of more desirable descriptions of wealth, will be both necessary and inevitable. But that it should flow into and through the channels of internal commerce by means of an interior avenue from the mines to the mints and merchants, is of infinite importance to the general right of participation in so national a product. It is highly probable that the influence of the railroad in guiding the precious stream from the mines into the heart of the Union, will be productive of more real wealth than several times the cost of the work.

The road which transports mineral wealth and Asiatic merchandise from the borders of the Pacific to the bosom of the great lakes, will return in almost limitless quantities the swelling produce of the Mississippi valley to minister to the wants of the pioneers, as well as to the necessities and growing demands of the over-populated countries of Asia. Under the supposition that the appropriation of the proceeds of the lands to the construction of the road would divert some 2½ to three millions of revenue now derived from that source to the federal treasury, the outlay would be judicious on the part of the government merely as a financial measure, inasmuch as the influence of the road in finding an Asiatic market for the produce of the valley of the Mississippi, and facilitating the general exports of this country, in return for which, should the system of indirect taxes be continued, the revenues from the returns of

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those produce sales would more than equal the present revenue from the lands.

It has been urged that a railway of such extent could not carry freight in competition with sailing vessels to the Isthmus, even when transhipment takes place at Panama. Now we are to reflect that the China commerce coming west in the sphere of the great circle, will always approach the Western side of the continent at a point near the proposed terminus of the road; from that point to New-York, via Panama, the distance is in round numbers 6,000 miles, while the length of the railroad in round numbers is 2,000 miles to lake Michigan, or 3,000 to the Atlantic. That is to say, the Panama route is an arc of 6,000 miles, of which the railroad route is the chord. Now, in relation to the comparative abilities of rail cars and vessels, we have one great practical example worth myriads of theories. The Hudson river, running 150 miles from Albany to New-York, has facilities for steam freighting unsurpassed on any water-course in the world. Notwithstanding this, a company of the most sagacious and successful merchants of New-York have undertaken to compete with that stream and its advantages, by the construction of a railroad through the rocky border of the river, at an expense of probably $12,000,000, or one-fifth of the whole estimated cost of the Pacific railroad on the plan proposed. Without saving one mile of distance, they have, guided by their own practical shrewdness, entered into this outlay, depending solely upont the superior advantages of a railway over steam or sailing navigation, under the most favorable circumstances. If this view is true on the Hudson, in how much greater a degree must the advantages of a railroad entirely in our own country, manifest themselves over a sailing route of triple distance, to be transhipped in a disturbed, and sickly and foreign country, subject to the adverse influences of hostile powers? For all those supplies which the great West require, the facilities will be still greater; as thus, under the supposition that the road not being built, the China trade takes the Panama route, a chest of tea coming from China will then go 6,000 miles from the Pacific coast to New-York, thence 1,000 miles by inland freight for consumption in the Mississippi valley, making 7,000 miles, whereas by railroad it would come from the Pacific in 2,000 miles to the great valley. The same distance would be saved in the transport of corn and other produce from the West for Asiatic consumption.

There is no doubt but that many of the counter-projects for the guidance of the China trade into other channels, have arisen from a desire to benefit sections and localities, no matter at what expense of the general welfare. Such schemes never succeed. The instinct of commerce is unerring in finding out and following the most direct and cheapest channels. As infallibly as that the bee, when loaded, takes the shortest road to the hive, so will merchandise in motion make a "bee-line" to its destination, and efforts to divert it, for sectional benefit, can only result in ultimate loss.

The necessity for immediate action in the matter is obvious, when we reflect that the feasibility of the plan depends upon the possession of the good lands east of the Mississippi. If delayed until these are occupied by settlers, the whole project becomes impracticable.

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ALICE:

A STORY OF COTTON MATHER'S TIME.

True, Alice had not expected much pleasure and little mirth from the company that afternoon, but she had had less than she felt entitled to expect from remembrance of many such assemblages. She was disappointed: Mr. Mather—Cotton Mather—had sent word that morning that he would take tea with them that afternoon. It was the custom of ministers in those days to signify their intended calls or visits; and as a proof that it was, perhaps, more in the character of friend than as "spiritual adviser in the Lord" that he was moved to see them, he accompanied the declaration of his intention with the announcement, that "that servant of good works," Mrs. Mather, would come also. So the little Alice had been deputed to go round and invite sundry of the elders of the church—and then, too, as they had not known till just before school-time that Mr. Mather intended coming, and it took some time to bid the guests, she was excused from going to school; and when all were invited, she had to rub the long mahogany company table, and to beat eggs for fresh cake.

She had been all day in high glee, and had played many a sly, good-natured trick; but when three o'clock came, and all the ladies had arrived, she was sufficiently sobered down; and there she sat on her cricket as prim as any of them, with her narrow and long-skirted lustre silk gown on, made high in the neck, with long sleeves, her hair cropped within an inch of its life, and with a knitting-sheath at her side, she sat still, diligently knitting on one of those interminable stockings, which children who have to knit can only have an idea of, in the length and breadth of their never-to-be-finished state. Everything was as usual; there were no bright dresses or gay ribbons worn by the ladies: everything was sad-colored, long, and pinched; they spoke gravely, and as not striving to be joyous or mirthful. Indeed it was the custom of the veritable religionists of that day to depress the gaities of their natures; and, of course, in such a Puritanical society as there was necessarily in Boston at the time I speak of, that depression was more or less practised by all, at least when in company. Children and kittens were allowed some liberties; but children, being imitative animals, were of course awed when with their elders.

Still, this afternoon there seemed to be less brightness about the visitation than usual—perhaps all the interesting and queer things had been said or done while Alice was out in the kitchen helping Martha to fry griddle cakes and butter the short cakes. But there seemed to Alice as if there were some spell come over the good ladies; little notice had been taken of her. Good Mrs. Mason usually talked to her, and asked her how Robert, her son, got on in his class, and if they were good friends as ever; and promised her that when she was old enough, she might marry him, if she should ever want to: but to day Mrs. Mason said never a word to her, excepting, "How do you do, dear!"

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Well, tea was over, and Alice was back in the parlor; but things had not changed for the better because of their good cheer: they were busily engaged in discussing some theological question, and used words she did not understand, though familiar to her ear,—she must amuse or interest herself as best she might. First, she sat in a high chair, and, resting the end of her toes on the floor, she looked at Mr. Littleton's small clothes, and wondered if he had worn them all his life; for she did not remember of ever having seen him wear any but those with the black and the brown stripes; then she wished Mrs. Mason would be kind enough to talk to her. So, gathering courage, and softly pushing her chair beside her, she patiently waited to be attended to; but the good lady was thinking of anything but little Alice, and wiped the cold perspiration of emotion from her brow;—intense religious aspiration and inspiration dwelt in her heart. No notice being taken of her, she went away; and some remnant of the morning's dawning spirit being within still, she thought that she would see how near she could get to *the minister*, and stand there unasked, as if she was not afraid of him;—so she crept towards him, and got very near, and stood there without his noticing her by word or look at first. Just as she was thinking this trial of her courage did not pay abundantly, as there was no one to watch her, she felt his arm about her; and he spoke to her, and asked her about her Sunday-school progress—at least he asked her about her last Sabbath-school lesson, what it was—when she told him it was about the angels visiting Abraham, when he thought them to be only common men. He told her there were many angels in the world to give "good gifts to good children," but that there were devils also, who come to tempt them to be wicked, and who were very glad when they were wicked, and sometimes got leave of God to kill them for it;—against these, he told her to pray, and then he kissed her, and talked to others. As he kept her in durance, Alice ventured to look at his signet ring, the token of his being a Doctor of Divinity. The emblem upon it was a tree; and feeling her twist it slightly—oh, very slightly—for the little witch was almost beside herself with her audacity; and involuntarily casting his eye upon it, he ejaculated: "Oh, God! make me a very fruitful tree, and help me to bring forth seasonable fruit continually;"—then he resumed the thread of his subject, as if it had not been broken.

Indeed, it was the custom of Cotton Mather to "try to derive improvement from all circumstances for himself and others;" and though it was always sincere, it did not always manifest itself in the most judicious manner. He let no suggestion pass by him; and many, which most men would never have thought of turning to purposes of devotion, were welcome as excitements to devotion in his soul. Even the ordinary drudgery of the household, if seen by him, were used as excitements: if they happened to be brewing, he would say, "Lord, let us find in a glorious Christ a provision for our thirsty souls." On a washing day, "O wash us thoroughly from sin!—O take our filthy garments from us!" These ejaculations were provided for, and used on all occasions. When he met a negro, for instance, he would say, "Lord, wash that poor soul; make him white by the washing of thy Spirit!" For a man going by without observing him, "Lord, I pray thee help that man to take a due notice of Christ!" These instances might be multiplied to very weariness; and so used were all who knew him to such ejaculations, that Alice was not at all astonished by the prayer the sight of the ring caused.

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The minister becoming soon engrossed by others, and the little girl having found some attention from one of the Mathers, and so feeling favorably disposed towards the family, she next went to Mrs. Mather; but she was talking in a low, confidential tone to Mr. Benfield. Alice must fain count the darns in her close, Puritanical cap; and she counted seven, all small ones but three. She was thinking that Mrs. Mather gave away so much money, and so many flannel shirts and such things, that she could be allowed to wear as many darns as she pleased—when it occurred to her to go to the window and see the passing; but when she got there nobody went by, and there was no brilliant sunset for her to look at. It was the time the sun should set; but it hid himself behind great, far-stretching, iron-grey clouds; so, perforce, she had to fall into musing. Having thought up all school matters, and it was growing darker, she wondered if any devil would ever try to make her wicked, and if so, how he would look. She tried to imagine how he would look and what he would say when he asked God if he might have leave to kill her; and if God would say "Yes, he might!"

Then Alice began to feel lonesome, and it grew darker every minute; but she did not move from her seat, but tried to forget her own thoughts, and listen. They were talking of the providences of God, and then naturally they spoke of his judgments. At first she listened, as one who hears and does not feel, for her thoughts would revert to that devil;—at last, her attention was chained, as they told of an old backslider from the church, who, being under admonition from the church, declared, "No, I will burn before I will turn!" and after that he fell into the fire and was burned to death! Another was, that a man who denied some mischief that he done, swore a dreadful oath, and hoped "that God would never let him stir from that place if he did that thing!"—the words were scarce out of his mouth when he dropped down dead, and never stirred from that place more. These and many similar were told; and there sat Alice, as if of stone, hearing everything, and scarce breathing; not that she had not heard such before, but she had heard them without feeling intensely. At last, Cotton Mather added his testimony; and as she heard his deep tones, his slow, accentuated utterance, she would have screamed for relief could she have done so. A bad man had cursed that excellent man, Governor Prince; the governor laid before the transgressor the great sin he had committed, and with a grave, holy, and awful admonition, besought him to consider of that Scripture, the hundred and ninth Psalm—"As he loved cursing, so let it come to him; as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him; as he clothed himself with cursing, like as with a garment, so let it come into his bowels, and like oil into his bones." Here Mr. Mather paused, and then in a lower tone of voice still, he continued—"Quickly after this, a dreadful cancer smote this man: the cancer appeared first on his lip, and so it eat away his flesh and his jaw down to his throat, where, with inexpressible torments, it killed him!

"Behold, O man, if thou desirest life, keep thy tongue from evil!——Let us pray."

There was a rustling of silks heard, and Alice knew that they all rose and knelt, though it was so dark by this time that she could not see them distinctly. Now, this time for prayer was not an unaccustomed thing to

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her, for it was the fashion in those days for such social visits to end at dark; and if the minister was present, he always gave the signal it was time to go, by saying, "Let us pray;" but to-night, engrossed by their subject of conversation, the shades of darkness had stolen upon them unawares, and it was much later than usual when "Let us pray" was uttered. The meeting had been unusually grave and solemn, and as evening came on, everything was chillingly solemn to Alice: not a sign of beauty, even in the sky, for her to look up to for relief; not a star; and on earth were fearful crimes and fearful judgments! "Let us pray," said Cotton Mather, in his own peculiarly stern and impressive manner and tone. "O Lord, we, sinners, cry unto thee with humble and bitter loathsomeness of ourselves; before thee we abhor ourselves; we feel, we know that we are but worthy to be thunderstruck in dust and ashes. We come to thee, we fall down in the dust with tears before thee; and we ask, Lord, what wilt thou do even unto us miserable ones? We have no goodness of our own; we are utterly vile and lost; and I, thy humble servant, would ask for help for his poor self, who art appointed to minister unto this thy people. Known unto thee is my insufficiency, O Lord. I am viler than a beast, most unsavory salt, fit for nothing but the dunghill; but thou, O Lord, canst strengthen me with strength mightier than that of Samson. Teach me to warn thy flock against the crafts of the devils who watch for their souls. This thy land of New-England, so long given over to devils, seemeth still their favorite lurking-place; they use all their arts to root ou tevery vestige of religion, and go prowling about seeking whom they may possess. O Lord! save us from devils, from witches, from Quakers, and from wolves in sheep's clothing; and unto thee, through the Lord Jesus, be all honor. Amen." Alice, there by the window, in the gloom and darkness, heard them rise in silence, and wait in silence for the usual benediction. Cotton Mather seemed for a few minutes to be absorbed in thought; and when he opened his mouth, instead of saying, "Go in peace," Alice, the trembling one, heard him say—"Yea! God is terrible in his judgments! truly we would say—'My flesh, Lord, trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy judgments.' Let us with earnest and hourly trembling fear and be afraid of God's judgments. It is a truth whereof we are very sure—the God of truth has given us assurance of it, that he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness by our Lord, wherein the quickening and wondrous voice of the Saviour Jesus Christ will raise us out of our graves; a day wherein a doom of everlasting punishment, or of life eternal, will be passed upon us; a day, wherein 'we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive such things in the body according to what he hath done.' Let us fear this terrible day, 'knowing the terror of the Lord, we persuade man:' let this knowledge persuade men to repent of the sins which our Judge will else damn us to endless confusion for! The Pagan Felix trembled, and shall not we, worms and vipers, tremble? When God was only publishing his judgments on the burning mountain, we are told, so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, 'I exceedingly fear and quake!' And shall not we exceedingly fear and quake when we think on the day when our Lord Jesus will descend from heaven in flaming fire to pour out his judgments? 'And behold, the Lord comes with myriads of his saints to execute judgment upon all.'

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Certain I am, all this lower world will be surprised with an horrible fright at that great revolution—an horrible tempest will then be rained from heaven upon this world; the earth will shake and tremble; the foundations of the hills, also, will move and be shaken, when our Lord shall bow the heavens, and come down with a devouring fire about him! So, then, let us now shake and tremble at the contemplation thereof. Be afraid, lest we be found among the ungodly that shall not stand in the judgment;—be afraid, lest our judgment, then, be that of the devil and his angels. Souls! be afraid, lest we be adjudged into the vengeance of eternal fire, even to the fire of that never-ending vengeance of God, throughout everlasting ages! My friends, God be with you! Amen."

Alice heard the guests leave the house, as if it were a dream; for there, sitting in a chair by the lone window, she was absorbed in thoughts which never before so wholly possessed her—thoughts of the awfulness of God and a horrible fear of him! This was not the first, or the hundredth time, that words like these had been heard by her; but the time seemed to have come for the fire to burn: impression after impression had been put in her mind, apparently without any avail, but that was not so: the fagots had been laid—the wood had become heated—and now the hour came when a flame was kindled, which could burn into a fierce fire. She seemed to have bade good-bye to the old Alice, and now thought herself the object of God's wrath—very vile; and that God appeared to her an awful avenger; and sorry am I to say, the old Alice never came wholly back again—that is to say, only to visit; neither was the change one to be much marked, for the other girls of her own age were subjected to the same influences, and sooner or later experienced the same change, or such like change. Her fear that night was unlike all other fear she had ever felt before: from such, she could go to those about her for protection; but now there seemed no refuge: all were in the power of the same terrible God, liable to the same awful vengeance! —there was no safety to be found; no refuge—no comfort! When the guests had finally gone, and she was discovered with—"You there, child? go to bed, Alice!" she crept to her room and shut her door, and went to bed, but not to sleep, but to dwell, and dwell upon the crushing might and power God had!—to think of the devil that might get leave to kill her; to be oppressed with a sense of her own feebleness. She did not sleep; no, nor question much if all this was true, really true. A doubt crossed her mind as she tried to find wherein she was so wicked, deserving of such horrors—wherein dear Mrs. Mason, Mr. Mather, and all of them, had so grievously sinned. As for herself, she could not recollect any sin or wrong-doing that she had not bitterly repented and suffered intensely enough for. She thought of the time when she stole some money from Mrs. Coleman, and Mrs. Coleman only punished her by talking sadly to her, and weeping because of her sin;—she remembered her own agony of sorrowful repentance; and since then, Mrs. Coleman had never by word, sign, or look, shown that she remembered it, so desirous was she to signify her perfect forgiveness. And why should God punish forever and forever? But then, she thought, God and dear Mrs. Coleman were so very, very different! These questionings were quieted by an instilled certainty of her own wickedness, and with it, a fear of God and his judgments—a fear that was like a nightmare around her—very terrible, and not to be escaped from, nor when daylight came either;

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never again to be shaken off in this world for many months and weeks together! That night she laid in her hopeless, helpless fear, and heard the great parlor clock strike twelve—one—two! then, exhausted and almost insensible from faintness, she fell asleep; and as morning looks in upon her pretty face as it lay in its repose, let me say a few words about Alice, and then leave her to influences over which we have no control, and not seek her again until she is clad in all the graces of maidenhood.

She was the youngest daughter of "believers in the faith," who had come to America before she was born. Here disasters befell them: they lost both money and dear children; and at last the father died, and then the mother, leaving their only living child to the adoption of her friend Mrs. Coleman, who, having no children of her own, gladly took Alice, and loved her. Alice was not portionless; there was a comfortable provision made for house and furniture, should she marry, and an annuity for life sufficient to supply her wants in dress, and have a nice little sum for expenses of the day, and for charitable purposes. Mrs. Coleman was a kind, loveable woman, and one not near as austere and bigoted as women of that day and church were. Mr. Coleman was stern and uncompromising in his faith, though a kind man. With this exposé of Alice's position, we must leave her awhile.

* * * * I said that Alice bade good-bye to her former self, never to have the old Alice come back again, excepting as a visitor, but a visitor who staid hours, days, and weeks with her, so that the change which had come over her was not immediately perceptible to those about her; and as I said before, I believe that almost all the girls of that time and place went through the same sobering, saddening influences, which subdued at least outwardly and in society to pretty nearly the same tone of quietness and propriety; so that no one wondered when the merry, laughter-loving, odd, queer little witch turned into a demure, proper maiden—one who had joined the church—went to evening meetings three times a week at the least, and had a class in Sunday-school; one who wore sad-colored gowns, and a little, plain muslin cap, confined under the chin by a narrow, white ribbon; but her dress set off her rounded form, and her cap became her, for it threw just the cunningest shade on her pale, delicate cheek. Notable, of course, Alice was like all other maidens of Boston, as it then was. She sung scarcely aught but psalms, and danced only as she rubbed a table; and in all and in everything dear Mrs. Coleman watched her with a mother's heart, a mother's love; she was her pride, her love, her life. For Mr. Coleman, though very dear, did not meet her in many choice, delicate corners and nooks in the heart, where Alice did; and day after day the two friends were as happy as happy could be, with their work—their reading, their friends, and the sick, and the desolate, to be cheered by them.

Alice was now nineteen; and Mrs. Coleman saw with gladness that Robert Mason still was Alice's shadow, and that Alice seemed never to regret the presence of the shadow. This, Mrs. Mason rejoiced in but as one who knew that over the sky of one's wishes there often came a cloud no bigger than a man's hand at first, and in the end changing peace into storm; in Robert she saw a noble, honorable young man, well liked and respected by all, and one, moreover, who would make Alice's life more gladsome, for Mrs. Coleman wished that it might be

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more so: she did not like to see her cheek blanch as she talked of wrath, nor like to hear her dwell on the awfulness of God's power; for as age crept on Mrs. Coleman, her nature grew more kindly; and she asked for trust and love rather than fear—for the smile, not the gloomy thought; and this gloominess in Alice's spirit disquieted her. Never had this gloominess tempted her into aught harsh or unlovely as yet; nor had she been tempted much yet; but still she wished that her child was more evenly gay, instead of more evenly sober and contemplative: and she noticed, with hopefulness, that old Alice, as we called her gladsome spirit, came back oftener when Robert was with her; and then, when she heard their merry laughs ring out, the good lady prayed that they might be given one to the other. She could pray for human and earthly ties, knowing that they were natural, and that they bless, ennoble, and occupy the heart and soul, and that love to man naturally ends in love to God. Yes, I would ask for all: give us, that we may love and be beloved!

One day—it was a pleasant day—Alice was going to a quilting party, Mrs. Coleman thought; but she was surprised to see that, instead of going at the usual hour, Alice remained in her room. When she came in she was dressed in her home dress, looked unusually grave, and somewhat resigned, and quietly took up her sewing. "Why, Alice, are you not going to Anna Higginson's?" "I think not," she said, with some hesitation; "perhaps I had better not. You know I have been out a great deal of late, and I more than suspect it would be wise for me to stay at home to-day; for I find that I am getting into a habit of nonsense and gaiety, best suited, it may be, to my carnal heart, and one which in my sober hours I mourn bitterly. To-day I have been sorely tempted to go, and I believe I have resisted pretty well; for Anna is a dear, good girl, but thoughtless—and I fear far from the right spirit in which a sinner should walk in this world; when I am with her, we seem both impelled to partake largely of the evil of earth, and perhaps we had best avoid one the other——"

Mrs. Coleman moved impatiently, but she had learned to say the quiet word—so she reasoned with her as to the propriety of staying at home that day—spoke of the duty of acquaintanceship, and as Anna expected her, and had reason to do so, while Alice had no valid excuse—that, although, in so many words, she had not promised to go, still, it would be more in accordance with the spirit of truthfulness if she went. This, of course, succeeded, together with the promptings of Alice's carnal heart, as she called it; and Mrs. Coleman smiled, as she saw her take with her a pretty gold needle-case Robert had given to her.

Alice was late, though in time to partake of the good dinner, and to sew busily all the afternoon. There were two quilts put out in the barn, and owing to the sixteen fast sewers, they were taken from their frames in time for a late tea, to which the young gentlemen were invited They of course contrived to be zealous in kind deeds that afternoon, and so came early to help thread needles and chalk figures. As Alice went her way to Anna Higginson's, she determined to behave herself as a sojourner on earth should do. She succeeded, and so was pleased with herself; beside, Anna did not sit near her, but Robert Mason did, and when it was time to go home, Robert offered to be her escort. It was not moonlight, but the stars were out; and Mrs. Coleman, strange to say,

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never wondered why she stayed so; but she rather fidgeted about. One glance at Alice's face told her glad news, and pressing her dear girl's hand, with a kiss and a tearful eye she saw her bound up to her own room to be alone and dream over her new happiness. The next day brought a formal request from Robert for Alice; and as his parents were away in England, Mrs. Coleman desired the engagement might be held as a sacred secret until they should give their sanction—not, however, that they ever doubted it would not be given.

A week went by, when Alice staid at home one day from church, because Mrs. Coleman's head ached severely. The head-ache was but the precursor of heart-aches for Alice, for the dear lady sickened and died. Three weeks after the announcement of the engagement, Robert stood beside the grave of Mrs. Coleman, and heard Alice's shriek of agony as the clods fell heavily on the coffin lid; more weeks went by, and Robert strove to waken Alice from the depths of woe; then she grew more as she had been wont to be, but a new discovery had come to deeply distress her. Robert and herself had often discussed religious matters, but as those who agreed to the same faith, casually and glancingly; but now that their hours of such converse were intense in earnestness, she found that they were far from being one. Then came welcome glad letters from England, and now Robert prayed for openness of engagement; but she begged for it still to be a secret—wait awhile, for she should weep when the hand of sympathy was extended to her, because then the recent loss would be brought too vividly to her mind—for who would sympathise with her as Mrs. Coleman could?

This was not all the reason, and Robert scarcely thought it sufficient. Alice had some doubts if she should trust to one who might prove but a reed in her religious life. She feared she was tempted to evil, and at last her fear caused her to go to Cotton Mather for his opinion. With trembling she knocked at the door of his study, and read on the door his written admonition, "Be short." He sat there in all his awful majesty, and she was tempted for a moment to go away with her errand all undone, but Cotton Mather's salutation, "Peace be with thee, daughter of sorrow," somewhat encouraged her to make him her Father Confessor, for her heart whispered her he would counsel her not to desert her love, but try to snatch the burning brand from the fire, though her reason doubted as to its possibility.

So she told him all; and Cotton Mather did not deliberate an instant, though he heard her very patiently, as he played with his spectacles all the time as she pictured her position; and so bent were his eyes down upon them, she did not see any expression of his thought or his face; she started when she heard him almost angrily ask, "Do you belong to the Church and profess to serve God? Then remember that Ananias and Saphira brought *part* of their goods and gave them to the Lord—they brought *part* of their goods. You cannot serve God and Mammon; the Lord and the devil are two separate masters. You cannot consort with angels and with infidel heretics; the lamb should not go of her own accord into the wolves' home. As you hope for salvation and fear God's wrath, wed not this man; he may seem good, but is without any saving faith, and without faith ye are but the tools of the devil.—Let us pray."

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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EARNING A LIVING;

A COMEDY IN FIVE ACTS.

ACT II. (*Concluded.*)

SCENE III.—VANSITTART'S *office.* VANSITTART and DUPERU. (*Enter* OLD H. and JACOB. *Salutations exchanged.*)

Old H. Well, Vansittart, are all these papers ready?

V. Yes, sir. Here is an assignment of the ship, duplicate copy. I've lodged the original at the Custom-house.

O. H. Very well.

V. And here is the policy of insurance, duly assigned; and an assignment of the cargo, and policy on that. I believe it is all regular. And here is Mr. Duperu's own bond, to which these are collateral. You don't often make a safer loan, Mr. Hollybush.

O. H. Well, give me the papers. I'll examine them at once, and I've brought a check for the money. (*Takes the papers, and sits down at a side-table to look them over.*)

J. H. This seems to me, Mr. Duperu, to have been a remarkably well planned voyage.

D. Yes, sir; it was so. It has proved longer than the owners expected, and they want this money on that account.

J. H. Then you are not the owner yourself?

D. I have no interest beyond my commissions, though the whole stands in my name.

J. H. You do not wish to name your principals?

D. No. I am not at liberty.

J. H. Has the ship been heard from?

D. Oh, yes, from Calcutta; and the captain remitted money, and promised to write again and remit more. We waited for that till the last moment, which caused our wanting this money so urgently.

J. H. The voyage had answered your expectations, so far?

D. Abundantly.

(OLD H. *comes forward.*)

O. H. It is all right. (*Gives* D. *the check.*)

D. Thank you, sir. (*Going.*)

J. H. I'll walk with you. [*Exeunt* J. H. *and* D.

O. H. Vansittart, give me those building contracts. I want to read them again. And I want to ask you a question, which, perhaps, you cannot answer without violating professional confidence. If so, say nothing.

V. Very well, sir.

O. H. Are Rupert Hay and John Hartington borrowers of money?

V. They are not known to be so, sir.

O. H. No—not publicly. And what you may have private knowledge of, that I can't ask you. It is a good answer, but it leaves me my suspicions. [*Exit.*

V. Keen old fox. How did he smell out that? But if he suspects the truth, it will rather raise than lower his opinion of them. [*Scene closes.*

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SCENE IV.—HAY'S *Room.* HAY, HARTINGTON and DUPERU.

Hay. Well, so far so good. This money will keep us on till April.

H'n. Yes, and before April the ship will be here. The old man looked pretty close to the operation before he would risk his money on it.

Hay. No great risk. He has Duperu's bond.

D. Yes, but he is not a man to depend on any personal security. He canvassed the whole thing from end to end. If you had any doubts of the voyage being well laid out, I think you may now dismiss them. He says it is all right, and he knows.

H'n. You explained everything then?

D. Yes, fully, as to this voyage. But I did not think it necessary to go into details about the brig, and I only mentioned her having been sold at Rio, and her proceeds shipped in the Maypole. I told him that to account for the Maypole's detention.

H'n. That is simple enough.

D. Yes, but it seemed to puzzle him. He asked a great many questions about it, and evidently thought the brig had been sold for a slaver.

Hay. You ought to have denied that distinctly.

D. So I would if he had charged it distinctly. But he did not. I only guessed his suspicions, and of course could not bring up that idea myself.

H'n. No; I don't see how you could. (*Enter Vansittart.*) Well, Vansittart, this seems to make all right for the present.

V. Yes, but I'll tell you something odd. Old Hollybush suspects you two of being the partners with Duperu in this enterprise.

Hay. How can that be?

V. The devil knows. But after Duperu was gone he put the question to me almost in plain terms.

H'n. How almost?—and not quite?

V. Why you know he could not ask me in a professional matter where I had names to keep secret, what those names were. So he asked in general terms, whether you and Hay were borrowers of money?

Hay. What did you say?

V. That you were not known as such. He did not press me further, but I saw he was convinced he was right.

H'n. Well, if the voyage turns out as it looks now, he won't think the worse of us for it.

V. If I know him, he will think the better of you, even if the voyage should ruin you. He is not sordid, but he has a horror of a young man who does nothing. I fully believe, that if he were certain you had planned this voyage, you would have no more trouble from his opposition.

H'n. Well, I won't trust to that. When we are sure of success I am willing to tell him, but not a moment sooner.

D. And when you do tell him, you will have to clear up that little matter about the slave trade, I can tell you. He is a furious anti-slavery man.

H'n. Oh, that will be easy enough. By the way, Duperu, when shall we hear from those English bills?

D. By next steamer.

H'n. It would be a bad joke if they should not be paid.

D. Yes; I paid our December notes with the proceeds of the sale of those bills. It would take all old Hollybush's money to refund that, and we couldn't get through March at all.

Hay. But you don't think there is any danger?

D. No. Matters are bad in England, but I think those bills are safe enough. Else I would not have sold them. Good morning. [*Exit.*

Hay. Vansittart, draw a chair. Put your feet upon the mantelpiece, and call for brandy and cigars. My mind is much relieved, and I feel inclined to be hospitable.

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V. Thank you, (*sits down.*) But I neither drink nor smoke, and besides, you would quit me in a quarter of an hour from now, to be off to the house on the corner.

Hay. It is very odd about Mrs. Campion's party. Hartington and I were certainly invited verbally, and I know the notes were all written for a host of people, and now it's all up. She says her aunt is dead.

V. Yes, but Glumly knew her aunt, and he says she died a fortnight ago, somewhere in Maryland.

H'n. Ill news travels slow, it appears.

V. Glumly says they left the letter in the post office till they wanted it. But what did they want it for? They certainly meant to give a party, and something must have happened there more than we know of.

Hay. If you quote Glumly again, you will give Hartington the hydrophobia.

V. Eh—how is that?

Hay. They are rivals, I believe, and Hartington is very jealous.

V. Oh, for that matter, he is your rival, also. I have received his declaration in due form, for either of the ladies that may be disposable.

H'n. Well, if he don't succeed through you, I suppose he will print it next in his d—d newspaper.

V. Yes, or in his d—d magazine.

H'n. To be followed up afterwards with lampoons when he finds he can't succeed.

V. Yes, or a demand of black mail for his forbearance.

H'n. Oh, no; give the devil his due. I have a great contempt for Glumly, but I don't believe he is assassin enough to levy black mail.

V. Well, I rather like the fellow. But I believe it will go rather hard with him when the devil gets his due. Good evening.

Hay & H'n. We'll walk with you. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.—OLD HOLLYBUSH'S *house.* OLD H. *and* JACOB.

O. H. No, no, Jacob, that's all nonsense. He had no more idea of Quandac stock than I have of poetry. He invented that whole story, to get an excuse for calling here.

J. H. To what end?

O. H. For the very purpose of telling me this matter about Hay and Hartington. He contrived to bring it in, as it were, accidentally, but he did not do that well, and as for his not mentioning the names, he knew I would guess at them, and would inquire, and so the thing would come out.

J. H. May be so; but I don't think it. How should he know that you took any interest in their affairs?

O. H. Bah! does not all the town remark their attention to the girls? There are rumors very often without foundation, but I believe there never is foundation without a rumor.

J. H. Well, well, Robert, suppose it is so, what then?

O. H. Why, then, Jacob, I'll put a stop to attentions and rumors and all together.

J. H. That is pretty severe.

O. H. Not at all, it is but justice to my daughters; a reasonable care to save them from being the wives of debtors. A man in debt, habitually, hopelessly in debt, is the most unhappy creature in the world but one, and that one is, his wife.

J. H. Do you intend to act on what you know, or wait for further evidence?

O. H. I shall wait a little, and consider what I have to do. But, Jacob, do you not interfere. Give no hints to anybody of what I have said to you, neither now, nor at any time.

J. H. I shall not, brother.

(*Enter* CHARLOTTE *and* MARY.)

O. Oh, uncle Jacob, give you joy.

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M. Give you joy, with all my heart. Many thanks for the new aunt you're to give us.

J H Oh, you hussey, your father has betrayed me, has he?

C. Yes, it was too good news to keep quiet. We are quite delighted.

J. H. So am I, dear girls, and not without good reason.

O. H. And so am I, upon the whole. But your bride has one fault.

J. H. She is too young.

O. H. Yes.

J. H. No; it is my fault. I am too old. Five years too old, exactly.

C. How—five years?

J. H. Yes, there is fifteen years difference, and I think, considering what man's intellect is, and what woman's is, the man cannot keep his due advantage in the married state unless he has ten years the start.

C. Cannot govern his wife?

J. H. No.

M. And how will the extra five years affect that? Will they make it easier or harder?

J. H. Ah, Mary, you must judge that by the event. Or indeed, perhaps, you can tell me how that will be; for I am sure you know Minetta now much better than I do.

M. What, after so *long* a courtship?

J. H. Longer than you think, Miss Malapert. But seriously, I say that every man that marries, and every woman, marries a stranger. The whole character remains to be discovered. Men know each other, and so do women, but as society is constituted, each sex is perfect free masonry kept secret from the other.

M. So you are not acquainted with Minetta, that is, the *real* Minetta?

J. H. No; and before I come to it, probably I shall make acquaintance with a hundred Minettas, each one unlike all the others.

M. Peeling off successively, like the grave-digger's jackets in Hamlet.

J. H. Yes; but with this advantage, that it will depend on me in some measure which one shall be fixed and become permanent.

C. Do you think you can make your wife what you please?

J. H. By no means. I can make nothing of her that she has not naturally the material for. But I can make the best of her material if I am myself what I ought to be.

O. H. So if matters go wrong, you mean to take a large share of the blame?

J. H. Certainly.

C. A gallant resolution.

(*Enter* HAY and HARTINGTON. *Salutations exchanged.* OLD HOLLYBUSH *takes a book and sits down at a side-table, but observing what passes.* HAY *sits down by* MARY, *and* HARTINGTON *takes his place behind* C's *chair, standing so as nearly to face the others.*)

M. Where have you been lately, Mr. Hay?

Hay. Why, you ought to know. I have reported myself here every day. You forget all I say when I am gone, perhaps.

M. Oh, no; but the rest of your time? Mr. Hartington says, he sees very little of you now-a-days.

Hay. Shall I give an account of myself, Hartington?

H'n. I don't see how you can help it.

Hay. Miss Charlotte, do you require the same from him, too?

C. Yes; so far as I have authority.

Hay. Well, I'll speak for both. We have been very diligent, good boys; we have minded our own business, and kept within doors when we had no reason to be out.

C. It is very satisfactory.

M. Yes; but one phrase I don't understand. Pray, what is your own business?

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Hay. Shall I tell it, Hartington?

H'n. Tell what you think proper.

Hay. Well now, ladies, don't you know what a gentleman means by attending to his business?

C. Not precisely.

Hay. Borrowing money. (*Hartington makes him a sign of disapproval. Old Hollybush looks at Jacob, and makes a significant gesture, and exit.*)

H'n. Speak for yourself, Rupert. I decline to be associated with that idea of business.

Mary (*looking earnestly at Hay, and speaking slowly and pointedly.*) And—so—do—I.

Hay. Mercy on us, (*taking a five-franc piece out of his pocket.*) What shall I do with this unfortunate five-franc piece?

Har. Is it a borrowed one?

Hay. Yes. I borrowed it of Glumly to pay my way in the omnibus. But I had no idea what it would lead to. (*To Mary*) Dear lady, do not take up such a thing so seriously. I am quite of your mind, or of anybody's mind that hates the whole system of borrowing.

M. Well, well, and now, gentlemen, you must leave us for an hour, and then come back and escort us to Mrs. Campion's.—Uncle Jacob will no doubt join the party.

H'n. Oh, by the way, what is this about, Mrs. Campion's ball? It is very oddly put off.

C. The death of her aunt, you know.

Hay. That's all fudge. Her aunt died before the ball was announced.

M. Well, well, ask Uncle Jacob. He is authentic now for the news from Mrs. Campion's.

Hay. Indeed!—I'm very happy to hear it. He can speak officially, then?

M. Yes, quite so.

Hay. May we offer you any congratulations, Mr. Hollybush?

J. H. Yes, as many as you will.

H'n. I am sincerely glad to hear it. I congratulate you with all my heart. I have long wished to see that arrangement come about, from a sincere regard for both parties.

J. H. Many thanks. But please keep secret till I tell you the contrary. It is the lady's wish.

Hay. We shall obey her.

C. I don't know anything I wouldn't have done, short of absolute match-making, to get Uncle Jacob to marry Minetta. But it happens without my help.

M. Well well, let's go dress.—In an hour, cavaliers.

(*Exeunt all but* JACOB.—*Re-enter*, OLD HOLLYBUSH.)

O. H. Did you mark that conversation?

J. H. Yes, but I thought nothing of it.

O. H. It was not much by itself, but putting it to the other matters, it was proof positive.

J H. How so?

O. H. Why, Glumly's story first, then Vansittart's evasive denial, and now Hay's saying that they had been borrowing money, and Hartington starting and giving him a sign to be cautious—all my doubts were removed.

J. H. Doubts of what?

O. H. That these young men are running into debt. Idle, and running in debt. They are not the sons-in-law for me.

J. H. Well, brother, you are apt to have your own way. But I think you are building pretty confidently on evidence merely circumstantial.

O. H. Circumstantial evidence! I like that. As if any other was worth having.

J. H. Positive testimony goes for nothing, then.

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O. H. Yes, if not confirmed by circumstances. Do you suppose if a dozen Glumlys had sworn to me that those young men were unprincipled spendthrifts I would have believed it? No. I should have considered it merely a case for inquiry. But when a dozen circumstances point to the same fact, ah, that is different; that cannot be counterfeited.

J H. It's the old argument we have talked over so often.

O. H. Yes, but I heard a story the other day I want to tell you. A man was tried for his life, somewhere West, I've forgotten; well, three witnesses swore to have seen him commit a murder. They were good, legal witnesses; their characters could not be made out infamous; their story well hung together. The evidence was positive and clear. You would have hanged him, would you not?

J. H. Perhaps so.

O. H. Well, the prisoner kept quiet till the case was well before the court, and then he produced, not a witness, for he said nothing, but as a *man*, whose presence was a circumstance. It was the murdered man, alive and well.

J. H. Oh, but that is a made up story.

O. H. It illustrates my argument all the same.

J. H. And the application to Hay and Hartington, I suppose, is that they must produce the money they haven't borrowed, to prove to you they haven't borrowed it.

O. H. Nonsense, Jacob. The application is, that there are cases where circumstantial evidence is irresistible—where positive evidence goes down before it and passes for nothing. And such a case is this of the borrowing. I have arrived at a certainty and shall act upon it.

J. H. Very well, brother. I shall be careful not to meddle in a matter which is by right your affair only. What I may think about it, I'll tell you when you ask me. Good day. [*Exit.*

O. H. That will not be till my measures are taken.

SCENE VI.—MRS. CAMPION'S.—(MRS. C., MINETTA, JACOB H., HAY, HARTINGTON, CHARLOTTE, *and* MARY.

C. Do you put on mourning for your aunt, Mrs. Campion?

Mrs. C. No, dear. We knew her very little—there never was any familiar intercourse between the families. In fact, as to any deep feeling about her death, I have very many mere acquaintances whose loss would grieve me more.

Hay. I care nothing for relationship, where the connection is not animated by friendly intimacy.

Mrs. C. Nor I. On the whole, in our country, cousinships are a nuisance. They are a standing obligation on one to *love* certain persons whether one *likes* them or not.

C. I suppose it is the same in all countries. But I like all my cousins very well.

H'n. No doubt. But suppose you were to hear of a tribe of new ones.

C. I should be very much alarmed.

H'n. Certainly, till you had seen them and found they were all right. And that is not always everybody's good fortune.

Hay. Well, it is not mine. But I don't allow it to be my misfortune neither. I treat a relative better than a mere acquaintance if I like him, and worse if I don't like him.

M. When did you hear of your aunt's death, Mrs. Campion.

Mrs. C. Why, to tell the truth, some days before we put off the ball. We had spoken of giving one. We felt committed, and thought we would go on, and actually wrote our notes, and then thought it wouldn't do, and burnt them.

M. She lived in Maryland, did she not?

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Mrs. C. Yes. We scarcely knew her at all.

Hay 'Twould have been the same thing if she had lived in the Bowery.

Mrs. C. Or in the Fifth Avenue, unless we had happened to like her. Don't be severe upon my aunt, she may have been an angel.

J. H. So she may. There is circumstantial evidence that such things are possible in your family—(*looking at Minetta.*)

Min. That is gallantly said.

Mary. Are you going on in that vein, Uncle Jacob.

J. H. What do you mean, Miss Mischief?

Mary. Only that we will leave you. Come sister, come gentlemen.—(*To Hay and H'n.*)

Mrs. C. Oh, don't leave us yet.

C. Yes. We have calls to make. Good morning.

[*Exeunt C., M., Hay & H'n.*

Mrs. C. Well. I'll go look after my housekeeping. You'll stay to dinner, Mr. Hollybush.

J. H. With pleasure, madam. [*Exit Mrs. C.*

J. H. Minetta, listen to me. There is going to be trouble yonder.

Min. Where?

J. H. At my brother's. These young people do not know it, nor have they any reason to expect it. But Robert is in one of his spasms, and he is going to break off both matches.

Min. Oh heavens!—for what reason?

J. H. For no sufficient reason, to my thinking.

Min. But, dear Mr. Hollybush, tell me what is the matter.

J. H. I cannot, Minetta; I have promised not to tell anybody. That I have promised Robert; and I have promised myself that I will not meddle in the matter in any way.

Min. It's very selfish of you—two dear friends—four indeed. Your nieces too—all their happiness for life crushed for a caprice, and you won't raise a hand to prevent it.

J. H. Dear Minetta, shall I raise my hands to do good, when I know the effort will do mischief? You do not know my brother.

Min. I know he is a kind father and a clear-headed, sensible man. He is under some mistake, and nobody so fit to set him right as you. But tell me, what is the matter?

J. H. What! when I have promised not to tell?

Min. That promise does not extend to me.

J. H. Ah, Minetta, you! you! who have to trust so much to my promises, do you teach me to trifle with them.

Min. It's true, it's true. I ought not to ask it of you. But, my heavens! what can be done? Surely you can speak a word to your brother, to your own brother.—(*Weeps.*)

J. H. I will do all I can, but you must let me judge what that may be.—(*Taking her hand.*) Do not weep, but take courage. I cannot set Robert right, at least not now. But he may get more light, or I may lead him to it with a little patience and judgment.

Min. Poor Charlotte—poor Mary. But you think you can do something?

J. H. I will not interfere, unless I see a certainty of doing some good.—When that appears, I will.

Min. Well, then, I will do what lies in my power to give you an inducement to find that certainty. The day of my wedding shall be the day of their's, and the same hour and place. You have urged me to fix it. Now I hope you are content. [*Exit, still weeping.*

J. H. (*Calling after her*) Minetta, Minetta.—Gone!—Who would have supposed she would take it so to heart? [*Exit.*

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SCENE VII.—OLD H.'s *house.* CHARLOTTE *and* MARY, *as returned from walking.*

C. Don't you hate shopping with gentlemen?

M. Yes, but not so much as they hate it.

C. Hartington says the shops ought to be all kept by women.

M. And they ought to be all pretty, I suppose, and then he would be willing to go with us to see them. But I don't agree with him at all.

C. You would'nt be jealous?

M. Not very. But I can't bear to with deal women. They are so mean, such hard bargainers, and so disobliging. They get out of patience, and won't show you things.

C. And they cheat you in the change, and give you short measure.

M. I wish we had some good lady's shoemakers.

C. We shall never have boots made here like the French boots; look at these—they are too large, and yet they pinch me. Those are your French ones.

M. Yes, they are perfectly easy; and yet my foot looks as small again as it does in the others.

C. What a bazaar that shop of Stewart's is.

M. Yes, I hate to go there, now. It is as crowded, and as busy as a great market-place.

C. And they are learning market-place manners. They have so much to do that they can't stop to be civil. One does not meet the attention we used to inJohnson's time.

M. Here comes papa.

(*Enter* OLD H.)

O. H Good morning, daughters.

C. & M. Good morning, papa.

O. H. Daughters, I have something to say to you—something of the utmost importance; and I fear something that will be very disagreeable to you both.

C. Dear papa, do not frighten us.

O. H. My daughters, you remember what has passed between you and me about these two young gentlemen, Mr. Hartington and Mr. Hay, and their visits at this house.

C. & M. Yes, sir.

O. H. You know I have never consented to regard them as my accepted sons-in-law.

C. & M. No, sir.

O. H. But have always reserved the right of investigating their pretensions at my leisure, and rejecting them if there should appear good reasons for so doing.

C. & M. Yes, sir.

O. H. Well, my daughters, I am very sorry, indeed, to say to you that there are such reasons—good, sound, and sufficient reasons—and I cannot suffer this thing to go any further.

C. Oh! papa.

O. H. Don't interrupt me. I say I have found fatal defects in the characters of these young men; and they must discontinue their visits at this house for the present; and if they ever come back here, it must be on the footing of common acquaintance.

M. But, dear papa—how sudden—how very harsh it will seem.

C. Have they done anything wrong, anything dishonorable?

O. H. Charlotte, if I accuse them of anything special, we shall have an argument about it, to decide whether it is wrong or not. You must take your

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father's word, and be governed by his judgment. I will not allow you to marry persons who would certainly make you miserable.

M. But you do not know how far we are committed.

O. H. You are not committed to disobey your father.

M. Perhaps we are. You have always ruled us by reason, and trusted us; and we have deserved to be trusted. Now you give us no reasons, but a command to break engagements, formed under your apparent approbation.

O. H. Engagements! and my approbation. How dare you tell me so, when I told you from the outset I must have time, and you must regard my decision as reserved. Engagements!—are you engaged?

C. Mary, Mary, do not anger papa more.

M. I will tell the whole truth, and take the consequences. Yes, sir, we are engaged, both of us, and irrevocably, unless something far more decisive than a change of opinion, even of our father's, can be adduced to release us.

O. H. Is it so, indeed? (*Walks up and down, agitated.*) My daughters, I have never spoken to you as a tyrant, nor will I now; if you disobey me, I have no remedy. I cannot confine you with bolts and bars; nor utter curses on you—that is horrible. I can warn you, and forbid you to proceed, and that I now do solemnly. And I can forbid those men my house; and then my power is at an end. Do what your conscience bids you; the consequences must fall on your heads if you do wrong. (*Exit* CHARLOTTE *in tears,* MARY *standing immovable a few seconds, looking after him.*

M. Charlotte.

C. (*sobbing.*) What, dear Mary.

M. What does your conscience bid you to do?

C. To obey my father.

M. So does mine. But it bids me also to cleave to him to whom my promise is given—to whom my heart is wedded—who is indeed before Heaven my plighted husband; and this voice speaks lounder than the other.

C. Would you elope?

M. Dear Charlotte, what extremes you fly to. I would write to Rupert, and do you write to Hartington. Let us try to find out what it is papa should accuse them of; let us be sure there is no dishonor.

C. Oh! he said there was no dishonor.

M. Not exactly, but almost. And then, when we are satisfied with that, let us see what the gentlemen will say before we decide on anything.

C. They will certainly propose an elopement.

M. Well, it is better they should propose it than we; and I perceive clearly that if they do make such a proposition, I shall have to decide upon the answer to it for both of us.

C. Indeed, Mary, I fear you will. [*Scene closes.*

END OF ACT II.

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POPULAR PORTRAITS WITH PEN AND PENCIL.

HOWELL COBB, OF GEORGIA.

Howell Cobb was born at Cherry-Hill, Jefferson county, Ga., on the 7th of September, 1815. He is the son of Col. John A. Cobb, who, when quite a boy, removed from Greenville, N. C., with his father. His mother, Sarah R. Cobb, was the daughter of the late Thomas Rootes, of Fredericksburg, Va. Howell, their eldest child, was married on the 26th of May, 1835, then not twenty years of age, to Mary Ann Lamar, the daughter of the late Col. Zachariah Lamar, of Milledgeville, Georgia, by whom he had six sons, three of whom are dead—the two youngest dying at Washington City, during the first session of the thirtieth Congress.

At nineteen, in the year 1834, he graduated at Franklin College, the University of Georgia, standing, of course, respectably in his class. His uncle, Howell Cobb, after whom he was named, represented a district of Georgia, in the Congress of the United States, during the last war with Britain; and his cousin, Thomas Cobb, was, not many years since, an United States senator from the same state.

In 1836, nearly two years after his marriage, the subject of this sketch was admitted to the bar, and at once gave such evidence of talents, character, and attainments, rarely possessed by one of his age, that, in the ensuing year, he was elected, by the legislature, Solicitor-General of the western circuit of the state—the region in which he resided. This was indeed a position well calculated to test the stuff the man was made of; for, though barely of age, and with but a year's experience in the practice of his profession, he was compelled to contend with the ripe abilities, and long-trained skill, of some of the first gentlemen of the bar of Georgia. His naturally cool judgment, and almost intuitive legal perception, however, made amends for lack of experience; and it is not too much to say, that, notwithstanding his extreme youth, the office was never filled in that circuit with more skill, vigor, and unvarying success, than during the three years in which it was held by the subject of our sketch.

His legal knowledge and forensic aptness rapidly increased; and when, at the expiration of the term, he was defeated—owing to the fact that his political opponents obtained a majority in the legislature—he left the office, ranking with the first lawyers and advocates in the state. For the succeeding three years Mr. Cobb devoted himself with unremitted labor to the practice of his profession. His mind is most happily adapted to the bar—rapidity of thought, decision, and energy of action being his most prominent legal characteristics, while his feelings are strong and warm, leading him to make his client's cause thoroughly his own. The address of Mr. Cobb (before a jury) is marked with never-failing earnestness, often amounting to vehemence, which happily enforces attention, giving his eloquence admirable effect.

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As a professional man, his character has been moulded by the combined influence of his own temperament, and the customs of the country in which he for the most part practised. The Western (his) Judicial Circuit of Georgia has never been distinguished for devoted application to books. Situated in a broken, and, in part, mountainous country, with a sterile soil and wretched roads, the people are simple and primitive in their ideas and habits, and to this day remain untouched by the progress of luxury or refinement. The character of its bench and bar has as usual assimilated itself to that of the country, and the proceedings of the court have been characterized by the same features. The "*viginti annorum lucubrationes*" have never been much valued there. Courts and juries in that region, therefore, are more influenced by the arguments of a strong though rough common sense, than by the refinements and subtleties of legal learning. The bar, consequently, have been distinguished by a quick and clear apprehension of the prominent controlling points of a case, and by force and eloquence in presenting them to courts and juries, rather than by the display of professional research and nice discrimination of shades of principle. Of this general character of the circuit, Mr. Cobb is one of the finest examples. Though, when forced by circumstances to resort to books, he readily shows that he can follow the law applicable to his case through the most intricate refinements, which, however, is not the usual method of his practice. In common with his professional associates, he usually relies on a readiness and self-possession of which no surprise can deprive him, on a perfect understanding of the facts, and a forcible application of the broad and fundamental principles bearing on his case.

Knowing human nature well, and skilled in touching its various chords at will, and also carrying marked sincerity of purpose in his whole bearing as an attorney and advocate, his influence with juries has always been very great, and his success commensurate with it.

Mr. Cobb's position in the profession in Upper Georgia is very high, as the reader must conclude from what we have written above; thus, should his attention be exclusively devoted to the law, in time to come, it is clear that there is no professional point, however lofty, not within his reach. The people of his congressional district appear determined that he shall serve them in a different position—for they call for the exertion of his talents in a wider sphere than that of the legal forum. Having early in life obtained political fame as a Jackson or "Union" democrat, (in the day of Nullification, when, by-the-by, almost every distinguished Georgia Whig of this day, was ranged on the side of ultra state-rights) in 1842, Mr. Cobb was elected, on a general ticket, to the Congress of the United States, it being his first service in any legislative body. Since that time he has been successively re-elected—in 1844–'46 and '48.

It is with heart-felt pleasure that we come now to write of his congressional career, replete with features worthily winning him the unanimous confidence and respect of the democracy of the House and Senate, without regard to section of country, or shade of difference as to principles and measures, such as are met with among the members of every great party in all legislative bodies.

As the late lamented Dromgoole failed in bodily health, it became necessary that some one of our political friends should supply his place as parliamentary leader of the democracy of the House, which for ten

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years that gentleman had filled without even the semblance of rivalry. In the occasional contests over political points, arising during the absence of General D. from the Hall, it was found that Mr. Cobb possessed more of the elements of a successful parliamentary leader than any other of our political friends. Time, and multiplying occasions for testing his legislative capacities, have at length fully established our subject in that responsible and arduous, yet enviable position.

Mr. Cobb is the first, who, without previous service in a state legislature, or long experience in that body, has suddenly, as it were, been elevated to the leadership of a party in the House. Yet, having carefully noted his career since his entrance on the political and legislative stage at Washington, we are by no means surprised at the rapidity with which he has acquired the influence in the Hall, superior to that of any other member on his own side, necessary as the foundation of his title to be looked to as the member whose duty it is to stand forth the champion of his political faith in the numerous passages-at-arms over motions and suggestions, in the decision of which the fate of every important and closely-contested party question is involved. Indeed, the qualities which have gradually thus elevated him are such as never fail to give success, in private as in public life, if not counteracted by other and contrary peculiarities. Of these, we may justly attribute to him strong sense, never-failing good temper, an intuitive knowledge of men and things, general attainments, and an acquaintance with previous decisions upon mooted parliamentary rules and regulations, far superior to those of any gentleman who has been a member of the House in the last four years, which, by-the-by, has been acquired from books rather than experience; remarkable readiness as a debater of questioned points; personal integrity above the breath of suspicion; and frank, manly, and modest bearing as a gentleman, as well as political reliability, which is so established, as in itself to guarantee that he never acts, but for the interest of principles, not men.

The reader will, therefore, easily comprehend why it is, that, though never striving to obtain personal prominence in advance of his fellow-democratic members, no important question arose during either session of the last Congress, in which his interference failed to be looked for with earnest anxiety by those adhering to the democratic faith. As all the world know, there is no more jealous body of men than the House of Representatives of the United States—so, efforts to lead in its business invariably result in the disappointment of over-ambitious members; all those *anxious* to obtain such prominence, conspiring, as it were, to denude the member disposed to advance himself too soon, or upon insufficient claims, of even semblance of weight in the Chamber. Not so in the case of Mr. Howell Cobb, whose manner bears the impress of, I may almost write—unwillingness, to encounter the responsibilities, which circumstances, and the apparent unanimous desire of his political friends, forced upon him.

Indeed, our subject combines more of the elements of a leader among great, and, in part, erratic minds, than any other of either party in Congress, as at present constituted. While Mr. Vinton is the business leader of the whigs, Mr. Stephens their fugleman in a severe party contest, Mr. Schenck, in the often-occurring impromptu passages-at-arms, and Mr.

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Hudson upon questions such as the Tariff, or Independent Treasury, Mr. Cobb (now that the ill-health of General Mc ay prevented him last winter from taking an active part on business questions) is the ever-watchful, ever-ready, and competent leader of the democrats on all mooted party points. Of course, he is, therefore, necessarily compelled to speak often, which he does with rapidity and vehemence, and in a clarion-toned voice—never failing to make points against his adverversaries. Woe be unto the Chairman of the "Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union," who either through ignorance, inattention, or a desire to affect the fate of a motion, decides a point of order contrary to law and parliamentary practice, when the decision may make against the purpose of the democrats of the House. In an instant Mr. Cobb springs to his feet, and is usually recognized; because it is well understood that his words are to be the showing of his party, rather than merely his own. His position, in giving his efforts this additional weight, of course accords to him a claim to the floor over all others of his political friends who may contend for it. We have heard him make a hundred speeches upon points of order, (always important when he approaches their discussion,) and never yet have we heard half-a-dozen successfully answered.

His peculiar province of conducting the most important assaults and defences of his party, almost precludes Mr. Cobb from delivering many set speeches. His duty it is to open the way for the play of the democratic batteries, and to cover their retreat when necessary. He makes the party motions.

To attain a desired object—to get a question before the House in a desired position—we have often seen him commence his motions with something appearing to have no bearing on what the observer fancies should be his purpose. Not realizing his object, his political opponents are, perhaps, careless about voting it down, and it triumphs, by one or two majority. After an hour spent in voting upon seemingly unimportant propositions not *appearing* to effect the final decision of the question—either in person or by another—Mr. Cobb will make a second motion; which, should it succeed, goes far to render sure the eventual attainment of his object. Thus he will play with his opponents, who constitute a majority, until he has tied them up, so that he has nought to do, but to move the proposition he has been manœuvring to force upon them, whether they will or not. He makes this last motion, which the chair rules to be out of order. Mr. Cobb appeals, and the chair then states the question—repeating the decision, and succinctly giving the reasons on which it may be based. Suddenly, seeing how fatal its success will be to his cause, a leading whig addresses the committee, arguing in favor of the decision of the chair, and appealing, with great ingenuity and earnest eloquence, to his friends, to rally to the rescue. Alas!—he is too late. Mr. Cobb, in reply, with book in hand for reference during his short speech, criticises the decision; and admitting that though it would have been correct in previous stages of the proceedings, he demonstrates that now it is the reverse. He argues to show that similar motions have been ruled in order under like circumstances; and, quoting the cases in which the decisions have been made, he presents an irresistible argument to satisfy every conscientious opponent, that to sustain the chair, will be to trample right, justice, and parliamentary

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law under foot. The question is put, and although the whigs control the House, certain of their party, who maintain what they believe to be the integrity of the rules, whether it may make for or against themselves, vote with Mr. Cobb and the democrats. Thus, his point is gained. With the game in the hollow of their hands, the whigs have, after this fashion, permitted Mr. C. to take it from them, almost without knowing the manner in which it has been done.

Near the close of the last session the writer witnessed a memorable instance of the value of his skilful legislative attorneyship, in the contrast presented by the bungling manner in which a gentleman who volunteered to take Mr. Cobb's place, managed to ruin the cause he was bent on serving.

This was upon the all-important amendment of Senator Walker to the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill. A proposition to attach to that amendment the Wilmot Proviso, had been offered and voted down by some six majority; this vote being the first occasion on which the anti-provisoists had triumphed in the House within two years. It was then moved that the house should adhere to its previous disagreement to, or from Senator Walker's proposition; and that motion, too, was voted down.

Now, Walker's proposition (for a government for California and New-Mexico,) embraced an acknowledgment that the claim of Texas to jurisdiction over Santa Fe is valid, which was very obnoxious to two or three members, who would have voted for the amendment divested of that clause. It was understood, that if stricken out, or nullified in some other manner, these gentlemen would secure the passage of this all-important proposition.

A new and ambitious member sprung to his feet, and the speaker, himself unfriendly to the Walker amendment, recognized him in preference to Mr. Cobb, who also contested for the floor. He made his motion to add a proviso, saying that nothing contained in the Walker proposition should be taken to express the opinion of Congress upon the Texas boundary question. In so putting it, he opened the whole Walker proposition to amendment; thus giving its enemies the desired opportunity to "kill time" by moving amendments, calls for yeas and nays, calls of the House, adjournments, &c., which forced the majority to choose between the failure of the proposition to make a government for California and New-Mexico, or the termination of the session, (then within a few hours of the end of its constitutional existence,) without the enactment of the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill, the loss of which would have created a necessity for an extra session of Congress.

Seeing the *faux pas*, Mr. Cobb took the floor, and endeavored to prove that the young gentleman *meant* what he should have moved, viz., *to agree to* Senator Walker's proposition with the proviso above stated. But all his skill was not sufficient to repair the fatal error. For the House was compelled to sustain the correct decision of the chair, who ruled that the mistake had opened the whole question to amendment; whereas, had Mr. C. been recognized in the first instance, the phraseology in which he would have offered the motion, would have cut off further propositions to amend, and have thus brought the Committee of the Whole to a direct vote for or against this famous Senate amendment, which, in that case, would undoubtedly have passed.

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As annoying as was the error to all the friends of this proposition for a government for the new territories, it was *most* annoying to Mr. Cobb, by whose careful, patient and adroit management its triumph had been well-nigh secured in the face of a decided majority, which, in the earlier stages of the day's proceedings, was opposed to it. Yet no one saw in his countenance the slightest trace of disappointment. His eye beamed as calmly and joyously as ever, and his expressive mouth wore no curve of displeasure. He, who of all the friends of the proposition, was, perhaps, most worried by the result of the untimely and unfortunate interference of the young gentleman, alone turned no contemptuous and indignant look upon him. Ten to one, the angry and rebuking glances which half a dozen members flashed at him, have made him their enemy for years to come; while the gentlemanly and kind bearing of Mr. Cobb, in subsequent conversation with him upon the subject, has made the latter a personal friend of a political opponent, to be valuable for his purposes on closely contested questions in after years.

Such are the functions of a party leader in the House of Representatives of the United States, and such are the all-important and effective qualifications for this post of responsibility and honor, brought to it by Mr. Howell Cobb.

Though called early in his congressional career to this absorbing duty, Mr. C. has found time to deliver carefully prepared, and powerful set-speeches upon leading questions. Indeed, indisputable competency for that duty is the first requisite demanded in the political leader in the House; as without it, no man can possibly attain to the position, it matters not what may be his other qualifications. On the 14th and 18th of January, 1844, on the motion of his colleague, Mr. Black, for the re-adoption of the celebrated 21st rule, he delivered a very able speech in vindication of the constitutionality of that regulation, of the devotion of the south to the Union, and of the title of the northern democrats, who had taken what he conceived to be the true constitutional position upon the question, to the gratitude of his own section of the confederacy. In this speech, Mr. Cobb made it clear that to refuse to receive petitions asking Congress to flagrantly violate the constitution, or demanding the exercise of power notoriously not confided into its hands, was *not* an infraction of the fundamental principle of our political institutions precluding the government from passing any law, by which the people should be prevented from meeting together in their deliberative assemblies, freely and fearlessly discussing the conduct and action of their representatives and agents, and, if necessary, presenting the result of their deliberations in the form of a petition or remonstrance to any department of their government. He also portrayed, with the hand of a master, the too sure effects of the spread of abolitionism at the north, and the responsibility for its growth resting on the southern whig members, who, for party purposes, refused to stand firmly against the measures and motives of the anti-slavery-ites.

On the third of May, of the same year, Mr. Cobb addressed the Committee of the whole House upon the tariff question, enforcing the doctrine of free trade, and holding the whigs of the south to proper accountability for their desertion of the extreme anti-tariff views common to them in the days of South Carolina nullification, to subserve the purposes of New-England capitalists.

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Again, on the 22d January, 1845, Mr. C. delivered an elaborate speech upon the annexation-of-Texas-question, which, through its moderation and powerfully-made points in favor of the constitutionality of the measure, and its clear demonstration of the necessity for the union, went far, indeed, to reconcile to the policy, many northern democrats and not a few whigs, who, previously, had earnestly opposed the project on almost any terms.

On the 8th of January, 1846, the Oregon question being under consideration, Mr. Cobb addressed the House in committee, occupying the broad ground assumed by the executive in the communications of that functionary to Congress and the country, upon the subject. In this speech, marked by a display of as much ability as was brought by any other member to the discussions of this then all-important question, he took broad national grounds, confirming his remarks for the most part to the purpose of convincing his southern colleagues of the prime duty of sinking all sectional sentiments, in the obligation to vote on such a question only as Americans contending with a foreign power for a national right. As in all his previous speeches, the spirit of enlarged nationality which is pre-eminently the overshadowing feature of Mr. Cobb's political character, displayed itself throughout this effort; and as he had before won the confidence and sincere respect of his political friends from other quarters of the Union, so, in this effort, he greatly strengthened his hold upon their regard.

On the 2nd of February, 1848, Mr. Cobb delivered a very effective speech on the causes and conduct of the war with Mexico—adducing many new and forcible facts to justify the foreign policy of the democracy as involved in our contest with Mexico and her American allies—those who aided and abetted her throughout the war. He demonstrated that the grounds upon which the federalists in Congress were then undertaking to censure their own government, involved the grossest self-stultification, and proved beyond the possibility of doubt, that if any branch of our government had caused the Mexican war, Congress, only, deserved to be held to this responsibility. The original votes of the whigs for annexation, under the protest of their leaders that it was equivalent to the adoption of a war with Mexico, the first vote of men and money for its prosecution, with the various remarkable incidents of the legislation of the House and Senate upon these two momentous questions, furnished Mr. C. with so ample data for the exposure of the hollowness of the anti-war pretences of the federalists, that no member of the opposition ventured to reply to this speech, which having been extensively published and republished, made a deep impression on the public mind, conclusively identifying the anti-Mexican war spirit of the federalists of our day, with its precursor, the *animus* marking the opposition of the Hartford Conventionists to the war of 1812.

On the 1st of July, 1848, the House being in committee of the whole, considering the annual civil and diplomatic appropriation bill, Mr. Cobb delivered a vigorous speech, with the view of stripping to the public gaze the trick designed by the federalists in adopting the phase of no partyism. In the course of this effort, he succinctly reviewed the political history of the Union, showing how the two great party organizations had risen; upon whose views of public policy they had each acted; what party organization had already effected, and the danger to the liberties of the

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American people that could not fail to result from the action of either party, when in power, unless checked by the jealous watching of a strong and independent opposition. In fact, this speech was a triumphant vindication of the doctrine of Mr. Jefferson, that, in party organization is to be sought the antidote for the evils theatening the government and people of the United States, from the corrupting influences of demagogueism, and the dangers which may in time arise from the encroaching spirit that in all ages and climes, and under all political systems, has characterized *all* rulers.

Already, the views advanced by Mr. Cobb in this speech, relative to the purposes which the federal leaders designed subserving in denying their principles and the identity of their candidate with themselves, have proved correct. For, in the face of his many solemn denials of whiggery as understood and practised by statesmen who are whigs on principle, it is evident, so soon, that deliberately intending to play the country false, the present Executive assumed a character not his own, in order to cheat others besides the federal party into his support, under the impression that he honestly intended to keep his multiplied promises. As Mr. Cobb predicted, all the world now realizes that the administration of Zachary Taylor is to be as ultra federal, as was that of the elder Adams: to be characterized by as violent hostility to the men and measures of the democracy, and as thorough contempt for popular opinion, as was his; and by as unscrupulous use of mendacious means to hide their true political character, as were ever resorted to by men in power, who act on the motto that their own fortunes are *the* state.

The session of 1848–9 was an eventful era in the public life of Mr. Howell Cobb. It will be recollected that many of the southern members becoming alarmed by the more decided encroachments upon what they regarded as the constitutional rights of their constituents in the matter of slavery, manifested by certain votes in the House of Representatives, called a meeting of southern delegates in Congress without distinction of party, to consider their common danger, and deliberate upon the line of conduct proper on their part. This meeting or convention resulted in the promulgation of the southern address, signed by a large portion of the democratic senators and representatives from the south.

Mr. Cobb, who, since the times when he manfully sustained the integrity of the Union as involved in General Jackson's nullification controversy with Mr. Calhoun, has been emphatically an *Union Democrat*, with other republicans from the south, did not feel at liberty to sign that paper; and finding their motives misrepresented, himself and his colleague, Mr. Lumpkin, with Messrs. Boyd and Clarke of Kentucky, published a joint address to their constituents, understood to have been written by him, in which the motives for their course in this important affair were duly set forth. This paper obtained almost as general circulation as the southern address.

The circumstances under which Mr. Cobb conceived it to be his duty to pen this admirable paper, were indeed peculiar. From his entrance into Congress, Mr. C. had been the faithful and efficient advocate and defender of the rights and interests of his own section of the confederacy, as involved in the strict maintenance both of the letter and spirit of the slavery compromises of the constitution. Indeed, I question whether he has not achieved more in the last eight years than any other member of

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either House, in the way of successfully stemming the gathering and sweeping current of anti-slavery, as it has manifested itself in legislation upon individual propositions. His never failing good temper and remarkable weight with his fellow-members, have enabled him to influence the decision of such issues, more effectively than any other of his southern fellow representatives. He has carefully abstained from answering sectional criminations with counter accusations; contenting himself with powerfully sustaining his positions by an array of facts and cogent reasoning, going to deter moderate men of the north from joining in the demagogue's abolition crusade. Often have I noted the cooling effect of his many short speeches on such questions, in the restoration of the dominion of calm and patriotic thought and constitutional views of the duty and powers of the House, almost immediately after such a storm as one witnesses nowhere, save in the hall of the House of Representatives when a negro question occupies its attention. Believing in the great *constitutional* truths insisted on in the southern address, it was of course the wish of Mr. Cobb to have felt at liberty to take ground with the signers of that paper. To enable him to append his name to it, he urged that its recital of the grievances of the south from abolitionism, should be full and just. It was his opinion that the occasion should be used to show the people of the south *precisely* how parties at the north had stood for years past upon anti-slavery questions; and that full justice should be meted to the administration of James K. Polk, for the noble stand it had early taken, and to the last defended, in the matter of southern rights under the constitution. All this, the address failed to do; representing the late executive and the southern members who voted for the Oregon bill, to have abandoned the constitutional platform upon the slavery question involved therein. Deeply sensible of the debt of gratitude due from the south to that portion of the northern democracy which had steadily defended their rights, Mr. Cobb could not bring himself to sign a paper effectually classing them with the abolitionists and northern whigs, and drawing no distinction between their course in this connection, and that of those who for so many years had steadily maintained positions side by side with Mr. Giddings or Mr. Jacob Collamer.

But other reasons forbade Mr. C. from becoming a party to Mr. Calhoun's address. He believed that the south should look to the supremacy of a national democracy, administering in the government Mr. Jefferson's readings of the constitution, as her safeguard; her only reliable shield against anti-slavery encroachments. Thus believing, he was loth to join in a measure tending, evidently, to destroy the nationality of the democratic organization. These views were powerfully set forth in this paper, forced from him by the invidious comments of the southern democratic press, which, not understanding his motives, generally reprobated his refusal to record himself among the signers of the address to which we refer above. Until the appearance of his explanation, the tide of democratic public opinion in Georgia set strongly against him; though its promulgation soon checked and turned the current in his favor; restoring, and indeed increasing his great influence, which had been in serious jeopardy. This was an occasion well calculated to test his possession of that first quality of the statesman—reliance on his own judgment. Mr. Cobb met the tide of opposition with unfaltering nerve. Feeling that he was approved by his own judgment and conscience, he shrank not. He believed

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that the welfare of the country was involved in preserving the unity of the great party with which he acted, and, in maintaining its national organization. He loved the union of the states with an ardor rarely found, and he was determined to cling to it as long as there remained a hope of sustaining the rights and honor of his state and section. This hope, I repeat, he saw in the harmonious action of the democratic party. Though a portion of it had yielded to the tide of anti-slavery feeling, and had abandoned their old allies, yet others still adhered to them, braving all risks in upholding southern rights on the floor of Congress. Mr. Cobb could never consent to turn his back on this band of faithful friends, leaving them to their fate, without even the poor reward of an acknowledgment of their fidelity to the principle of the compromises of the constitution. The result of his refusal to cut himself loose from political affiliation with those of the north who have never swerved from the line of constitutional duty in the matter of slavery, remains to be seen; for, as yet, the controversy over the propriety of forming a southern sectional party, is but in the beginning. The band of distinguished southern democrats who stood with him, though not very numerous, comprises many gentlemen whose enlarged patriotism, intelligence, devotion to the best interest of their constituents and public services, have justly endeared them, not only to the confidence of the people of their respective states, but to that of the democracy of the whole Union. I need but mention the names of Genls. James M'Kay and J. R. J. Daniel, of North Carolina, Lynn Boyd, of Kentucky, Gov. M'Dowell, of Virginia, and Gen. George S. Houston, of Alabama, to give the reader a just idea of the class of southern representatives who occupy the ground laid down in the address of Mr. Cobb.

Though, at present, this controversy appears to threaten a breach of the democratic party at the south, as it has taken place in the north, the writer has every reason to look forward to the return of that harmony there, which has so often and so long carried us through national elections in triumph. This, however, can only be the result of united national action as of old, upon a platform, on which true democrats may consistently stand from Maine to Texas. Any proposition looking to the maintenance of the rights of the south in the matter of slavery, through the co-operation of parties at the north, who do not take the broad position that the south asks no more that it is fairly entitled to under the constitution, if carried out, will make the lives and property of the southern people but foot-balls, to be tossed to and fro by northern demagogues and place hunters, whose defence of southern rights to-day, will to-morrow give place to a contrary policy, if a change of front shall appear most expedient for the moment. It will not do to overlook the fact, that from the abandonment of the national democratic organization, must spring the permanent supremacy of federal views in the government. This, in turn, involves the application to questions of public policy, of readings of the constitutional powers of the general government, which not only secure the triumph of a system of taxation and expenditure, having its rise in the views of Alexander Hamilton and the old federal party, but, as a consequence, of redoubled efforts on the part of the abolitionists, who will not be loth to strive the harder to accomplish their ends, when they find that party which holds, practically, that the states have *no* rights, to all appearances permanently in power.

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We must not forget to mention, that no member of the last House of Representatives attended more strictly than Mr. Cobb, to the laborious business of his constituents and others in his state, before the different bureaux of the Government at Washington. Northern constituents are in the habit of employing claim agents to look after their interests before either department of the government, by which their representatives are relieved from this most irksome duty, devolved on members from quarters in which this custom does not as yet prevail. This duty thus imposed much more heavily on the members from the south and west, than on those from the north and east, occupies, if faithfully performed, all the time to be spared from the preparation and examinations of cases in committee, and attention to the sittings of the House.

But I may not thus digress. It will not be too much to say, that Mr. Howell Cobb bids fair to occupy a very important position before the American people in time to come. His peculiar traits of character having already advanced him as few men of his age were ever before advanced in this country, they cannot do otherwise than increase his state and national influence, until it becomes quite equal to that of any living American in the trying political times which we are destined to witness for years to come. Though it appears like the work of magic to find one of his almost extreme youth looked up to as *the* man of cool thought, never failing competency nor varying *national* patriotism, of correct views of the relative and distinct powers of the different branches in the general government and in our whole political system—and also as *the* member of the house who never loses self-possession, even in the most exciting and trying moments of personal or sectional controversy, and who is wholly devoid of personal ambitions and prejudices—though it seems strange that a public man, at his time of life, could have won such a reputation, I am sure that all who know the condition of things in Washington, will recognize that these attributes are, indeed, those of Mr. Howell Cobb.

The congressional elections, taking place during the last month, having resulted so as to render it certain that the political friends of Mr. C. will be as likely to triumph in the election of a speaker, as the federalists, a portion of the press of both parties have already designated him as the republican candidate for the post. Among these, the New-York Tribune, (whose editor was a member of the last house,) seems to take it for granted, that he will have no rival among the democrats of that body, owing to the so evident superior qualifications, which, in the opinion of Mr. Greely, he possesses.

Without presuming to prophecy in this connection, the writer, expressing his belief in the correctness of this opinion of the whig editor, must add, that while no member of the house is more competent to the proper discharge of the duties of the speakership, no other could be selected, in the correctness of whose decisions upon the almost innumerable points of parliamentary law being constantly mooted in the chamber, the house, without distinction of party, would place so unlimited confidence.

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FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

MONEY in New-York has continued very abundant during the past month, and the rate of discount has ruled at a very low figure: while "at call," money has been had upon collateral as low as 3 *a* 4 per cent. The exports of the country have continued large, at generally advancing prices, sustaining the rates of produce on the sea-board for the considerable quantities that have come forward. The influence of this state of commerce has been to facilitate the discharge of debts due from the country to the cities, and to favor the accumulation of capital in the Atlantic Banks. The following leading features of the Banks of the City of New-York, indicate the process:—

BANKS OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK.

	Loans.	Specie.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Due Banks.
Sept. 30	$41,568,078	$4,740,847	$5,726,891	$20,353,365	$4,337,134
Dec. 9	42,506,119	5,850,424	5,783,398	21,443,148	5,528,947
Feb. 9	44 945,444	4,523,775	6,460,399	22,928,554	5,864,022
June 30	50,260,487	9,586,308	5,539,572	27,227,134	9,804,973

The increase of specie in the Bank vaults, through the operation of importation and drafts upon the interior, has been more than 100 per cent. since the February return; and while individual deposites have accumulated to an extraordinary extent, the balances due banks out of the state, have reached an extraordinary high figure. From these multiplied means, the banks have been enabled to enhance their loans in a ratio equal to 25 per cent. more than the sum for September last.

Through this increased line of discounts, the institutions have been enabled, in the face of a fair price for money, to preserve the full range of their dividends; and some of them, particularly the institutions with larger capitals, have declared a larger ratio of profits. The banks in the interior have, for the most part, undergone, as compared with last year, a diminution in the amount of species they hold, it having followed the course of exchange to the Atlantic cities. There is, however, no question, but that the amount of coin in circulation is very much larger than ever before, and that it is continually increasing. Not only the considerable sums brought by immigrants not reported in official returns of imports, but the actual commercial import added to the very considerable sums obtained from California and coined, have, to a considerable extent, swollen the specie basis of the country, and strengthened the foundation on which rests the superstructure of commercial credits. It appears, from official returns, that in the six months ending with June, over $1,250,000 of gold dollars were coined at the Philadelphia mint from California gold, and this amount passed into circulation, for the most part, at a premium, caused by the novelty of the emission. The great object of the gold bills of 1836–'37, and of the series of financial measures, which, commencing under the administration of Jackson, were consummated under that of Mr. Polk in the final establishment of the Independent Treasury, was to enlarge the specie basis of the currency; to purge the circulation from the mass of paper issued purely on credit, in aid of hazardous speculations, the risk of which, through the means of the paper, was thrown upon the working many, who became bill-holders. This principle is now in active operation, and the lowest estimate must place the specie circulation of the country at at least double what it was when the dangerous preponderance of bank paper made reform indispensable.

The large exports of produce in 1847 and in the present year, have tended greatly to add to the sum of the specie in the country by drawing it from

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abroad; but the inexhaustible supplies that undoubtedly exist in California, must annually add the most important amounts to the circulation, and there can be no doubt but this will take place in a degree to affect values. The quantity of gold that left San Francisco within one year from it first discovery, was nearly $6,000,000, a considerable portion of which arrived in the United States; but owing to the peculiar circumstances of first discovery, a larger portion went to foreign countries than will probably be the case when the business becomes organized in the hands of American citizens, under a regular state government. The lapse of a very few years, under the active operation of the mints supplied with the abundant gold of that region, must suffice to swell the currency to a point affecting general prices; and by so doing, cause gold to become one of the staple exports of the country.

The exports of cotton, for a long series of years, ranged as high as 60 per cent. of the whole exports of the Union. The mutual modifications of the tariffs of Great Britain and the United States raised the exports of farm produce to over $40,000,000 per annum. In 1847 it reached $68.701,921. It follows, as a matter of course, that where the sales of United States produce are large, the returns into the country must swell in an equal ratio. When the tax upon these returns is too high, the proceeds of the sales will come home in the shape of those articles least burdened with duties. In 1843, when the tariff of 1842 came into operation, nearly $23.000,000 came in specie. Naturally, the growing wealth of the country, under the tariff of 1846, has been marked with a rise in prices, which has permitted goods at the lower rate of import, to return, and the government revenues have been beneficially affected. It must now follow, from the accretion of coin, that the level of prices will rise so far as to swell the import of goods in the purchase of our abundant gold, which will thus become an important item in our national exports, rivalling in amount some articles of staple agricultural production. It is the effect of an abundant currency to raise all prices and values alike, that is, in a proportion somewhat higher than would have been the case had the volume of currency not been increased.

When this inflation takes place on the unstable foundation of a paper currency, it is in danger of momentary collapse, as soon as the test of payment is applied. Where, however, the level of prices is raised on the solid foundation of actual accumulated wealth, depreciation is to be apprehended only from recurring poverty. Thus, the level of prices in Great Britain, although to a considerable extent caused by the burden of taxation, which makes up the cost of most articles, is yet mainly owing to her vast wealth, as compared with some other countries—Poland, for instance. The accumulated savings of centuries of industry generate wants which they supply means of purchasing, and the aggregate superior richness of an old state, as compared with a new one, make money of less comparative value, because it is more plentiful, and this manifests itself in higher prices. In the United States, since the breaking down of that paper system, which, by promoting individual extravagance and idleness, was rapidly dissipating the national wealth, industry and economy have been effectively employed in accumulating capital. The vast wealth of California is now being added, and a rise in the general level of prices on the firm foundation of actual wealth, may be looked for The influence of this rise upon the producing interests will be various. Thus the great staples of cotton and tobacco, furnished by the United States, are little subject to the influence of rivalry, and a state of things which will permanently elevate the prime cost of cotton in the United States, must only enhance the price to all consumers throughout the world. The proportion of the whole demand supplied by the United States, is of a magnitude so increasingly great as to control the prices. A crop of 2.700,000 bales has been delivered this year at prices which, in the last six months, have gradually advanced $8 per bale. In this view, an improvement in values, based upon a general enhancement of the national wealth, would benefit the planting interests, without interfering with the exports of their products. With the farming interests the case is somewhat different. They enjoy no monopoly of

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their productions; but, as large as are their sales to England during the present year, they have had to contend with the poor grain-producing countries of Europe, in the English markets. The increase of wealth in the United States will have the natural effect of enhancing the difficulty of competing with the serf countries of eastern Europe, and therefore of diminishing the exports of the western states, at a time when circumstances may favor enhanced imports. Where this natural inflation, flowing from the improved wealth of the whole country, is aided by an accumulation of paper credits, as in the case of Ohio, the producing interests are subjected to double disadvantages, and exposed to greater peril. The following table, from official sources, shows the quantities of certain articles of produce, received at Cleveland, on Lake Erie, per the Ohio Canal, with the weight of merchandize and bushels of salt sent into the interior, per canal, together with the bank loans at coresponding periods:—

	REC'D. AT CLEVELAND.				CLEARED.		B'K LOANS.
	B. Wheat inc. Four.	Pork bls.	Coal bushs.	Wool.	Merchandise.	Salt.	
1833	—	22,758	49,131	—	$9.896,440	$28,447	—
1834	—	33,884	95,634	—	10,127,613	36,803	—
1835	1,178,706	19,814	50,423	—	14,839,095	46,139	10,071,250
1836	1,467,520	13,572	84,124	—	13,384,959	22,334	17,079,714
1837	1,636,051	42,057	183,484	—	10,757,386	62,977	18,175,699
1838	2,738,195	39,055	73,292	—	18,875,286	63,465	15,880 908
1839	2,876,015	30,717	134,881	82,162	19,125,852	109,916	16,520,360
1840	4,853,382	23,017	172,206	63,349	10,783,514	77,254	13,414,097
1841	4,211,942	29,797	478,370	133,353	15,164,747	59,773	6,937,988
1842	3.868,660	53.272	466.844	224.660	10.091.803	49.556	4.019.163
1843	3.844.666	—	—	469.679	12.822.725	—	—
1844	3.447.046	36.561	540.305	848.794	11.552.460	73.325	2.845.345
1845	2.120.015	18.722	878.785	961.174	10.801.868	54.918	7.791.789
1846	3.308.647	43.134	850.831	971.199	8.243.412	58.864	10.936.661
1847	5.424.576	16.313	1.212.887	1.442.951	10.771.407	35.904	12.452.665
1848	3.640.612	26.262	1,959.210	1.404 341	10.728.746	72.734	14.912.665

It will be observed, that as the speculative mania, in the years 1835 to 1839 were marked by excessive bank loans, precisely in the same proportion the quantity of merchandise purchased, on the strength of those loans, increased in magnitude, until the adverse balance thus created produced universal bankruptcy, and resulted in the ruin and liquidation of the banks. All the bank loans of the state fell, consequently, to $2,845,345, in 1844. In 1845, a new banking law created two systems of bubble banks. Of these, the State Bank system has been most prolific at times. The law professes to secure the bill holders; but a more audacious fraud than this pretended security never existed. The active market for farm produce, and the fact that discounts run mostly upon bills of exchange, has hitherto protected the paper; but already a cry is being raised against the banks—that they confine their discounts to bills; or, in other words, they reject the accommodation paper of dealers who buy goods out of the state on credit. Ohio cannot, under these circumstances of credit, by which the produce of her farmers is loaned to speculators for unsecured paper, as in the case of Leake's speculations last year, compete with the adjoining states, where sales are made more directly for cash.

As a general rule, the productions of the country are large, and selling well. Cotton, and most articles of breadstuffs and provisions, have improved; and while manufacturers have made the strongest efforts to depress prices of wool, taking advantage of enhanced receipts, the prices have improved. The deliveries at tide water, on the Hudson River, from the opening of navigation to the 14th of August, have been 6,346,242lbs—against 5,432,838 last year—and 4,986,805 in the previous year; notwithstanding this increase, the prices have risen to 37a 42cts. For fleece and other descriptions in proportion—say 1 to 4cts. per lb. The devastating war in Hungary has doubtless had an influence in producing the extraordinary rise in the article in Europe, and, through the destruction of flocks, this cause may operate in a more marked degree next year.

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POLITICAL MISCELLANY.

THE progress of events on our northern border is daily becoming more rapid, as the point of emancipation of the last of the American colonies from imperial rule approximates. The moment that exclusive privileges are abolished, and equal rights recognized, the knell of imperial rule or government, without representation, is struck; and the "crowning of the column" of free trade in England, through the abrogation of the Navigation Laws, severed the last tie which bound any influential portion of the colonists in dependence upon imperial patronage. As long as there were no material interests in the colonies, except those of monopoly growth, dependent for existence upon the sickly protection of imperial laws, there was no strong effort towards emancipation. The moment the protection was withdrawn, and the modified laws of the United States permitted the growth of a new and independant trade, Canadian royalty swung from its moorings, and now seeks, in the political freedom of the United States, the main-spring of similar commercial prosperity. As an indication of the signs of the times, and of the material which is rising to the surface amid all the turmoil of late occurrences, we append the Prospectus of a new annexation paper about to be started in Montreal:—

"*Exposition of a design to establish in the city of Montreal a Journal intended to advocate the peaceable emancipation of Canada from the imperial dominion.*

"The permanent subjection of the Canadian Provinces to British rule has ceased to be the doctrine of any class of British statesmen. The termination of colonial dependence can only be delayed so long as, split up into hostile parties, and torn by internal dissensions, the people of Canada shall continue to waste their energies upon fruitless expedients, and to neglect using the power, they inherently possess, of applying a heroic remedy to their manifold ills. But though delayed, union and organization for a common purpose will yet prove the salvation of Canada.

"That common purpose is already openly named—already it warms the heart of the aspiring, cheers the timid, and assists in sinking into oblivion asperities of every kind, whether growing out of irrational political attachments, or differences of religion and race. In fact, the predicted day and hour are at hand. Independence is the inevitable solution of the convulsions which now distract the provinces.

"The desire of independence is no longer confined to a scattered few; it has its most ardent votaries among the agricultural and laboring masses. External causes have aided in producing this healthy political feeling.

"English free trade is a death blow to the colonial connection. The Canadian is no stranger to the fluctuations and temporary stagnations of commerce; nor is he tempted to despair when suffering from their effects. But under the altered commercial system of Great Britain he loses all hope of future prosperity. London and Liverpool become foreign, and not friendly ports; and he turns to New-York and Boston as the natural outlets for the products of his industry.

"The traveller who crosses the line which severs Canada from the United States, is compelled to make painful comparisons. On the American side he beholds well compensated industry, unceasing activity, untiring enterprise, liberty of action, and security of property from government exactions. He leaves behind him a commerce in decay, a country bereft of life, a desponding people, a corrupt government, and an aimless social condition, embittered by foolish jealousies and strifes.

"The opponents of self-government are staggered when they contemplate such results; and are constrained to admit, that where the soil, climate, and people have so many features in common, the advancement of one country, and the languor of the other, must proceed from the difference of their political institutions.

"The enervating influence of imperial rule is felt in every department of life. The intellectual inferiority of the Canadian colonist to the American citizen, is but too well established by comparative statistics of art, science, literature, and education.

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"The Canadian colonist holds an humble rank in the estimation of the metropolitan. The Roman pride in presence of the provincial is renewed in his case. He commands no voice in the Imperial Senate; and has, consequently, no share in imperial legislation, even when it specially affects his own interests. Consigned to an obscurity which stifles talent and checks ambition, he drags out a moody and discontented existence. His country is chiefly valuable to British statesmen, as affording facility for assailing a rival maratime power; and his soil becomes the inenviable battle-field, whenever a contest arises.

"As year has succeeded year, the public mind in Canada has been gradually moulding itself to the contemplation of one great and glorious end; and recent events have but brought to maturity principles and yearnings which were already germinating in the breasts of the people.

"A Convention, elected by the masses, will assemble in Montreal, in August next. This Convention, called into existence by the present critical state of affairs, will inaugurate a movement, to terminate, it is hoped, in providing permanently for the peace and happiness of a distracted and suffering people.

"The moment is deemed opportune for the establishment in the city of Montreal of a Journal which shall advocate the peaceable emancipation of Canada from the imperial dominion, and the institution of a form of government harmonizing with the economical and elective principles of the United States.

"The boundaries separating the Canadas from the conterminous States are purely artificial, and, under any form of government except a Colonial, those boundaries must disappear—and commercial intercourse, the interchange of products, and the combined use of capital, become as free and unrestricted as between adjoining commonwealths of the Union.

"☞ *Moderation in action and Force in argument!*"

Canada has so far advanced in political philosophy, that doctrines can be openly advocated as expressions of popular opinion, when sentiments no more directly striking at the dismemberment of the empire, consigned the utterers, in Ireland, to transportation, their homes to confiscation, and their country to martial law. In Canada, however, the imperial grasp is relaxed; and already the organs of the government in England contemplate, without agitation, the accession of their colonies to the American Union.

Foreign Affairs.—The state of things in Europe has not materially changed. The brave Hungarians have astonished the world by the valor and wisdom of their movements; but are now unhappily about to encounter a more systematic coalition of the sleepless enemies of republicanism. The infamous Socialist leaders in France, having betrayed the cause of democracy, and thrown the power into the hands of Louis Napoleon, who shows himself the crawling and obsequious tool of the Holy Alliance, is preparing the way to lend a hand, once more, to crush Hungarian, as he has smothered Roman liberty. The blood-thirsty atrocity of his troops before Rome removed one enemy from Austria; and the peace between Sardinia and Austria, mediated by these powers, has released another Austrian army, under Radetsky, to reinforce the foes of the Magyars. The efforts of Prussia, at stifling the aspirations of the Germans for liberty, seems to have been aided by the reaction around them; and that power will soon have a disposible force to swell the ranks of the Austro-Russian mercenaries. The clouds thus accumulating around the Hungarian prospects are ominous; and the friends of humanity shudder at the thought that freedom's sun may again set in blood.

California and Rome.—The movement in California towards the adoption of a State Constitution preparatory to its admission as a member of the Union, is one of great importance, and one which is likely to put at rest the single principle, which was adopted by a faction as the means of defeating the democratic

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party at the election of 1848, and installing federalism, with all its absurd and fatal heresies, in the federal government. That this faction should strain violently, even to the point of driving California to the assertion of independence, and the formation of a separate government, rather than that her admission, with a constitution excluding slavery as the voice of the people interested, should destroy the single principle on which the leaders of that bolting faction have based their hope of return to office, is natural. They have never had credit for sincerity in their cries against slavery, but have been distrusted on all sides to the point of contempt on the part of those honest, but misguided fanatics, who have devoted themselves to the emancipation of the black race, without, however, ever explaining why their enmity to slavery is greater in the United States, where its objects thrive so well under it, than in other countries, where the oppression is greater, and the resulting misery more obvious. This political faction obviously adopted the cry for the purpose of disuniting the party, and breaking up, what was alleged to be, southern dictation in the nominations, The disunion and defeat of the party has been effected, only through the opportune presentation of the new territory won from Mexico, as a means of making active the free soil cry. The extinction of that availability, by the admission of the territory as a state, presents the alternative only of leaving the work half done, or of directly assailing the Constitution of the Union. This cannot be safely done, as it would result in perpetuating that party in power whose watchword would be the integrity of the Republic. With the settlement of this free-soil question, is expended the last card of that old, corrupt class of leaders, whose trade is politics; whose patriotism is measured by the chance of office; and the calibre of whose intellect is filled by party intrigue. A new party, with new men, and fresh and sound principles of progress, are the materials for future democratic success.

The farce of a convention at Rome, in the state of New-York, for the pretence of compromise, as it was called, proved finally to be a genuine Van Buren attempt to reimpose the yoke of the Kinderhook cabal upon the people of the state. That the question of slavery is a local one, is admitted on all sides, and that the people of California have alone the right to say by what local laws they shall be governed, is obvious to every democrat. Ever since the formation of the government, the democracy has placed itself upon great national principles of progress, and allowed every man to enjoy his own opinions in relation to religion, slavery, or other local matters, as he will. Mr. Van Buren now seeks to make individual *opinion*, in relation to the merits or demerits of slavery, a party test, simply because he has no other test to offer. When the myrmidoms of the bloody Stuarts were seeking to subject the poor Scottish Covenanters, they compelled each to drink the health of the primate of Scotland, as "a test." Mr. Van Buren now orders that all democrats abandoning all party principles, shall, as "a test" merely of their subserviency to him, declare for "free soil." Be they abolitionists, tories or cow-boys, adhesion to Van Buren free soil will cover any political sins; but that alone is their redemption. They announced therefore in their address, that they would permit any democrat to vote for a Van Buren nominee, but that no democrat could receive the support of Van Buren's followers, unless he was a "free soil" adherent; that any man, no matter how monarchical should be his principles, if he professed "free soil," would, by Van Burenites, be preferred to a democrat; and this "free soil" in itself, has been pronounced by Col. Benton a "useless and barren abstraction." It is so, it *is* nothing and means nothing, and is only used as a badge of Van Burenism, a profession far more closely allied to ancient federalism than to democracy. The organs of the ex-President and his reckless son, are everywhere repeating the old federal arguments that were vainly reiterated and discussed in the Hartford Convention a quarter of a century ago; and the federalist organs only sneer at the tardy recognition, by politicians rejected by the people, of principles also rejected by the democracy. When Mr. Van Buren as President, uttered his denunciations against the liberties of Canada, he commenced that series of

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malevolent manifestations against the extension of republican influence, which he has never ceased to exhibit. His opposition to the annexation of Texas has been followed by the constant efforts of his followers to eject, by intrigue California, won by the blood and valor of our citizens, and his organs throughout the state are now sneering at, and ridiculing the efforts of the oppressed Cubans for freedom. In fact, as we some time since indicated, the Van Buren adherents have abandoned all the old democratic principles, and have assumed the old northern federalist principle of free soil and non-extension of territory, not as an avowal of republicanism or of democratic tendencies, but simply as a badge of faithfulness to the Van Burens in their shameless struggle for office. The difficulty of sustaining personal organization, is far greater now, however, than when Mr. Van Buren built that ladder, by which he climbed into the curule chair. The machinery of the old constitution and the bank system, gave him the control of individual aspirations, and enabled him to exalt or damn any man accordingly as that man manifested devotion not to the public weal, but to Martin Van Buren. The democracy of New-York, at the last convention, broke down the machinery, and restored to the people their right of electing local officers, recognising their right to that which Van Buen free soilers deny to the Californians. The people of the counties are already beginning to ask themselves, why they should allow the misrule of federalism, while they being the majority, to suffer themselves to be placed *hors de combat* by this Van Buren phantom. If the Van Burenites are determined that there shall be no union, unless the candidates are nominated at Kinderhook, there are already indications, that the mass of the people will re-unite under the old principles of democracy, and permit the Van Burens to retire to the ranks of federalism, whence they derived the single weapon with which they succeeded in defeating the democracy.

THE SABBATH.—Among the singular changes going on in the religious as well as the political world, it is observable that a disposition manifests itself among thinking and leading men to cast off observances, customs, and hierarchical allegiance, in all cases where there is not absolute and direct divine authority for the usage. Of this nature is a very able circular now before us, dated Port-au Prince, Hayti, January 18th, 1849, and signed by J. W. Morton, missionary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. It is addressed to the Synod, in relation to the observance of the first day of the week, and the Sabbath. The writer states that his attention was first called to the subject by a brother missionary of the Baptist Church, and the result of a long, and patient, and prayerful investigation, was the conviction that the example of Jehovah alone should be followed, who "blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it." He states as follows:—

"I searched all the books I could find bearing on this question, and discovered, what I never noticed before, that the early French and Genevan Reformers, with Calvin at their head, had taught the abrogation of the fourth commandment, as a ceremonial institution; and that they contended for a sabbath, or stated day of worship, under the gospel, only as a wise and necessary human arrangement. I found that even Turretin at a later period, had taught that the fourth commandment is partly ceremonial, and that it was necessary to change the Sabbath from the seventh day, in order to put a difference between Jews and Christians. I found also in my books, quotations, containing similar sentiments, from the celebrated Augsburg Confession. The only authors I could find who had attempted to prove, from the Scriptures, that the sabbath had been changed from the seventh to the first day of the week, by divine authority, were, Turretin, and the framers of our Standards. These authors appeared to depend mainly for proof on three texts of Scripture:—Acts 20: 7; 1 Cor. 16: 1, 2; and Rev. 1: 10. When I came to examine these texts, I was surprised and mortified, to find that they contain neither the word 'Sabbath,' nor any other synonymous with it. True, I had always thought that the 'Lord's day,' Rev. 1: 10, was the first day of the week; but my opponents contended that the terms refer more properly to the seventh, which God styles 'my holy day,' Is. 58: 13: and when I remembered 'his challenging a

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special propriety in the seventh,' I could not well deny it. Moreover, I could not find a single passage asserting that the first is holier than any other day of the week, or that Christians were, in the apostles' days, in the habit of holding religious meetings *regularly* on that day. Neither could I discover that Christ or his apostles had ever spoken, directly or indirectly, of keeping a day holy in honor of his resurrection; nor that that event, which is always held up as the occasion of the change of the Sabbath, is even once mentioned in connection with the first day, unless where it is recorded as a historical fact. On the other hand, I observed that Christ and his apostles were accustomed to enter into the synagogue on the seventh day, or Sabbath, for public worship. Luke 4: 16; Acts 17: 2, and elsewhere.

New Discoveries.—Among the extraordinary movements and discoveries of the present age, two have been developed in the last thirty days, which may be fraught with the greatest results to the producing world, and in their influence upon great communities. It has been remarked by eminent statesmen, that, since the Peace of Paris, the uninterrupted quiet of the countries of Europe has led, in each, to such a developement of industrial powers, that the international trade seems to be checked, through the increased ability of the nations to supply themselves with articles, the production of which, formerly peculiarly belonged to others; and that, in consequence of this progress of affairs, the commerce of the world is becoming more decidedly divided into an exchange of raw materials and tropical productions, for the products of the loom and of northern industry. Among those products of the tropical climates that rank of first importance, is sugar. The demand for that article has increased, as well from enhanced populations, as the means of the people of the countries of Europe and of England to purchase have increased. With this increased demand, the capitals employed in its supply have become greater. In the production a large capital is employed in the cultivation of the cane, but perhaps a larger is necessary to the clarifying of the juice, which has always, hitherto, been a tedious and expensive process. The world has now been started with a discovery which promises to improve the latter process.

The Paris Moniteur of 22d July, publishes officially the report of M. Lanjuinais, on the discovery by a Belgian chemist, M. Melsens, a pupil of M. Dumas, of a process by which the beet and the sugar-cane can be made to yield up the totality of the saccharine matter they contain, and whereby sugar of a superior quality can be obtained, without the intervention of the cumbrous and expensive machinery now required in the manufactories of beet-root sugar, and in refineries.

If this discovery, loudly insisted upon by men of science, should turn out as anticipated, the product from beets would be increased one-third, and that from the cane one-half; and, moreover, all the apparatus, except that of the trituration, or grinding, and that for purifying the juice, would be dispensed with.

"In presence of such an imminent revolution," says the Report, "all operations connected with the manufacture of sugar are suspended, and cannot regain their accustomed course, until public opinion shall be satisfied as to the merit of the alleged discovery." The minister proposed the appointment by the President of a committee to verify the results, and this was accordingly done, with the understanding that if the Report of such committee should be favorable, a recommendation should be made to the Assembly to buy for the state the right of the discoverer, to the end that it be made public.

The committee is composed of nine representatives, two or three sugar manufacturers, the head of the customs, the directors of the colonies, the chief assistant in the ministry of commerce, and some others—M. Dumas being the chairman.

These experiments on the new method were to be made forthwith before the committee—the first, purely scientific, were to take place in the laboratory of M. Dumas—the second, in the sugar-works of M. Barin, a member of the

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committee, to test its value in a manufacturing point of view—and the third, at the great establishment of M. Claff, at Valenciennes, where the proceedings were to be on a very large scale.

A letter directed to the *Independent* (newspaper) gives these details:

The discovery of M. Melsens is of the most grave and serious import for all the interests—whether colonial or at home—connected with the manufacture of sugar.

By this process of marvellous simplicity, and of the readiest application—the decomposition and separation of the portion of the plant containing the saccharine is accomplished—and the clarification takes place without any other process—the condensing, the filtering, the boiling, and I had almost said the skimming, are dispensed with. The new process applies to the syrup; hence the cutters, pressers, and even the boilers for purifying the juice, are still needed—but the syrup is at once obtained, by M. Melsen's miracle. With a single pinch of the marvellous substance—which remains the secret of the inventor—he brings about in a few minutes, the clearing and crystalization of the saccharine matters. Good-bye therefore, to the refiners, with their slow and costly process, since in seven-quarters of an hour may be produced a loaf of the whitest and purest sugar.

The correspondent my well add, as he does, supposing his version of the effects of this discovery to be correct, "it is impossible to conceive, or to calculate the consequences of this new process."

The sugar growers and the sugar refiners of the United States—in both of which branches large capitals and extensive processes are employed—will doubtless look early into this new discovery—which seems too marvellous.

Not less so has been the extraordinary developements made by Mr. Owen before Parliament, in which the extraordinary fact is demonstrated, that the *peat* bogs of Ireland are the richest *candle-mines* in the world. Among various articles extracted from *peet.* at great profit, by Mr. Owen, by a chemical process, were candles of a waxy substance, of great beauty, and burned with great brilliancy. If this should prove fully correct, Ireland will yet beat California in natural wealth.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

1.—The Liberty of Rome: A History, with an Historical Account of the Liberty of Ancient Nations. By Samuel Eliot. 2 vols. George P. Putnam.

In these volumes the author has, as he informs us, sought rather to point out wherein the liberty of the people consisted in the institutions of Rome, than to recite a history of Rome. He has pointed out, with much precision, the degree and kind of liberty which the people enjoyed under the various changes of form which their government underwent. It is obvious that an intelligent people may enjoy a greater degree of personal and religious liberty under a form of government nominally monarchical, than under another, which, with popular attributes, exerts an oppressive authority. An unintelligent and demoralized people may neither appreciate nor value privileges they may possess; and by so doing, they invite the oppressor to abridge them. Such a people cannot be said to enjoy any degree of liberty; and it is only when renewed oppression arouses them to a knowledge of their loss, that they strive to regain the blessings they forfeited by non-use. The author has clearly followed the changing characteristics of the people, as manifest in the use or abuse they made of the liberties they from time to time have possessed. The whole is executed in a manner which places the author in a high rank among political philosophers.

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There is a general freshness in the ideas advanced; and the manner in which the whole subject is treated, is in the highest degree attractive and instructive. At the present moment, when Europe is convulsed from one end to the other, with whole nations in arms in search of liberty, many of them manifestly not understanding the nature of the thing they seek, with others apparently incapable of appreciating its blessings, it is a matter of interest to trace in the history of the past, the influence which liberty has had upon communities in different stages of civilization. The two volumes are beautifully got up, in letter text as well as illustrations, and we have them in hand for a more extended notice.

2.—Irving's Works. Oliver Goldsmith: A Biography. By Washington Irving. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

This charming Biography of Dr. Goldsmith, is an almost entirely new production of Mr. Irving. He informs us in the preface that it was originally a sketch, published some years since, as an introduction to his writings. In the progress of the publication of the present elegant edition, it was found necessary to enlarge and complete the Biography; and, availing himself of the works of Prior and Forster, the present volume was completed. It is certainly a most agreeable work. The grace of Irving's style throws around the subject-matter a charm, which it sometimes does not possess of itself; but it seems peculiarly adapted to the amiable, confiding nature of the wayward genius whose history he records.

3.—History of the National Constituent Assembly, from May, 1848. By J. F. Corkran, Esq. Harper Brothers.

Mr. Corkran has enjoyed rare opportunities in an almost constant and daily attendance upon the sittings of the National Assembly, to become acquainted not only with the numerous political factions and their sub-divisions which have developed themselves since the revolution of February, but with the men who represent each phase of the kaleidescope. His portraitures are for the most part just and highly interesting, as is everything which appertains to the extraordinary struggle which France is going through. That the cause of the revolution has been betrayed by the adroitness of the monarchists, aided by the inconceivable follies and wickedness of the popular and socialist leaders, is undoubtedly true, and the safety of France now lies apparently in the incapacity and follies of Louis Napoleon and his associates. For the moment the monarchists have succeeded in identifying the extravagances of Considerant, Proudhon, Leroux and others, and the unparalleled and mal-adroit immoralities of Ledru-Rollin and George Sand with the cause of Republicanism; and by so doing, have alienated the thinking portion of the community from the popular cause, and given that impulse to the reactionary movement which has enabled Prince Louis to preserve that title in his address, although President of the Republic, and grossly violate the constitution in many material points, the most important of which was the invasion of Rome, and in undertaking a war without the consent of the Assembly. The constitution is in his hands no better than a waste paper. So far, he was completely in wrong; and although he obtained, through the unparalleled fraud of Leon Faucher, minister for the Interior, a majority of the new members of assembly, yet the opposition had it in their power, by skilful and determined resistance, through moral force, to restore the ascendancy of Republicanism, and ultimately save the constitution. They chose, however, with a folly so gross as to wear the aspect of purchased treason, to appeal to arms, under the supposition that the 130,000 electors who had voted for Ledru Rollin would also fight for him. The result showed the miserable mistake of that charlatan. Voting for a Republican leader to combat monarchism, was one thing; but commencing a civil war to support an incapable sensualist was another, and very different af-

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fair. His supporters not only fell from him, but monarchism gathered new strength from his failure. Paris was placed in a state of siege, the public journals suppressed, and a more arbitrary exercise of power by the President was the result.

The continuance of the exercise of universal suffrage, and the multiplied circulation of cheap publications, must rapidly educate the public mind of France in the principles of political freedom. The habit of reading and reflecting, created by the present excitement, will be productive of a highly intelligent community, in the midst of which the crude follies of the socialists of all classes will perish, while what is good in any of them, will take root and flourish.

4.—Two Lectures on the Connection between the Biblical and Physical History of Man. Delivered, by invitation, from the Chair of Political Economy of the Louisiana University. By Josiah C. Nott, M. D., of Mobile, Alabama. Bartlett & Welford, 7 Astor House.

Dr. Nott, in these two lectures, takes strong ground in favor of the "diversity of the human race," as distinguished from the biblical account of the creation, and supports his position with much skill and sound argument. The time and attention he has devoted to the subject, with the rare opportunities for personal observation which he has enjoyed, conspire to make his book an authority upon the subject of which it treats.

5.—The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Abdication of James the Second, 1688. By David Hume, Esq. A new edition, with the author's last corrections and improvements; to which is prefixed, a short account of his life, written by himself. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

The second volume of this admirable edition of Hume has made its appearance promptly. It commences with the reign of Henry III., 1216, and closes with that of Richard III., 1845. The History of Hume will be comprised in six volumes; and the continuation, by Macaulay, of which two volumes are already published, will appear in uniform style as promptly as they are produced in London.

This enterprising house has also made an arrangement for the advance sheets of Lamartine's History of the Revolution of 1848, which they have caused to be translated by competent hands, as fast as they are received. The book will make about two duodecimo volumes.

They also announce, in semi-monthly numbers. at 25 cents each, the complete dramatic works of William Shakspeare; with notes, original and selected.

Each number will contain a play complete, with a magnificent steel engraving of the heroine of the play, executed in the highest style of the art, from drawings by eminent artists.

The letter-press will be printed on large pica type, and worked on the finest calendered paper.

Its form will be royal octavo; and each number will be handsomely done up in an engraved cover, from an original design by Billings.

In its typography and illustrations, it will equal the finest English editions; and, in all respects, in this country, it will be without a rival, as it will be altogether the most elegant edition of the great author's works ever presented to the American public.

The first number will be published on the first of September, and will be followed in regular order, on the first and fifteenth of each succeeding month, until completed.

6.—Southey's Common-Place Book. Edited by his son-in-law, John Woodwater. Harper Brothers.

The high rank attained by Southey in British literature, confers an interest upon everything that has been the object of attention to his powerful mind. Of how much superior interest then, must this work present, which is, as it were, the synopsis of a

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long life of reseach? That Southey had advantages in the command of books that fall to the lot of few men, is not to be doubted; and equally certain is it, that he improved those advantages to the full extent that great industry and capacity for mental labor would permit. Whatever in that process was indicated by a refined taste and admirable judgment as most worthy of note, was transferred to his Common-Place Book. This valuable collection has been given to the world with appropriate headings, classified and indexed in a most available form; and few there are who will not appreciate the advantages of such a possession. While we award the highest praise to the learning and scholarship of Southey, we cannot but express our regrets that his early and honest patriotism was like that of many other eminent Englishmen, prostituted to power. The apostate found profit, no doubt, in selling himself to an infamous oligarchy, and lending his powerful pen to stifle the cause of human rights; and history will find his literary fame but a pedestal for his political infamy.

7.—The Magic of Kindness; or, The Wonderful Kindness of the Good Huan. By the Brothers Mayhew, authors of The Good Genius, that turned everything into Gold. Harper Brothers.

This little fairy tale, by the popular authors, is calculated to inculcate the beneficial effects of the spirit of kindness in all the walks of life, and is a most agreeable and interesting book for young persons.

8.—The Woodman: A Romance of the Times of Richard III. By G. P. R. James, Esq. Harper Brothers.

The prolific pen of Mr. James flags neither in interest nor activity. The new one forms No. 129 of the Messrs. Harpers' Library of Select Novels, and is understood to close the labors of Mr. James as a novelist.

9.—Retribution, or the Vale of Shadows: A Tale of Passion. By Emma D. E. Nevett Southworth. Harper Brothers.

This volume forms No. 130 of Harper's Select Library of Novels, and is an interesting Tale.

10.—The Scalpel: A Journal of Health, adapted to Popular and Professional Reading, and the Exposure of Quackery. By Edward H. Dixon, M. D. Charles H. Ring.

This monthly Magazine is exceedingly able and attractive. It probably finds little favor with the faculty, or with the quack imitator, inasmuch as it finds very little merit in them. It certainly holds up the abuses with which the practice of medicine is overrun, with a most caustic and unsparing hand, and we trust will be the means of much good.

11.—An Easy Introduction to Spanish Conversation, containing all that is necessary to make a rapid progress in it. By M. Velazquez de la Cadena. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

This little work seems well calculated to carry out the promise contained in its preface, and enable the learner to reach a knowledge of Spanish by an easy style.

12.—The Singer's Manual, for Leaders, Pupils, and Private Students. By Frederick A. Adams, G. F. Root, and J. E. Sweetser. John Wiley, 161 Broadway.

This is a very excellent, and much wanted little work, to aid in that musical training which enters at present so largely into our system of education, and the necessity of which, both as a collateral branch, and as an accomplishment, is so universally admitted. More particularly is that much-neglected point, the culture of the voice, insisted on; and it is held, that, proceeding on the hints indicated, the voice may be as well developed in a system of public teaching, as by means of private tutelage. The work is replete with merit, and recommeeds itself to all.

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Engraved expressly for the Democratic Review by S. J. Dodd

I Remain Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servt & Friend
Joseph Walker

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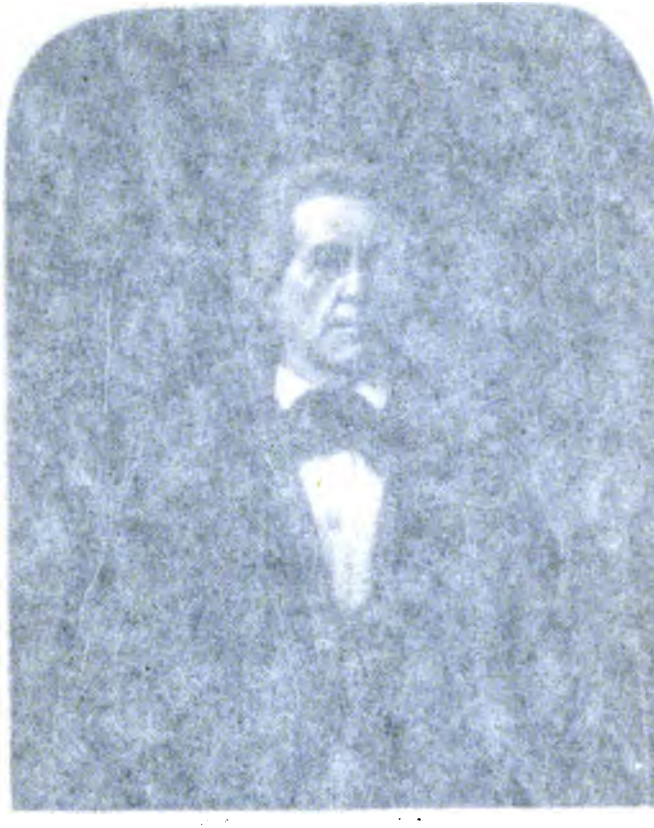

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THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

AND

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

Vol. XXV. OCTOBER, 1849. No. CXXXVI.

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THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

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Vol. XIV. OCTOBER, 1849. No. CXXXVI.

THE CENSUS.

When on the formation of the present government of the United States, under the federal constitution, it was decided that representation should be based on numbers alone, irrespective of property, and that direct taxes should be levied on the same principle, an exact enumeration of the people became matter of first-necessity. From the nature of our country, and the character of its people, it was obvious that this basis of numbers would be continually changing, as well in the aggregate as in sections, and that consequently, the weight of power would be constantly shifting, probably from east to west. It became necessary therefore to provide for a re-enumeration at short intervals, which should adapt the representation to the increase and migration of the population; and it was accordingly directed by the constitution, that a census should be taken "*within* every subsequent term of ten years," after 1790, the date of the first census. It is worthy of remark, that number was made the basis of "direct taxes" as well as representation, obviously with the view that the support of government should be derived from those sections which enjoyed the largest share of representation; and this liability to taxation would prevent the disposition that might otherwise exist on the part of political leaders, to exaggerate the numbers of sections with the view to swell their representative power. By substituting indirect taxes for "direct," not only was the purpose of enriching privileged classes, at the expense of the people, subserved, but a desirable check upon any disposition to tamper with the census removed. Thus, when all the people of a section are subjected to a direct tax, in support of government, according to the number of their representation in that government, it will not be to the interest of the tax-payers, that their number should be exaggerated in the census, which is to be the basis of taxation as well as representation. On the other hand, when not exposed to this liability, by reason of the

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operation of indirect taxes, they trouble themselves less about the intrigues of dishonest political leaders, who seek, by knavish collusion with unfaithful officers, to swell the numbers in one locality, and to diminish them in one of an opposite political stamp. In the progress of the nation, the absence of this check has been fruitful of error, and with each succeeding census the necessity for reform has become more manifest. The indirect system of taxation has been prolific of corrupt patronage, and detrimental to the equality of representation, which can be reached only by the most faithful enumeration.

In the next year we enter upon the 7th enumeration, under circumstances which require the utmost watchfulness on the part of the people, to prevent the loosening of the foundation of our system of government. By the census of 1790, the population of the United States was first ascertained by actual enumeration, with the distinguishing features of white and black, free and servile. That census was directed to be commenced on the 1st Monday of August, 1790, and to be closed in nine months. The subsequent laws were nearly transcripts of that, authorizing the census of 1790, with provision for some additional information. The second census was ordered to be commenced on the 1st Monday of August, 1800, and closed in nine months. The third census began 1st Monday of August, 1810, to close in nine months. This term was, by an amendment, extended eight months. This census also ordered a return of the persons engaged in manufactures. The fourth census was ordered to commence 1st Monday of August, 1820, to close six months, extended to thirteen months, and to report in addition, the number of persons engaged in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. The time of commencing the fifth census was changed to June 1st, 1830, to close in six months, afterwards extended to twelve months. It was, also, to return the numbers of whites, deaf, dumb and blind. The sixth census also began June 1st, 1840, to close in ten months, subsequently reduced to five months, again extended to eleven months, and further prolonged to seventeen months. This was to report the deaf, dumb, blind and insane, together with general information respecting occupation and the education of the people. It may be remarked, that in all the previous laws for the taking of the census, the Secretary of the state was authorized to issue instructions to the marshals appointed at salaries for districts, and who were aided by assistants, receiving compensation per 100 names. The census law of 1840, indicated the spirit of the administration at that time, which was to centralise as much as possible, all the patronage of the government in one person; and the Secretary was authorized to issue instructions under *the direction of the President*, in order that not a lamplighter or scarcely a chambermaid, in the service of an employee, not subservient to a single individual at the head of the government, might receive appointment. The mode of remunerating by the 100 names, was every way calculated to induce large returns, from the hands of the generally incapable agents, selected for the most part on account of political subserviency, without regard to faithfulness, intelligence or industry. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that great errors crept into all the returns, or that very little faith could be placed in reports made through such sources, when it is obvious that the utmost care, intelligence and integrity, are indispensable to secure even proximate accuracy. According to these several returns, the population of the union has progressed as follows:

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CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Whites.						
Males,	1,615,625	2,204,421	2,987,571	4,001,064	5,355,133	7,249,266
Females	1,556,839	2,100,068	2,874,433	3,871,647	5,171,115	6,939,842
Total,	3,172,464	4,304,489	5,862,004	7,872,711	10,537,378	14,189,555
Free Blacks.						
Males,	———	———	———	112,783	153,453	192,550
Females,	———	———	———	120,783	166,146	199,821
Total,	59,466	108,395	186,446	233,566	319,599	386,384
Slaves.						
Males,	———	———	———	790,965	1,012,823	1,240,408
Females,	———	———	———	752,723	996,220	1 240,805
Total,	697,897	893,921	1,191,364	1,543,688	2,009,043	2,487,355
Grand Total,	3,829,827	5,305,925	7,239,814	9,654,596	12,866,020	17,063,353

In the first decade, viz., from 1790 to 1800, the three classes were affected by three different elements, viz.: the whites by immigration, the slaves by importation, until 1800, and the free blacks by emancipation. In each subsequent decade, the slaves have depended only on their own natural increase, modified by that emancipation, which has served in an increasing ratio to swell the numbers of the free blacks, while white immigration has progressively increased. When the census of 1810 was completed, a further increase in the aggregate population had taken place to the extent of 77,000, through the annexation of Louisiana, and by a more free importation of slaves, in anticipation of the closing of the trade, according to the constitution in 1808. The number of blacks introduced by importation, and annexed with Louisiana, in those years, was probably about 56,000. The census of 1820 first distinguished the sexes and ages of the blacks, and also furnished some data, in relation to employment of the whites. The decade from 1830 to 1840, was one of such great prosperity in England and Europe generally, as to check the usual current of immigration, while on this continent Texas presented for the first time an attraction to whites beyond our borders, and they emigrated thither with their slaves, while the course of the abolitionists tended by a natural reaction to diminish the increase of free blacks by emancipation, and many of that class emigrated to Canada. It was also the case, doubtless, that during the mania for settling new lands, which raged in those years, the transportation of slaves from old northern to new southern states, accelerated the mortality of that class.

Throughout all the period of half a century, covered by the six enumerations, political power was constantly shifting westward, and the several states constantly changing their political rank, as they were affected by the current of emigration. The following table will show the relative rank after each census, in which the changes are very marked. Thus, Ohio, which was the lowest of 16 states in 1800, became the 3d in the Union in 1840; Virginia and New-York changed places relatively in 1790 and 1840. The Western States are rising rapidly in the scale, while the Atlantic States are losing their importance:

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Apportionments according to the Census.

Apport'nment before the Census.		1790.		1800.		1810.		1820.		1830.		1840.	
States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.	States.	No. of Reps.
Virgin'a	10	Virgin'a.	19	Virgin'a.	22	N. York.	27	N. York.	34	N. York.	40	N. York.	34
Mass.....	8	Mass....	14	Penn....	18	Penn...	23	Penn...	26	Penn...	28	Penn....	24
Penn...	8	Penn...	13	N. York.	17	Virgin'a	23	Virgin'a.	22	Virgin'a.	21	Ohio.....	21
N. York..	6	N. York.	10	Mass....	17	Mass....	20	Ohio....	14	Ohio.....	19	Virgin'a.	15
Maryl'd.	6	N. Car...	10	N. Car..	12	N. Car..	13	Mass....	13	N. Car..	13	Tenn....	11
Conn....	5	Maryl'd.	8	Maryl'd.	9	Kent'y..	10	N. Car..	13	Kent'y..	13	Mass....	10
N. Car..	5	Conn....	7	S. Car..	8	Maryl'd.	9	Kent'y..	12	Tenn....	13	Kent'y...	10
S Car...	5	S. Car...	6	Conn....	7	S. Car...	9	Maryl'd.	9	Mass.....	12	Indiana.	10
N. Jer...	4	N. Jer...	5	N. Jer...	6	Conn....	7	S Car...	9	S. Car...	9	N. Car..	9
N. Ham.	3	N. Ham.	4	Kent'y..	6	N. Ham.	6	Tenn....	9	Georgia.	9	Georgia..	8
Georgia.	3	R. Isl'd..	2	N. Ham.	5	Verm't..	6	Georgia.	7	Maine...	8	Maine...	7
R. Isl'd..	1	Verm't..	2	Verm't..	4	N. Jer...	6	Maine..	7	Maryl'd.	8	S. Car...	7
Delaw'e.	1	Georgia.	2	Georgia.	4	Georgia.	6	N. Ham.	6	Indiana.	7	Alab'a..	7
		Kent'y..	2	Tenn...	3	Tenn....	6	Conn...	6	Conn...	6	Illinois...	7
13 States	65	Delaw'e.	1	R. Isl'd..	2	Ohio....	6	N. Jer...	6	N. Jer...	6	Maryl'd.	6
		Tenn...*	1	Delaw'e.	1	R. Isl'd..	2	Verm't..	5	N. Ham.	5	N. Jer...	5
				Ohio...*	1	Delaw'e.	2	Louis...	3	Verm't..	5	Misso'ri.	5
16 States under 1st app.,		106				Louis..*	1	Indiana..	3	Alaba'a.	5	N. Ham.	4
17 States under 2d app.,					142	Indi'a..*	1	Alaba'a..	3	Louis...	3	Conn....	4
								R. Isl'd..	2	Illinois..	3	Verm't..	4
19 States under 3d app.,							183	Delaw'e.	1	R. Isl'd.	2	Louis...	4
								Miss...*	1	Miss....	2	Miss...	4
								Illin'is..*	1	Misso'ri.	2	Mich....	3
								Miss'ri.*	1	Delaw'e.	1	R. Isl'd..	2
										Mich...*	1	Delaw'e.	1
24 States under 4th app.,								213		Ark....*	1	Ark.....	1
26 States under 5th and 6th app.,											242		223

NOTE.—The States marked thus.* were admitted into the Union after the apportionment under which they are here arranged was made, but before the succeeding census

The census now about to be taken will produce greater changes than any of those which have gone before. At the last session of Congress, a new mode of taking it was adopted, by creating a Census Board, composed of three cabinet officers, whose duty it is to prepare suitable forms and schedules for the full enumeration of the people, and also general information in relation to certain heads of statistical inquiry. These inquiries are, however, limited to 100. Everything that throws weight on the social condition of the people, is undoubtedly of great importance; but the value of statistical information of the character indicated, depends in an eminent degree upon its proximate accuracy. The experience of the last census, as well as those of some of the states, which have pushed statistical inquiry, is not such as to create much confidence in the results. The New-York census for 1845, as an instance, was so much at variance with that of the United States, for 1840, and both with known facts, as in many respects to destroy all confidence in either. The United States census of 1840 gave the population of Utica at, 12,782 persons, 1,777 families. The state census of 1845 made it 12,190 persons, 2,142 families, showing a *decrease* of 592 *persons*, and an *increase* of 365 *families*. There is no doubt that the number by the United States census of 1840 was grossly exaggerated, under the influence of the mode of renumeration. The state census of Massachusetts, which fixes the representation in the General Court, gave the population of Boston, May, 1840, at 83,979, and the United States census for June, of the same year, gave it at 93,979, showing a difference of ten per cent. This error led to investigation, and it was found that in the second ward 41 families con-

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tained 7,664 persons, of whom 7,589 were stated to be employed in navigation. By the state census the same families by name, were reported to contain only 309! a differenee of 7,357 in 41 families. This arose from the fact that the taker of the state census reported the persons actually present, while the taker of the national census, under the pretence that those persons were inhabitants of Boston, who made that place their home when in port, counted all the names entered on the books of the sailor's boarding houses, for several years previous. This effort to swell the number, doubtless arose from the mode of remuneration, viz., $2 per 300 names, at which rate the old boarding-house records were worth $50 to the employeé. There is, doubtless, a great difficulty in enumerating seafaring men. In the Boston census of 1845, the principle was adopted of enumerating all who sailed out of Boston, and considered it their home. In the New-York census of the same year, such seamen were enumerated as were actual residents, and hailed from the city. It is evident that without close questioning than is generally practicable, seamen hailing from Boston were enumerated there, while being in the port of New-York, they may have also been counted here. In the census of Great Britain, in 1841, the rule was to enumerate all who slept at their lodgings on shore on a certain night, wherever they may have belonged. In the United States census for 1840, it also occurred that the seamen on board the national vessels were enumerated in the several towns where they were supposed to belong, and were also added as a distinct class to the aggregate returns. The mode of taking the English census for 1841, was to divide the whole country into 35,000 districts; all the persons who slept in each house on the preceding night were then taken down in one day, by 35,000 employeés. It was estimated that the strangers present would compensate for the natives absent. By these means the number of persons actually in the country was arrived at with more accuracy than could possibly have been the case, where several days and even weeks elapsed under negligent marshals before completing their enumeration, even in a small district.

It is, however, the case, that this matter of official inquiry is almost altogether a novelty; both the people and the government have yet to learn a great deal in relation to the best mode of attaining the desired object. Thus very few of the officers have a clear idea of the nature of the information they are commissioned to obtain, and therefore cannot direct* inquiries with the precision necessary to obtain satisfactory re-

* *An Act to make arrangements for taking the seventh census.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the Post-master General, shall constitute and be a board, to be styled the Census Board; that it shall be the duty of the said board to prepare and cause to be printed such forms and schedules as may be necessary for the full enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States; and also proper forms and schedules for collecting in statistical tables, under proper heads, such information as to mines, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, education, and other topics, as will exhibit a full view of the pursuits industry, education and resources of the country; it being provided that the number said inquiries, exclusive of the enumeration, shall not exceed one hundred, and that the expense incurred in preparing and printing said forms and schedules shall not exceed ten thousand dollars.

Sec. 92. *And be it further enacted,* That the said board shall have power to appoint a secretary, whose remuneration shall be determined by Congress, upon the completion of the duties assigned to the board. [Approved March 3, 1849.

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plies. This evil can never be remedied until a systematic and permanent arrangement is made. The government has hitherto once in 10 years issued instructions, and hired men to go round by the job, and ask a few questions, which were put and replied to with more or less carelessness on one hand, and reluctance or archness on the other. The whole affair was forgotten as soon as completed, to become again a novelty at the end of another decade. Now, it is very obvious that when the officers of the government are sent to every man's house, to write down his name, and record his business, the numbers, ages, and occupation of his family, that the machinery for a very extensive dissemination, as well as collection of knowledge exists, and if this direct communication upon subjects of national interest frequently occurred, a degree of familiarity with the subject would spring up, leading to far more important results than any ever before derived from barren returns of questionable accuracy. In a country which increases so rapidly as ours, ten years is far too long a time to defer the re-adjustment of representation. When the clause in relation to the census was formed, no idea was entertained of the rapidity of the increase. The census of 1800 showed an increase over that of 1700, far in excess of Dr. Franklin's estimate, by which the convention was guided in some degree, and that increase of late years, was seen very much more rapid. As an instance, Illinois in 1840, had 472,929 inhabitants, and its representation was raised from 3 to 7. By the state census of 1845 it had 662,125 inhabitants an increase of 40 per cent.; consequently it ought to have increased its representation proportionately. Georgia as an instance, on the other hand, increased its representative population from 577,912 to 653,,922 or 76,000 only, and from 1845 to 1850, although it has less representative inhabitants by 10,000 than Illinois, it has one more representative in Congress than that state. Why should this inequality exist for five years? Missouri presents a case similar to that of Illinois, viz., up to 1844, she increased her population in the proportion of one representative and in 1848, by at least two representatives. This injustice is to be remedied by more frequent enumerations. The constitution does not restrict the enumeration, but provides only that they shall not be delayed longer than ten years. They may be made as often as Congress may direct "within" that time. It has also been the case, that most of states for their own purposes, have ordered enumerations on which to base the representation of state government, and these have been conducted on plans very similar to those of the federal government. The states which have completed these enumerations, are as follows:—

				NUMBER OF REP. PER CENSUS.	
	1830.	1840.	1845.	1840.	1845.
New-York,	1,918,608	2,428,921	2,604,495	34	37
Michigan,	31,639	213,267	304,278	3	5
Illinois,	157,455	476,183	643,482	7	10
Missouri,	140,445	383,702	511,937	5	7
Wisconsin,	—	30,945	211,252	3	3
Iowa,	—	43,112	81,920	1	1
Total Western,	3,248,147	8,575,130	4,357,364	53	63
Georgia,	516,823	691,392	774,325	8	9
Alabama,	309,727	590,756	624,827	7	8
Louisiana,	215,739	352,411	427,755	4	5
Arkansas,	30,388	97,574	145,000	1	2
Total Southern,	1,072,677	1,732,133	1,971,897	20	24

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Thus, at the electoral vote of 1848, there would have been eight more for Gen. Cass had the population been represented truly, according even to the apportionment of 1840, and at the coming important session of Congress there would be eight more Democratic voters in the House. That is to say, by the ten year system of apportionment, the nation as a body is not truly represented. Inasmuch as that, in the first named six states, there has been an increase of 782,234 persons since the census on which the apportionment took place, on the basis of 70,680 persons to one representative, these 782,234 persons are not represented at all for five years; or, in other words, as compared with some of the Atlantic states which have not increased, these six states are deprived of eleven representatives in Congress; no small matter when momentous questions are at stake. Now this is precisely the evil which the old federalists sought to attain when they urged the property qualification. Mr. Gouverneur Morris, in convention, thought property ought to be a qualification, because he "thought the rule of representation ought to be so fixed, as to secure to the Atlantic states a prevalence in the national councils." "Provision ought to be made to prevent the maritime states from being hereafter outvoted." This he thought would be done by fixing invariably the number of representatives each state should have, because it was supposed that although numbers would increase more at the west, *wealth* would increase more on the Atlantic, a tendency which the "protective" system was designed to promote. Now, by the ten year system of apportionment, the number is fixed irrevocably for ten years. The result of this, practically, is that, notwithstanding all the increase of population which has taken place in the new states, those states will have no greater weight in the presidential election of 1852 than they had in 1844. Thus, Illinois had, in 1844, nine electoral votes; she ought to have had twelve; and by 1852 will be entitled to fourteen, according to the present basis, whereas she will have but nine; this arises from the fact, that although the enumeration takes place in 1850, the apportionment will not be fixed until March, 1853, six months after the election. The injustice of such inequality is manifest. The coming census will embrace, in addition to Texas with its 143,000 souls, California and Mexico with at least 70,000 strangers, and Oregon with some few thousands. That there will be delay and difficulty in these enumerations will no doubt be the case; but that is no reason why the utmost energy should not be exercised in order that, not only those states, but all the new states with their vast accessions of citizens, should have their just weight at the next presidential canvass. Nor is there any reason why every Congress should not feel in new apportionments the influence of the growth of the country and the comparative progress of its several sections. Mr. Morris's idea of retaining control in sections not entitled to it by members, is that which the federalists and Van Buren reactionary democrats perseveringly pursue; but it is evident that this idea, like others of the last century, must give place to the progress of popular rights.

That population was made the basis of representation and direct taxes, was probably a step in advance for the close of the last century; but it would seem that the progress of the public mind points to a modification of the system. The principle of representation must be carried out further, and by more frequent and accurate adjustment, made to approximate more closely to the actual numbers of the represented classes. In

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relation to taxation, however, a change in the other direction is becoming manifest. The monarchial principle of protection has become so interwoven with our financial system, as to cause direct taxes to be lost sight of almost altogether, in the insidious operation of indirect taxes, which have exonerated the wealth of millionares, while the pockets of the producers have been drawn upon, not only for the whole support of the federal government, but to swell the accumulations of the rich, under pretence of protection. While the prosperity of the whole country has been retarded by the pernicious operation of indirect taxes in checking the free operations of trade, vast sums have, by federal laws, been put into the pockets of individuals who never contributed a shilling towards the support of the government that enacted them. John Jacob Astor accumulated near a score of millions under the protection of the federal government, whilst he never paid more for its support than his penniless valet. The new minister to England, Abbott Lawrence, Esq., has accumulated some $3,000,000, legislated by Congress out of the pockets of consumers of cotton goods into his coffers, while the outfit, $9,000, he receives as minister from the federal treasury, probably exceeds all that he ever paid for the support of government, from which he derives such advantages. Mr. Van Buren has received probably $250,000 in salaries from the federal treasury, while the vast Kinderhook estates are exempted, like those of the Austrian nobles, from tax. On this class of men the indirect taxes fall with less weight than on the poor. They buy no protected articles; and on the occasional visits of relatives to Europe, the resplendant fabrics of royal capitals are purchased for their use, and entered free of duty, as personal baggage. Even the white top-boots of the English footmen are of Parisian make. These vast estates require to be reached and brought under their proportional quota to the federal support. While the machinery and patronage of the federal government are used as the means of conferring honors and wealth upon certain men and classes, and through them of controlling the elections, and consequently the patronage of states, towns and counties, at least those who derive the emoluments and honors should be liable to an equal share of the charges. Under a system of direct taxation, the Atlantic states, which have, under the protective system, been enriched at the expense of western citizens, would be called upon to discharge their due proportion of government expenses, and "capital" would then bear part of the burden which now falls almost exclusively upon "labor."

The town, county and state expenses in all the states are now discharged by direct taxes, imposed upon property according to valuations that vary in all the states, and frequently in the same state. This whole plan of taxation might be consolidated by some such plan, as causing to be elected by the people in every county in every state of the Union an officer, to be called a "census commissioner," in the same manner as the office of "loan commissioner" was in most states called into being by the distribution of the surplus revenue of the United States. Those sums were loaned out in the several counties of the states upon real estate. In New-York, these offices of loan commissioner, added to the patronge of the Governor under the Van Buren system of centralization, but are, under the new constitution, made elective by the people of the counties. This office could obviously be combined with that of census commissioner, whose duty it should be annually to report, under heavy bonds, the

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number of the people in his district, the births, deaths, marriages, nativities, ages, &c., of the inhabitants, together with the amplest details of property, occupations, and every point interesting to the statesman and economist. On these enumerations should be based, as well city and state, as federal representation. On these returns each Congress should be reapportioned, thus always readjusting representation to changes in population. While enormous sums of money are annually expended for comparatively unimportant subjects, nothing whatever is done for the advancement of economical and political science, although this of all others is that which most affects the rights and interests of the people. The coast survey, as an instance, is doubtless a great and praiseworthy object, properly carried out. The nation pays annually $250,000 dollars for its prosecution, while the moral results that are derived from it clearly show, that it is an infamous political job; and if one-half the money expended upon it were bestowed upon a census system to procure correct enumerations and statistical information, it would prove the surest safeguard to popular liberty.

It is obviously, in a country such as this, where the great residue of power rests with the people, and that exercised by the representatives is essentially delegated, in State and Federal constitutions, a matter of the first importance that the numbers should be correctly represented, and all the property subjected to an accurate *pro rata* tax for the support of government. That capital should bear its responsibilities, and that labor should be relieved from an undue proportion of the public burdens, notwithstanding the vital importance of the subject, is that which has received the least attention. Vast sums have been expended on exploring expeditions, coast surveys, geological surveys and other objects, all good in their way; but the great object of equal representation and just taxation have been altogether slighted. The details, such as they were, of the United States census of 1840 and of the New-York state census of 1845, resulted mostly from a desire to enhance Mr. Van Buren's patronage. They, however, threw no light upon the question of taxes. In taking the seventh census, it is to be hoped that the new board will not overlook the fact, that the people of all the states are now subjected to heavy direct taxes for town, county and state purposes, and that the collection of information upon this subject would, while it would be most easily accomplished, be of more practical importance than almost any other item. As an indication, the following are taxes collected in several states with the aggregate valuations:

	Valuation.	State Tax.	County Tax.	Town Tax.	Total Taxes.
New-York,	651,619,595	235,000	3,750,738	1,309,720	5,295,458
Ohio,	421,067,991	1,265,769	1,976,186	———	3,241,955
Illinois,	100,000,000	550,000	500,000	———	1,000,000

This is a mere indication of the heads of taxation. Such information collected of every state in the Union, accompanied by explanations as to the mode of valuation and process of assessment adopted everywhere, would produce at once reliable data as to comparative wealth, as well as proportionate liability for government support as well as ability to pay.

These objects of representation and taxation are the leading ones; but the comparative healthiness and degree of longevity in all sections of the Union, are also of much importance. In Massachusetts it has been customary for a long time to register births, deaths, and marriages. When

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these are correctly kept, they form a very certain indication of the progress of the population in the excess of births over deaths. The population of France is mostly estimated on these data. Even the Massachusetts registration is, however, a mere farce. In a late report the secretary himself says, that the whole number of births and deaths returned does not, probably, very much exceed one half of those actually occurring in Massachusetts, while that of marriages returned is, perhaps, about three quarters of the truth. Of course, such returns are worthless. In New-York marriages and deaths are registered by clergymen, and in some cases, also, christenings; but the aggregates never see the light, and would be of no value if they did, from want of accuracy.

In the last New-York census, that of 1845, a new feature was introduced, viz., to ascertain the nativity of the inhabitants. The results reported were, that of a population of 2,604,495 souls, 1,984,278 were born in the state, 228,881 in the New-England states, 83,642 in other United States, 977 in Mexico, 277,890 in Great Britain, 10,619 in France, 49,558 in Germany, 8,222 other parts of Europe, making 2,554,067, or 50,428 less than the aggregate. Probably these persons were born nowhere. A uniform and accurate system of taking the nativities in all the states, in addition to the births, deaths, and marriages, would not only form complete checks upon the accuracy of the enumerations, but would show with great clearness, the progress of emigration from state to state, as well among blacks as whites, and the influence of immigration from abroad upon the population of each state. At present there is no possible way of ascertaining with any degree of accuracy, how much of the growth of the white population is attributable to immigration. Mr. Goodwin suggested a mode by which it may be approximated. It is to assume the fact that all those who are under ten, at the date of the census of 1850, must have been added to the population since 1840. Now, if we knew how many of those returned in 1840 died within the ten years, the difference between that number and that of those under ten, in 1850, would be the natural increase of the population. As we have not that information, is is necessary to assume the usual estimate, viz., that in healthy civilized countries, 16 per cent. die in the course of ten years. Thus, in 1830, the number of whites was 10,526,248; in 1840, 14,189,218, an increase of 3,662,970; now there should have died in ten years, 1,684,199 persons, which, deducted from the 4,485,131 under ten years, in 1840, would give an increase of 2,800,931 souls, or 822,160 less than the true increase. This difference represents the number of immigrants. According to this calculation, the immigrants in fifty years, ending with 1840, were 2,058,655 souls. In the decade ending with 1850, the result will probaby be 1,000,000 immigrants, or half the number that arrrived in the course of fifty years previous. These are vast numbers, and it is a matter of great interest to know what becomes of them. This can be ascertained by an accurate report of the nativities, with the births, deaths, marriages, &c. Since 1810 the number of slaves can have increased only from natural causes, modified by emancipation. The two decades of 1830 and 1840, show results as follows:

	1820-1830.		1830-1840.
Increase of Slaves,	455.355		478,324
Under ten years,	701,160		844.069
Resulting deaths 15 per cent-,	235,805	18per ct.	365,745

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This increase in apparent deaths arose from emigration to Texas, emancipation and flight, as well as from perhaps some increased mortality. In the case of free blacks, the same calculation makes the deaths nearly as much too small as they are apparently too large, in the case of slaves, arising from similar cause, viz., emancipation. None of these data for ascertaining the condition and locality, the wants and wishes of the people, should be left to conjecture. Enumerations of bank capital and parades of factory dividends, are necessary in making up the tax list, under a just system; but the numbers, locality, rights and immunities of the whole body of the people, are what is desired of a just representative government. It is well understood, and universally acknowledged, that all wealth is the creation of *labor;* and under our institutions, it is admitted that the government is the creature of the *laborers.* It has long enough been the case, that while the wealthy have monopolized the products of industry, they have also grasped the honors of the government, the support of which they charge upon the producers of the wealth. This must undergo a change. The legislative halls must exhibit a full representation of the people; and the wealth they have created, no matter in what locality it may be found, must bear the charge of the public burdens.

The ability of a people to pay taxes does not arise from the mere possession of property at a nominal valuation, but from the actual annual amount of wealth for consumption or accumulation that comes into their hands. Thus, the whole wealth of the country being created by industry, a large portion goes to support the producers, a portion to accumulation, and a portion to support government The amount which can be afforded for this latter purpose must depend upon the surplus production over the necessary consumption of the people.

Thus in Great Britain the annual tax per head for the support of government reaches nearly $30 for each individual. In the United States it is about $4; yet this $4 may in proportion to the annual increase of wealth be a heavier tax than the $30 in England. The annual increase of wealth in that country arises, however, to a considerable extent, from the fact that the mass of producers do not consume sufficiently, whereas in the United States the producer is more the master of his own earnings, and consumes a greater proportion of it, and that he may do so it is required that the public expense be limited and equally proportioned upon incomes. The accumulation of wealth is always in a few hands, and the competition of labor for capital always is greater than that of capital for labor; hence, precisely in the proportion that capital increases, is the tax upon labor for its further accumulation enhanced. It is principally to counteract this tendency that accumulated wealth should be required to bear all the expenses of the state. The greater the accumulation in the hands of a single individual, the greater is the excess of his means over his actual wants, and therefore the greater should be the ratio of his tax for the support of the state. It is obvious that all laws, such as indirect taxes and protective privileges, which tend to the accumulation of capital in the hands of the few, should be repealed; but these can be reached only by just representation. Thus it is ably shown that the capital and money corporation of Boston, which throws only one-third the votes of Massachusetts, command, through the defective representative system, the whole legislative power of the commonwealth. The government of that state being in fact an oligarchy of corporation directors, and this

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defective representation is true to a greater or less extent of almost every state and city; and in most of the states the public mind is becoming aroused to the importance of reforming it.

If unjust laws of incorporation and "protection" enable a few persons to absorb a considerable proportion of the annual production, the amount which remains for the consumption of the producers will be limited, and further curtailed by the exactions of the government. It is therefore of great importance to ascertain what the actual annual production is, who produces it, and, as far as practicable, what becomes of it. This is the problem to which statistical inquiry ought to be directed—at the same time, it is that which has received the least attention. The data heretofore collected are so inaccurate as at least to serve only to guess by. That part of the census of 1840, which relates to this branch, is the most inaccurate, yet it is the one perhaps most susceptible of improvement, and it well deserves the attention of statists, in order that they may make suggestions to their representatives in Congress. These gentlemen cannot all be expected to be familiar with details, and many that are so are too much taken up with matters that bear more directly upon their personal advancement to attend to it. After the quantities of the several products are accurately enumerated, there should be some system for accurately estimating the *value.* In raw produce this is comparatively easy; but in manufactured articles what is required is only the additional value given to materials by the labor of manufacturing, so that those materials may not be reckoned twice in arriving at the aggregate annual product. Thus, in reckoning the value of houses built within the year, the bricks or timber which have been used may have been estimated under those separate heads; so may the locks, nails and hinges, the glass, paint, &c., and consequently the value of these should be deducted from the gross value of the houses, to show the clear addition which the latter have made to the annual product.

Sometimes, indeed, without such deductions, the same article would be counted more than twice. Thus, the iron which had been reckoned as the product of the furnace, may be again reckoned in the products of the rolling or slitting mill; a third time in the manufacture of nails, or fabrics of sheet iron; and even a fourth time in the gross value of a house or a ship.

In like manner, in our estimate of manufactures, after reckoning the value of the leather made in the year, if we reckon the whole value of the shoes, saddles, bridles, trunks, &c., the leather is counted twice; and the value of the hides, which had been comprehended in the estimate of the cattle or of the imports, would be counted three times. In this way the amount of the manufactures in some states has been greatly exaggerated.

Nor must we fall into the opposite error, as some have done, of confounding the nett addition to the wealth of the country with the value of its annual product. The first, which consists of the excess of production over consumption, bears a very small proportion to the actual product, since nearly all the value that is annually produced is annually consumed. Such excess, even in the most thriving countries, probably never exceeds, even if it reaches, 5 per cent. of the annual product; and although a knowledge of its amount is desirable, as making the addition that has been made to the national capital, which is one of its sources of wealth, yet it is of far less importance than a knowledge of the value of the whole product, since that constitutes the fund from which the whole population is

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to be fed, clothed, housed, and furnished with all that is to be consumed, both productively and unproductively. Thus, of the annual products of agriculture, one part is productively consumed in feeding the industrious classes or useful animals, in furnishing the seed for a future crop, or in supplying materials for export; and the other part is unproductively consumed by the idle classes, consisting of a small proportion of men, a somewhat larger proportion of women, and more than half the children.

The value of the gross annual product is not only most important, but is also most practicable. We can make a much nearer approximation to the value of the whole product than to that of the several parts of which it is composed, since each is subjected to its own uncertainty, besides sharing in that of the whole product. We can, for example, make a nearer approach to the value of the whole crop of wheat than we can, first, to the values, which respectively replace what was consumed in making it, in paying laborers, in feeding work-horses and oxen, in the cost of the seed, and in the wear and tear of the farming utensils; and secondly, to the values which remain as the properties of capital and of rent.

In estimating the vegetable products of agriculture, we should take the value of each at the place of production, or at that market to which it is transported by the labor appertaining to the farm or plantation. The increased value at more distant markets would be the result of the cost and profits of transportation, which should be separately estimated.

But the value of the *animal* products of agriculture presents a problem of more difficulty, since so far as the live stock have been fed in the year on articles separately valued, to that amount deduction should be made from the value of their natural increase. That increase, too, differs in the different species of stock, and in different species of husbandry, and the different conditions in which they are sent to market. The price of those fitted for the shambles is commonly double, or more than double of the general average price.

The only basis for a correct estimate of this part of our agricultural products, would be an enumeration of each species of live stock slaughtered in the year, separately valued in each state.

Having arrived at the annual production and its value, a good basis is laid, on which taxation on incomes should be graduated above a certain amount, say $3 00 of income. The income tax of Great Britain is an experiment, and is open to manifold objections, but it is founded on a just principle. The true mode of applying it, in this country, is required to be developed by a correct system of statistical inquiry in connection with the census.

The desideratum is to arrive at an accurate knowledge of every man's income, not in an inquisitorial spirit, but in order to assess upon him his proper quota of tax. The progress of wealth in the country has been very rapid, perhaps it has increased in a greater ratio than the population, rapid as that has been. The principle of apportioning taxation to numbers in the same manner as representation, involves the supposition that individual wealth increases in the same proportion as numbers, which is never the case. On the contrary, the constant tendency is for the wealth to accumulate in few hands. The principle that the burden of taxation is the result of a compound ratio of wealth, and population is sound only when the individuals acquire equal wealth. Thus, if a community consists of 10 individuals, and each has an income of $100, the

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collective income is $1,000. If now the tax is 10 per cent., each pays $10 to make up the sum of $100 for the government. This is equal and just. If, now, the taxes are not direct, but are levied upon articles of consumption manufactured by a portion of the number, those will benefit by the tax the others pay. In a short time then the numbers will increase, say to 15, of whom 5 have $200 income, and the others $75, making an aggregate increase of $1,750. The consumption of necessaries remaining as before, those with small incomes will pay 15 per cent. of their incomes, while the 5 will pay but 5 per cent. The possibility of the poorer number saving anything is lessened, while the ability of the richer to do so is increased. This is soon enhanced by the ability of the accumulators to lend, and the disposition of the workers to borrow capital at a usance. A class is then in a short time created who live upon the rent, which usually consists of all the profits of labor. From this class emanate all laws authorizing special privileges to invested capital, by chartered rights and protective regulations, interfering with the inherent rights of the consumers of goods, and of producers of raw material. All these laws have a tendency to accumulate in the hands of a few, the wealth that has been created by the many. Now, inasmuch as that all the wealth of the state is the product of the common industry, it should collectively be assessed for the support of the common government. That one individual has been enabled by fortunate circumstances or even by the exercise of his own skill to acquire the products of the industry of a great many, can by no possibility furnish a reason why that property should not be taxed in the same proportion as if it was divided up and remained with the producers. According to a very imperfect estimate on the data of the last census, the annual value of the products of industry in the United States, is $1,063,134,736, produced by in round numbers 5,000,000 active persons, say $200 per annum each. A considerable portion of this is consumed—perhaps 5 per cent. is accumulated. Now, we have instances where manufacturers have acquired in 20 years $1,000,000, which would be the net earnings of 5,000 persons in that period. Why should that property, in the hands of one man, bear a less ratio of taxation than if it had remained in the possession of the producers of it? Yet by the indirect system of taxation it is not taxed at all, while the producers continue to bear the whole burden. The whole of it has been the production of many; and if an amount equal to their average incomes is exempted altogether from taxation, and the burden imposed upon the surplus wealth of the few, the tax after all will be paid from the common industry of the whole people.

The state, after the support of the producers has been provided for, has doubtless the first claim upon the wealth of its people, and this claim should be discharged from realised wealth, and not from continuous labor. The ideas sometimes advanced, that the accumulation of capital should be encouraged, in order that it may employ industry, we regard as utterly fallacious. It is industry that requires to be encouraged in order that it may create wealth.

The benevolence attributed to capital is seldom apparent. It never relieves starving labor when there is no chance of gain. It employs industry only when by so doing it can swell its own volume at the expense of labor, and it never will relinquish this opportunity, because it is taxed. If the burdens are too great, the remedy is to diminish government expenses.

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MY FIRST WEEK IN PARIS.

(CONCLUDED.)

THE PRESIDENT'S BALL.

The palace assigned to the President of the Republic is one of the smallest of all the late royal abodes in Paris. Of late years it has, for the most part, been used for the accommodation of royal visitors to the reigning family, but is invested with certain historical reminiscences connected with the Bonaparte family, which gives singular and romantic significance to its being now occupied by the last heir of that line, destined, in all probability, to sway the destinies of France. I had often heard its comfort and elegance lauded by visitors, but I had never had the curiosity to inspect it. The present occasion was certainly favorable to seeing it to the best advantage. The spacious court yard was already crowded with carriages, disposed in regular rows, when I arrived; and, making a circuit round them, I alighted at the *grand penon*, which was neatly carpeted for the occasion. The first door led to a vestibule of good size, ornamented richly with a mass of flowers, which concealed the walls, and threw out strong and delicious odors. Double rows of servants, in the old imperial livery of green and gold, lined the passage to an inner room, where, behind a long table, sat several secretaries in black, who received the cards of invitation. This ceremony over, turning to the left, I passed into the first saloon, which was of fine height, but no great extent. It was already full to excess, and I made way, by dint of pushing, into a *salle de bal de danse* on the right. This was a very fine apartment, with walls painted in landscape, frescoed ceiling, and decorated with fine mirrors and noble columns. An immense orchestra, conveniently posted on a sort of wooden terrace against one of the sides, poured forth such floods of sweet sounds as to drown the very senses—hearing amongst the rest. The pressure here was even worse than what I had just left, but a vast circle of desperate waltzers were indefatigably eddying to and fro in the midst. Edging my way along, I got at length into a long gallery, lined with flowers and lighted with pleasing softness. It was singularly refreshing, after the heat and pain I had escaped from, and I found my new quarters pleasant enough to begin reconnoitering a little. As yet I had seen nothing of my host, who had, doubtless, been carried away from his place of reception by the overwhelming tide of his visitors. I trusted to chance to bring me later in contact with him A large portion of the company was in uniform, diplomatic or military, the latter, however, vastly predominating. The ladies were attired with great richness, and, it is needless to add, with exquisite taste. I soon began to recognise many of the proudest families of the Faubourg St. Germain, whom it was a novel sight to see grouping round any government which was not their own. I suppose it is scarcely necessary to explain that I am now speaking of the legitimist party, which still clings to the fallen fortunes of the old monarchy, though its illusion of divine right be rapidly wearing away under the steady growth of popular power and popular contempt. Such

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was their intense detestation of Louis Philippe, whom they accused of having planned the Revolution of '30, that they never could be tempted to enter his palace. It was a curious sight to see them, at last, gathered round a Bonaparte, with whom they could really have no sympathies in common. Was it from a frivolous desire to participate in the fetes of a court from which they had been so long cut off, or from a serious sense of danger? Did they conceive it wise to lend to the head of the state, be he who he might for the moment, any additional influence that their presence and support might bring with them? But there they were in great numbers and in high spirits, elegant in manners, perfect in *tournure*, and with a bearing distinguished enough to show they had not forgotten their historical descent, but totally devoid of that superb arrogance which belonged to the arbitrary power they once enjoyed. There were also a flood of the well-known class which succeeded these and pushed them from their stools—the *Bourgeoise*. This pregnant word may be definitely applied to all of not old or aristocratic blood, and represents the shrewd men of business, into whose capacious hands fell the wealth of the nobility and the power of the state, after the Revolution of '89. During the time of the late king this aspiring tribe was in high favor, and constituted the only aristocracy that graced the Tuilleries on gala nights. They were here, too, doing homage to the new comer of a new regime; but they had evidently lost by the change. You could see in their carriage and looks, which had lost a good deal of that familiar pertness and parvenue pretension that in times past distinguished them. The presence of their old rivals, with their superior breeding and singular refinement, seemed to throw a restraint over them, and they strutted about listless and unamused. There were the usual number, besides, of a set that belongs precisely to neither of these, but representing both—the men and women of fashion, nicknamed in Paris as the lions, male and female. One of the most notorious of these celebrities was flitting just near the place where I stood, and there was some strange fascination about her that drew my attention, in spite of the strong antipathy I nourish against women of her calling. I scanned her attentively without being observed, and sought to analyze what traits or charms there were that lent a different and peculiar effect to everything she said and did. She was very handsome—dark hair and eyes, regular features, a perfect shape, and dressed with consummate taste in white, with a coiffure of gilded net-work. These, however, were far from constituting her only attractions. Her manners were so singular—not noisy and fussy, which is low-bred; on the contrary, there was a profound calm, a repose, almost amounting to listless indifference, that awakened interest to know its cause. Was it satiety, weariness already with the vanities of life, or was it—something else? This languid, dreamy manner never left her. In talking, walking, dancing, she seemed elsewhere, as though her soul occupied another region, and was differently engaged; her movements were all so mechanical and involuntary-like. But opposed to this, and contradictory to every sequence you might attempt to draw, was the expression of her eye. How extraordinary that was. It had the vague restlessness of insanity. It was always in rapid, varied action, as if searching its object, which it never encountered. This it was that bothered the dandies ever circling around her. They could never, by getting before or beside, sun themselves even for a moment in its brilliant light. It always looked over them, or fell direct

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upon them with as little consciousness as though resting on a bed of turnips. There was method in this madness, though a subtle tact and a great intelligence. What a pity it should all be thrown away on such a life as her's. I will make no allusion to that; for it would startle American ears to touch even so lightly on a part, even, of the irregularities of a woman of fashion in Paris. Her liaisons, their variety, and the mercenary motives which inspired them, for the most part, would make only one chapter of the dark volume of her vices and follies, and that far from the most palpitant. I turned off, and moving down the gallery, I had the pleasure of meeting, after some years interval, the Duke de Sotomayor, the Spanish ambassador. I saw him last in England, where, in 1845, he held the same distinguished rank as now in France, though, for the greater part of the intervening period, he has filled the arduous post of chief minister of the Spanish crown at home. It is not at all generally known that this distinguished nobleman, though of old Spanish family, is on the maternal side, of American descent. His father, when minister to the United States, married a daughter of the celebrated Governor McKean, of Pennsylvania, mother of the present duke. He takes great pleasure in talking of the United States, whose progress he watches with the liveliest interest; and I have met with no foreigner of any rank who seems better informed of her true condition. With an intelligent energy, which is characteristic of his American origin, he has made strenuous efforts, for years past, to rouse his lethargic country to exertion, in the way of material improvement.

He struggled very hard with indifferent success to introduce railroads into Spain, and he prevailed on the government to offer the most enticing conditions to any individual who would undertake the construction. A large quantity of land along the margin of the road, together, I believe with all the materials requisite—and I don't know what other advantages besides—were held out as incentives to enterprize, but all in vain. The Spanish capitalists heard the propositions; puffed their cigaritos in silence, and resisted the temptation of profit, by yielding to the stronger one of pleasure. Bull-fights, in Spain, are yet victorious over railroads.

Is there no modern Columbus, who will come forth, and undertake the navigation of a railroad across the length and breadth of Spain? It is a considerably less perilous task than that which immortalized the close of the fifteenth century, and promises much larger profits to the parties concerned. On the reciprocity principle, now so much in vogue, I think some adventurous Yankee ought to come, and propose to discover Spain to herself, by offering to make her a complete line of railroads, and so respond to the obligations he owes the great Spanish navigator that first brought him and his country into locomotion. But I am running off from the ball, in enlarging too much on the topics I hastily glanced at with the Duke de Sotomayor, as we stood chatting together on the spot where I encountered him. In parting, he was kind enough to invite me to visit him at the Embassy, where I promise myself another interesting conversation on Spanish affairs. I passed leisurely along in the direction of some delightful music, which ever and anon, rose in melodious echoes above the buzz and murmur about me, from a brilliantly lighted room. I perceived in the distance, as I was throwing my eyes about from right to left, for numbers of beautiful and charmingly dressed women lined both sides of the way, I was struck with the noble beauty, and exquisite

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toilette of a splendid looking woman, whose head was turned from me, but whose tournure was so *distingué* that I made a full stop to contemplate her. She seemed to be the centre of a fine group of ladies, whose manner had a subdued and respectful air, as though they were the personal friends or attendants of some great princess or other; and, of a truth, quoth I, as I continued my steady gaze of admiration, she is lovely enough to be everything my fancy could invent. I was just about looking round for some acquaintance to tell me who was the transcendant object of my wonderment, when her face turned round in my direction, and, to my surprise and delight, I recognized the beautiful Princess Demidoff, the cousin of the President. It was odd enough that she should turn out to be just the person I was thinking she was worthy to represent. And there she was, in fact, with her little court about her, doing the honors of the fete, and I observed that all who passed, bowed lowly in deference to her position. It was two years since I had seen her, and I hesitated to approach her, thinking it quite likely, in spite of my *amour-propre*, that I had passed completely from her memory. Besides, the new addition to her rank as a near relative to the head of the state, demanded corresponding reserve on my part, and I prepared to salute her, merely, as I went by, scarcely hoping to be recognized. As I bowed, she uttered an exclamation of surprise, and extended her hand with all her former cordiality. "Pray, when did you arrive?" she asked—"I have heard of your being in France." I satisfied her inquiries on this point, and then hastened to congratulate her on the rapid fulfilment of all my former predictions. "Yes, you were perfectly right on all, I confess," returned the Princess Mathilde; "but who could have thought it. I ought not to neglect, however," she continued, "to return you my thanks for the flattering mention you made of me in the account of your last visit to Paris, though," she said, smiling archly, "it was not exactly what was agreed on." I acknowledged my offence of *lise-majeste*, and receiving a gracious nod of absolution, I withdrew. This remark had reference to an apprehension once expressed by the Princess, lest I should put her in a book. As I had, then, no intention of the kind, I frankly said so; but in yielding afterwards to the temptation, I sought only to give expression to the respect she inspires in all who approach her, and I was glad to find she appreciated my motives, by affecting no displeasure. It is just like her.

After some tight squeezing, for the crowd seemed to thicken, I effected my *entrée* into the room I had before descried. I discovered it was another, a *salle de bal*, if anything more gorgeous than the one I had lately left. It was ornamented in festoons of yellow silk, and glittering in the dazzling light of innumerable chandeliers. At the lower end of this immense hall was another monster orchestra, which steeped the senses in a swelling ocean of melody. Along the sides were benches, covered with velvet, terraced one above the other, and crowded with beauty, rank and splendor. It was a fairy scene that entranced my senses, and I stood in mute delight, with my gaze wandering enchanted from one to the other of these various fascinations. Having surfeited my sight with a long and steady survey of the general features I have mentioned, I turned to inspect more in detail the objects about me. I discovered, with a start, that I was just in the neighborhood of the President, who amused himself with walking about the rooms in his character of host, encountering and chatting

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familiarly with his friends and guests that he knew. At the moment I espied him, his back was partly turned, so I had a good opportunity of regarding him. Notwithstanding all the tremendous fatigue he had undergone since I saw him last, he looked well; no thinner, but somewhat paler. The expression of his face was the same—grave, pensive, almost sad. I thought of the expression applied by a friend of mine, O'Gorman, the Irish refugee, who, speaking of this dejected cast of countenance, said, "he looked like a doomed man." The manner of Prince Louis was in nowise changed—always easy, calm and reserved; if anything, there was a little more formality in his style, which was necessary to the extraordinary change in his position. At the instant I observed him, he was talking to a man, who, of all others, I little dreamt of ever seeing in his palace; a man who, not content with merely opposing his election to the presidency, but who, in the zeal of his opposition, indulged in personal reflection, the most violent, against him; a man, in fact, who so erred in his judgment, as not only to resist the pretensions of the nephew, but strove to denounce the claims of the great emperor himself to the good will of France. I speak of Lamartine. And here, in spite of all his fury and abuse, stood the illustrious orator, face to face with the object of his eloquent diatribes, both quietly discussing, I inferred from the extreme calmness of their demeanors, the inexhaustible topic of the state of the weather. I am free from blaming Lamartine for assailing Louis Napoleon's aspirations to sovereign power—his opinions he had an undoubted right to express—but it does seem somewhat strange to find him so soon after on terms of perfect brotherhood. Whence comes this change? Has Louis Napoleon turned out a politician more in harmony with his own views than he looked for? What is the meaning of all this? What, really, are the views, then, of Lamartine? What the views of Louis Napoleon? Perhaps, after all, I said to myself, I am making a mountain of a mole-hill. For there is one thing I ought to recollect, that a French statesman, be his opinions what they may, would rather any time confiscate or suppress them, than give up his privilege to bask in the sunshine of power. Louis Philippe bought and sold the whole batch of public men of his day, one after the other, who could not for their lives, nay, for their principles, which *ought* to be worth ten times more, resist the fascination of going to his palace, eating his dinners, and meandering through his ball-rooms. It means one thing or the other,—Lamartine's presence at the *Elysée National*,—that he could not resist the luxury, the honor of frequenting the palace of the temporary sovereign of the state, or that there is discovered to be identity of principle unthought of between them. Is it aristocratic or democratic sympathy? is it progress or reaction that brings together the prince and the politician?

Whether I should ever have answered to my own satisfaction these hasty questions, gracious knows; but questions and answers were suddenly scattered forever by a delicious thump I got from a lovely creature, with a fine round person and roguish eyes, who, whirling with steamboat rapidity in a waltz just began, came in the course of rotation plump against me, and nearly destroyed my perpendicular. Recovering my gravity and my hat, which I dropped in the shock, I got out of the line of dance, and pushed onward, without stopping to speak to the President, whom I thought it would be indecorous to approach, whilst in conversation with so distinguished a person. I got to nearly the other end of the

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hall, when I had the good fortune to encounter our estimable minister, Mr. Rush, who was there, of course, in his official dress, with his amiable and much admired daughters. I paid them my respects, and was just thinking of a quadrille, when the minister asked if I had presented myself yet to my former friend, the President of the Republic?

"No," I answered, "and for this reason: I only met him this moment, and he was then engaged in conversation. Besides, I have just been thinking that it would be in better taste if I were to approach him under your honored auspices. I knew him, and intimately, as you are aware, in exile; but his is at present so different a position, that I feel that our former personal relations must be greatly modified. It is painful enough, this reflection, but am I not right?"

"Entirely so, my dear sir," said Mr. Rush; "and though it was not for any one to make you this suggestion, I am glad, indeed, that your own good sense has arrived at it of itself. The exiled and friendless prince, whose friendship you sought, when there were few to court it, and whose regard you merited by your efforts to serve him, is now at the head of one of the greatest nations of the world, and to say no more, his time is no longer at his disposal. Absorbed, as I know he is, by grave concerns of state, he must sacrifice all other considerations to high and responsible duties. But, still, he is not the man I take him for, if he does not show himself fully alive to the old ties that once connected you."

"Your remarks all strike me as exceedingly just," I replied; "but, to confess the truth, *ab imo pectore*, I fear that there are other reasons that would, were the private dispositions of the prince entirely unchanged, still prevent the resumption of our old acquaintance."

"Ah, indeed," said the minister, looking anxious; "and what are they?"

"Why, the great probability that our political views are no longer the same. The prince and I both agreed enthusiastically, I remember, in condemning the retrograde policy of Louis Philippe, and our ideas of the future, also, harmonized very nearly. But now he is in a position where the light falls on the same objects very differently; and even were his vision strong enough still to pierce through to the truth, yet he will have those about him that will persuade him that black is white, until he begins to doubt his own senses. I regard France from the same point I did when we were friends together, and of course my sentiments are the same. Whether I should be equally inflexible were similar temptations to assail me as now surround the President of the Republic, heaven only knows. I trust only, in such a case, that the love of my fellow-men would predominate over the love of myself—a very rare case indeed."

Whilst I was making these off-hand remarks, I could not help observing the singular play of the minister's countenance. He listened attentively, with his habitual courtesy, to every word I said; and he gave me, I saw it clearly, credit for my sincerity, and respect for my opinions. But his features kept working, and a smile I would give the world to describe, flickered over them the whole time. It was a smile such only as a diplomatist, a politician, and a man of the world could smile. It seemed to express pity for my enthusiasm, doubt of its object, distrust of its utility.

Without laying aside his smile, Mr. Rush, in his good-natured way, went on to reply. "Why, yes, there is something in what you say.

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People in power are often obliged to take different conclusions to those formed out of it. The President may be obliged to act according to circumstances that you do not admit the force of. He is in a situation of great difficulty, that requires much caution, that demands exceeding care and moderation. If you or I were similarly placed, we might act in a similar way ——"

"Or we might not, Mr. Rush," I insinuated. Again the minister smiled—it was the *same* smile.

"True, perfectly true," he said; "there's no denying that. We might act like him, or we might not. Nobody can tell how they will act, and people often act so differently from what they intended. But what do you say to going and paying your respects to your host, his Excellency, the President?"

"It would give me great pleasure to do so, and I shall only be too proud to approach him under your escort."

"*Volontiers*," said Mr. Rush, and we set off together. It was really no small task that we undertook to make our way to some indefinite point through the vast crowd that thronged the noble suite of saloons we severally traversed. The Palace of the Elyseé is evidently too small to contain the "troops of friends" that now pressed forward to the side of the new-made President. If a republican sovereign is allowed to give balls at all, I really see no reason why he should not be furnished with the best accommodation at the service of the state for that purpose. Queen Victoria, at the beginning of her reign, if I recollect aright, used, though living in Buckingham Palace, to give her balls and levees in St. James's Palace, simply because the size and arrangements of the latter were more convenient for these purposes. To digress for a moment. Speaking of balls and Queen Victoria put me in mind of a splendid fete given to her on the night she reached her majority, 1837, by King William, her uncle, then reigning. The circumstances were peculiar. It was on this night she became eligible to the throne; and, strange to say, but a day or two previous, the good old king fell seriously ill. The Princess Victoria insisted on postponing the ball; but no, the king decided it should go on. In the throne-room, where the Princess danced, were the two great chairs of state, hitherto occupied by the king and queen, but now, for the first time empty, in consequence of the illness of the sovereign. There was one thought only uppermost in the minds of all there—will the king recover? or is the young and beautiful princess, yonder, destined at the very moment the law allows, to mount yon throne, and fill that vacant chair of sovereignty? This natural reflection pre-occupied every one, and frequently was whispered one to another. It could not but have occurred to the Princess herself, for her cheek was flushed, and her manner full of suppressed emotion. I shall never forget the interest I regarded her with on this eventful night that she came of age. Before the flowers were faded which garnished this royal gala, and ere the sounds of graceful revelry had well died away, the poor king was in his grave, and the timid, blushing princess was summoned to imperial sway. But to return to the ball of Louis Napoleon. We had a good long *pull* of it, Mr. Rush and I; and no other word could better express the way we got along through the dense mass of embroidered coats and sparkling jewelry. We began to think, at last, of giving up our search, for we had with wonderful perseverance made good our way through two-thirds of the whole palace, and

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I was just going to beg a halt, overcome with the heat and beautiful faces around me, when I heard the minister exclaim, "Ah, there he is—the President!" And there he was, sure enough, standing by a huge vase of porphyry, which served as a protection, a sort of abutment, against the pressure of the tremendous crowd that eddied and flowed back and forward around and about him. I saw at once that there was no chance of conversation; and another obstacle, had I had any such intention, still more formidable than the crowd, was a certain ambassador standing close alongside of him, ever and anon dropping a remark in his ear, and praising, of course, any word that was said to him. "Will you have the kindness," I said to the minister, "to ask the President's permission to present me?" "Certainly," he replied, "if you think that necessary." Mr. Rush advanced to the prince, who had not yet perceived me, and bowing, addressed him. I saw at once an expression of great surprise, and, I may venture to say, of pleasure, animated his features; and, looking up, he caught sight of me. I approached, and he advanced, extending his hand with the same frank cordiality that characterized him of old. He expressed naturally the greatest astonishment to see me in Paris; and I informed him of my recent arrival, and of the amiable interference of his cousin, which had procured me the pleasure of being one of his guests that night. He replied with great amiability, and remarked on my extraordinary flight across the Atlantic, that I treated it with less deference than most people did the English Channel. During our brief interview I observed a singular transition in the manner of the President, which struck me favorably. In the first moments of our meeting, taken unawares, he exhibited a warmth and familiarity which greatly flattered me, but excited the curiosity of those around. The ambassador at his side, aforesaid, looked a good deal puzzled to know who was the stranger, and the presence of the American minister only added to his perplexity. My own manner, though not restrained, was yet more reserved and formal than of old; for I no longer recognised the prisoner of Ham in the powerful President of the French Republic, decorated with his stars and grand cordon, and surrounded by his officers of ordinance. Of a sudden the prince seemed to recollect also his change of position, for he drew up, and put on a manner that was more official, and which, without being haughty, was less encouraging. Both ambassadors noticed this, and Lord Normanby, always at his elbow, for it was no other than the celebrated English envoy I have alluded to, seemed better satisfied; for he evidently thought it odd that anybody, however insignificant, under the escort of the *American* minister, should be received by Republican France with especial favor. It may seem unlikely and even absurd, to be accusing England of jealousy of American influence in small matters, as well as greater; and it may be further supposed, that to give myself a false importance, I am filling up my picture with details that I owe to my fancy. But it is strictly true, nevertheless, that the presence of Mr. Rush at this little scene, did attract attention; and I think abundant evidence, besides mine, might be furnished, that, not only in France but elsewhere, the English aristocracy are hostile to American pretensions, and seek to resist or undermine our influence, wherever it is likely to be established. All of which is very foolish and highly improper, and may, some day or other—who can tell how soon?—lead to serious trouble, when England will suffer more than we shall. On this point, an excellent saying of

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Washington Irving's occurs to me. I remember, in the summer of 1845, meeting this distinguished man in Paris, *en congé* from his post at Madrid. The subject of Texas annexation was discussed with great warmth in the journals and saloons of Paris. All Americans, of course, took a lively interest in the topic; for the monarchical party of Europe, with France and Guizot, and with England and her oligarchy at the head, were resolved to oppose and prevent it. I conversed with Mr. Irving on this coalition against us, and I have not yet forgotten the eloquent terms in which he gave expression to his patriotic indignation thereat. I had heard that he was not a good talker, but on this occasion his language rushed out with the impetuosity of foaming lava. He related that he had lately exchanged opinions, on this Texas question, with Sir Henry Bulwer, then English minister, I think, in Spain, but also in Paris at that moment. England was, just then, doing her best, in an underhand way, to prevent, by every means, Texas falling into our hands; and the two rival ministers, English and American, had, therefore, plenty to say when they met, one night, at a French dinner party, by chance. What remark Mr. Bulwer made to provoke this reply, I don't know; but Mr. Irving answered him—"I will admit, Mr. Bulwer, that, in case of a war between us, England, from her better preparation, would, in the beginning, *break our head;* but you may depend on it, in the end, the United States would *break her back.*" But I will never finish with the President's ball, if I go on digressing in this unconscionable way. On leaving the prince, Mr. Rush hastened back to join his family, and I set off "on my own hook," as the Bowery b'hoys say, to see what was to be seen. I had not gone twenty paces, before my glance lit upon one of the most interesting ladies in all France and Navarre, though belonging, by birth, to neither. She is well-known to all the reading world, by her romantic association with the most brilliant name in modern literature. Who has not heard of the celebrated Countess Guiccioli, the only woman that Byron ever passionately loved. The devotion of a man of his genius is alone a sufficient test of her merit. In one respect, but not the only one, she is undoubtedly the most remarkable woman in Europe. Her age—it is profanity, I know it, to apply this horrid standard to a lovely woman; but Moore, the biographer-poet, has been guilty of the most unpardonable indelicacy in this respect, as regards the Countess. Her age, therefore, everybody knows; but how much beyond forty she may be, I shall not endeavor to recollect: yet who, to look at her, could imagine it? Observe her, reader; there she stands by yon *buffet*, in lively conversation with the Prince de la Moskowa. Did you ever in your life, at any age, see finer hair? Neither the ravings of poets, nor the lustrous tints of Titian, could ever make me like what are commonly called "golden locks;" but the soft radiance of those charming curls, nestling, as it were, in the finest bust in Europe, convicted me some years ago, and would have transported even sterner stuff than I am made of. Remark her face—how young, and gay, and happy it looks; none of the seriousness of a woman who had once loved so deeply, and not a shadow from the footprint of time. Her features, how perfectly regular; and her teeth, could anything be whiter? and not one of them missing. Recollect she is forty, every day of it. Her figure—that is the only defective part;—it is rather undersized, and a *little* stout. But were it ten times shorter and stouter, it would be redeemed a thousand times by her magnificent shoulders, which

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were never rounder, smoother, or more dazzling, than at the very moment I was regarding her. She is a marvel, the Countess of Guiccioli that was, the Marchioness De Boissy that is; for, a couple of years ago, she married the celebrated marquis of that name, one of the cleverest and richest noblemen of France.

But beside the *agremens* of her person, she has other charms still more valuable. Two prominent traits have always won me to her side Great amiability, slightly tinged with pride, which is charming in a woman, as it is detestable in a man; and amazing force of intellect. In this respect she has astonished me over and over again. I have coped with her on all subjects—literature, politics, philosophy, poetry and the arts—in all she displayed, not merely erudition, but the nicest judgment and the most correct taste. She is a marvel, I repeat it; and Byron couldn't help it, I am sure, when he fell, head over heels, in love with her. And what a morsel of transcendant beauty she must have been at sixteen years of age, when first they met. I have a great notion to relate that *first meeting*. It has never been told, that I know of. I have it from the *best authority*. Here goes for another digression—a short one. The Countess of Guiccioli quit the convent where she was educated at "sweet fifteen," and was bid to marry the old count of that name. She obeyed her parents—(what a cruel sacrifice!) married, and not long afterwards, came to Venice to pass a few months of gayety. At the elegant house of the celebrated Countess ——, I forget her name—vide Moore—the young and timid countess met Lord Byron for the first time. He was pointed out to her as the great poetic wonder of the day, and she to him as the greatest beauty of Venice. They were presented—gazed at each other for a moment—exchanged a few indifferent words, then turned their respective heads in opposite directions, and took no further notice of each other, though they frequently met in many places after that. How strange this mutual indifference at first sight! But it was not intended they should dodge their destiny in that way; for, a year after that, the countess came again to Venice, from one of her country estates, where she préferred passing the greater part of the year. The night of her arrival she was excessively fatigued, and desired to go to bed immediately. But her obstinate old husband—it was his own fault—insisted that she should accompany him to the opera, if only for a few moments. She refused positively; but what can a poor wife do, when a crotchetty husband *will* have his way? She went to the opera, not exactly in the humor for enjoying Rossini At length it was over, and she was rejoicing to go home, when the Count Guiccioli—blind instrument of fate—begged her only to accompany him for a few minutes to the *conversazione* of the celebrated Countess ——, I couldn't think of it before. The young bride again resisted and remonstrated, but in vain; she had to go to the *soiree*, after the opera in question; but it was solemnly compacted between the parties that their stay should not exceed half an hour, at farthest. Soon after they entered the room, she was remarked by Lord Byron, who was there again; and soon after he came up, with the lady of the house, and renewed his former acquaintance. The countess was a year older, and handsomer. Still the conversation flagged, till, by some chance—it was cupid's work—Byron let drop a remark about *Dante*. This drew a response from the imaginative girl, so full of passionate enthusiasm for her native bard, that Byron was startled. He began to talk of Italian poetry, and he soon

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found that his every word touched a chord that vibrated to the inmost recesses of the fair creature's heart, who sat transfixed with rapture at his eloquent and inspired accents. The half hour agreed on soon passed, and several more fled after it. The old count now begged and entreated, in his turn; but his lovely wife seemed to have lost her senses. She paid him no heed, but sat there motionless, fascinated, and entranced. Who could have escaped? Think of it. The subject *Dante*, and the orator *Byron*. That night was the most eventful of her life. The shaft was flown, her heart was pierced through and through; and from that time forward, the enthusiastic countess never refused again to go to the *soirees* of the celebrated Countess of—what do you call it?

But to come back once more to the President's ball, that I shan't leave again till I go out of the front door. As I have been talking so much about this charming woman, suppose we go and talk a little to her. "*Bon soir, Madame la Marquise*," I said, just as if I had left her the night before.

"*Mon dieu!*" she exclaimed, looking at me in great wonder, "is it you, or a ghost?"

"Only flesh and blood, I assure you, Marquise; so don't be alarmed."

"Yes, and rather more of it, for you have grown stouter, I see. But where in the world did you come from?"

"Pray give me your arm, as everybody is going to supper, and I will tell you."

"*Enchante*," said the amiable Marquise, and very proud of my trophy, I marched off with her to the banqueting-hall. As we slowly floated along with the strong and steady tide now running supperwards, I explained to her my recent arrival, and the multifarious occupations that had prevented my calling. I congratulated her on her brilliant marriage, and she replied with great warmth on a theme that I saw was near her heart. She said she was "perfectly happy."

"Then, I will remind you that I was always a partizan for your second marriage, for the too vivid recollection of your first misfortune was the cause, I know it, of your repelling, I don't know how many tempting matches; and you see how groundless were all your apprehensions."

"Yes, I remember perfectly well all you used to say; but accustomed for a long while to perfect independence, I feared to put on trammels again. But the Marquis is a man of ten thousand."

Our conversation continued to run on in this easy, familiar way, till we reached the great stair-case leading to the supper-saloon above. The effect of this was so charming that I did nothing but express my admiration. Both sides of this splendid flight was lined with the richest and rarest flowers. Magnificent mirrors reflected in every direction the brilliant toilettes of the flittering throng that flowed incessantly along. Enlivening strains of the finest martial music from various military bands, filled the vaults above with stirring echoes. A Mahomedan might have thought himself on the road to paradise going up this luxurious ascent —for there was everything to pamper the sense and kindle the imagination. We landed in a noble vestibule, charmingly decorated for the occasion, from whence spacious doors opened to the right and left, and crossing which, we entered the first of these vast saloons, where was spread out a repast that, for delicacy, profusion and luxury, I have never seen anywhere surpassed. The novelty of the arrangement delighted

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everybody. Instead of one great, interminable table, running with railroad stiffness through one room and round another, there was scattered about, with graceful regularity, numberless small, round tables, accommodating eight persons each, brilliantly lighted with gilt candelabra, and separately served by a distinct corps of waiters, in full dress. Taking my seat in front of a *pate de foie gras*, that was of itself a source of inspiration, and with my charming and distinguished companion on my right, with the buzz of animated conversation in my ears, mingling with the distant murmurs of music, lovely faces, and sparkling eyes all round, delicious toilettes, and gorgeous uniforms, great warriors, and statesmen everywhere in view, with all that was remarkable in rank and service, in art and science, from all parts of Europe. Yes, it was a *tableau vivant* enough to intoxicate the senses, and I gave myself up to one of those moments of supreme beatitude that come but rarely in life, and, happily, last but a moment, else the test of it would be entirely insupportable. I may be set down as sensual, and worldly, and gracious knows what else, for being thrown into an *extase* from so vulgar a source as an Arabian night supper; but whilst I am as easily kindled as another by an Italian or American sun-set, or so completely subdued as another by a soft scene of moonlight, bathing in its transparent beams some peaceful valley in the bosom of the Tyrol, or anywhere else, yet I never omit going off in a rapture whenever I get a fair chance; and it is open to discussion whether this was not as strong a temptation as could be set before a man rather poetically disposed. It was over, my supper and my trance, and I was just getting up to follow the *Marquise* back to the ball-room below, when we were both stopped by an old acquaintance we were mutually delighted to meet.

"*Corpo di Baccho,*" said Count D'Orsay, who had his sister, the Duchess of Grammont, on his arm; "you are the last man I expected to see here to-night."

"Ditto, Count, to you; I had no idea of your being in Paris, though both of us have additional reasons for coming now."

"*N'est pas.* Well, I must do you justice; your predictions have been realized in the most astonishing way. Who could have expected it? No story of romance is half so strange as all that has happened since you left London last."

"It is marvellous, sure enough; and I am as much astonished as anybody at the rapid fulfilment of my own prophecies, which has happened ere this to greater prophets. We parted last, two years ago, do you remember, Count, at the Prince's table, in London, and here we meet again at the Prince's table, in Paris, he, meanwhile, transformed by some slight-of-hand of providence, from a poor exile into a powerful monarch, albeit for four years only. Let us drink a glass of champagne to his republican highness."

"With all my heart," responded the brilliant D'Orsay, who still looked the noblest cavalier of all the feast.

By this time the ladies had finished their short chat, and taking once more the arm of the Marquise, I escorted her down to the saloons below, and there left her, surrounded by a group of admirers.

I wandered off once more in a roving spirit of adventure, encountering friends and acquaintances, right and left, for all that Paris comprised of rank and distinction seemed to be there. The night wore gently

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away, amid these endless enchantments; but so gaily was I occupied, now with walking, then talking, some dancing, and a great deal of looking, that I forgot clocks, beds, fatigue and sleep, having made up my mind "not to go home till morning." I have not related one-half of the pleasant incidents of this delightful fete, but, likely, more than enough to have worn out the patience of the reader. But for this apprehension I should have something to say of really one of the greatest men in France, *De Tocqueville*, whom I chanced upon in this merry conclave. I entertain the profoundest respect for this remarkable thinker, who has produced by far the greatest book of the century. His work on the United States, on our political institutions, and their effects on our social state, is the ablest, truest, fairest disquisition ever written by philosopher or publicist, in any age of the world. Nothing that Plato, Cicero, Montesquieu, or Bentham, ever thought or said, approach it. To be sure, they for the most part dealt in idealities, whereas, De Tocqueville had a political *chef d'œuvre* to handle, such as could not fail to inspire genius like his. His vast, eternal merit is, that he was true to the great work he undertook, and he has written that which neither the follies of democracy, nor all the subtlety or force of monarchy, will ever falsify or overthrow. When my glimpse fell on him at the ball, he was engaged in conversation, and I had time to perceive that his person had grown thinner with labor, and his usually grave face seemed to wear a deeper shade of gloom, as if the times he was living in inspired doubt and dread. I approached and addressed him. He received me with habitual urbanity, asking the date of my arrival, and after the health of mutual friends in America.

"We read there with deep interest, Mons. de Tocqueville," I continued, "your remarkable speech, a little over a year ago, when you cried *gare aux revolutions*.

"Ah," he said, with a sigh, "you see my warning had no effect. The monarchy rushed headlong to perdition, and like a modern Cassandra, I could only moralize upon what I had in vain foretold."

I am reluctant to quote any further his remarks, for his position in the political world is too prominent, and the events of the day are too grave, to allow me to take liberties with his casual conversation. He was kind enough to press me to come and see him on parting, and I shall, therefore, have more to say about this eminent man.

It was near four o'clock, and yet the lights were dimless, the gayety undiminished, and the dancers and fluters as fresh and indefatigable as at the beginning. It cost me an effort; but casting a long and lingering look behind, I turned my head, clapped on my hat, as I descended the carpeted stairs without, and drove home from the President's Ball; and I can hardly help wishing, like John Gilpin of yore, that on another such occasion, "may I be there to see."

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FLOGGING IN THE NAVY.

Part III.—Substitutes Discussed.

It is now proper to reply to those bold, but doubtless sincere advocates of corporal punishment, who aver that flogging is the only way to enforce a wholesome discipline in the navy, and that no change in the present regulations and laws would be prudent, because of the peculiar condition of things on board ships of war at sea. In doing so, an outline of substitutes will be presented, together with some remarks thereupon, leaving for the next part, the minuter details of our views respecting the duty of government to the American seaman.

Should the object of inflicting torture upon sailors be to reform them, the first inquiry naturally suggested, is thus expressed by De Tocqueville: "If this pain be ignominious, does it not go directly against the end which we propose to obtain, viz., to awaken the morality of an individual fallen in his own opinion?" Our sentiments upon this point have already appeared; but if we thought that the prospect of reforming criminals by the lash was ever so promising, with Senator Benton we question if it is worth while to make officers of the navy the instruments or agents to correct the incorrigible part of mankind. But, in truth, the only proper or legitimate object of corporal punishment in the navy, is to exact obedience to lawful orders, that certain duties may be performed. Is this object best obtained by inflicting torture upon the body? Or, we may put the significant question of the Hon. Edward Livingston, "whether a man would relish labor better by being constrained by stripes?" The discussion of this abstraction would be unprofitable, for it is insisted that the lash is inflicted on few. Although this is not, and cannot be the case, as long as the present law remains unaltered, for reasons which have already been adverted to, yet it is true that those who, under a different system, would merit flogging, are comparatively few in number—and these few are usually worthless to the government, with or without the lash. It seems, therefore, that a relic of barbarity, liable to the grossest abuse under the existing laws, is adhered to, and a serious harm inflicted upon the character of the service in the eyes of the community, on account of a few worthless individuals, whom a ship's company had better spare. Their being worthless, however, is no reason that they should endure bodily anguish; for the guilty are almost always the first to suffer those hardships, which are afterwards used as precedents for oppressing the innocent.*

To decide, with a correct and unbiassed judgment, respecting the propriety and feasibility of a different policy for the disciplinary powers now arbitrarily exercised "according to law," the mind of the non-professional inquirer should be disabused of the idea of mystery connected

* Macauley.

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with everything about ships and sailors. The public generally see little of ships; and what they know personally of sailors, is derived from observations of them in a crowded thoroughfare, or from the wharves of a commercial city. Their relations to officers are different; for few persons have opportunities of social intercourse more extensively or advantageously than navy officers. As regards the internal police and economy of a ship, the public ordinarily go no further than to hear the uncouth language used on board, in order to believe those who tell them that fundamental principles, which have a universal application to every variety of the human species on *terra firma*, will not answer for the peopled deck. The degraded seaman is hence looked upon as an exception to the rest of humanity, whose management is only understood by his officers. To the officers, in their turn, is accorded a prescriptive infallibility; judgment that never errs; passions which are never excited unduly; knowledge that is never at fault; fitting repositories of legislative, judicial, and executive functions, or rather of an unbridled despotism. These views are warranted by neither reasons nor facts. The ready tact and the confident bearing necessary to make a useful sailor, require time and practice; but the theory of the seaman's duty, and the daily routine of the officers, are of the simplest nature. Hence the propriety of a reform in marine police, so as to assimilate its principles to the civilization of the age, may be measured by the same rules of common sense, that are applicable to the control of masses of men in any employment on land. Judged by such a standard, it will be found that no more reason exists why the lash should be applied to the back of the American seaman, than to the back of any other American laborer. In doing so, we degrade him below other laborers, and inflict an injury upon the character of our republican institutions and the true interests of the country.

Our legislation, heretofore following blindfoldedly after the aristocratic precedents of the English, appears to have been conducted with the idea that the elevation of the seaman would induce him to forget the hardships of the sea for the superior advantages offered by employment on land; that, therefore, he should be flogged, plied with liquor, and kept in a state of degradation. This notion, which is known to have an actual existence in the minds of some, is as false as it is wicked. There can never be wanting those who will prefer a sea life to any other, if sailors are defended from injustice by the ægis of the laws. A popular writer (Dana) truly remarks, "that there is a witchery in the sea, its songs and stories, and in the mere sight of a ship, and the sailor's dress, especially to young minds, which has done more to man navies, and fill merchantmen, than all the press-gangs of Europe." What sailors require is to have public sympathy so manifested, that our laws relating to them may be *republicanized*. Those who look for the reformation of this important class, by the sole means of Bethels and Sailor's Homes, without a disposition to interfere with the laws which sanction his daily debasement, exhibit more faith than knowledge.

Such a plan as that which we shall proceed to indicate, it is confidently assumed, if fairly instituted, and afterwards carried out in good faith, will not only render the abolition of corporal punishment a perfectly safe measure, but greatly improve the discipline and efficiency of the service. Superiority is not arrogated for this plan over any other that may be pro-

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posed, but only that it furnishes a better system than that of the act of 1800. One of the worst features of that act, as a code, is, that it furnishes no system at all. Everything is left to the customs of the sea service, or in other words, to the dictatorial authority of one man. As captains differ in their character and views, so ships differ in the nature and quality of their discipline. The necessary result is sure to follow,—that while some ships will honor, others will disgrace their country. If, with a defined system, one ship was in bad discipline and another in good, it would soon be traced to the true cause, viz., that the captain of the former was not "born to command."* The qualifications for command are not such as are possessed indiscriminately by all; and it must happen, as officers are now appointed and promoted, that the register will contain the names of some who are not retained upon it either for any actual merit they now possess, or past service they may have rendered. A judiciously regulated system would discover who these were, and enable the government to do itself justice, and reward those who are best qualified to promote its interests, before the infirmities of age render them inefficient.

We have not deemed it compatible with the design of this paper, to enter upon certain subjects which are of no small importance in procuring and keeping in the navy a competent corps of seamen, and in advancing the character and respectability of American seamen generally. The first is, an apprentice system, on such a basis, that not only the future supply of seamen may be had from that source, to a great extent, but officers also. It would, however, be premature and injudicious to attempt it until the present demoralizing influences on board-ship are removed. The late abortive trial proved the pernicious effects and ruinous consequences of those influences. Another subject referred to, is the prospect of promotion to be held out for meritorious conduct, and professional improvement held out to young, intelligent and upright persons—whether sea-faring or landsmen, by going into the navy. The advantages in the power of government to offer her own employment to those who will devote their lives to the service, as privates, cannot be sufficient, in any plan of organization, to satisfy many young men whose predilections for sea-life will be gratified in some way. But if the situation of the private was such when on board ship, that a proud man could maintain his self-respect, and at the same time facilities were offered to all those who might choose to avail themselves of them, to improve their minds in such subjects as would fit them for command in merchantmen, the navy would be made the honorable avenue to official position in a kindred service. This would involve the necessity of having a competent instructor in every ship. A "naval fund," on a footing that will hereafter appear, will pay all the expenses of such instructors. Thus the navy would be made the steady friend of the mercantile marine, and supply her with the best description of force, instead of standing in the way of her interests,

* On the importance of system, Capt Basil Hall remarks: "there is no man more docile than Jack, I might say no child; but then the hand that guides him must be tempered by discretion, by kindness, and above all, by uniformity, or as it is called afloat, by system. There may be bad systems as well as good ones, but I am half inclined to say that even the worst system, if strictly adhered to, is better than the wretched uncertainty of purpose which clings to ill regulated and vacillating discipline, though every single act may be dictated by good will, and the sincerest wish to do right."

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by reducing the supply in times of necessity. Omitting such points for the present, these remarks will be chiefly confined to a few heads of a plain, practical plan, to serve as a substitute for the existing system—rather to show the practicability of a substitute, than to insist upon the peculiar excellence of this, except over the present, or any other which degrades and demoralizes. The following propositions embrace the principal features. Details will follow in part fourth.

Proposition First.—The unqualified exclusion of all spirituous liquors from on board national vessels, except for medicinal purposes. The addition of the amount of commutation of the spirit part of the navy ration to the pay of privates.

Proposition Second.—The privilege of going on shore (on "liberty," as it is termed by sailors) as often as is consistent with the duty upon which the ship is engaged, guaranteed to those who have not forfeited it. For bad conduct, this privilege to be withheld for a length of time proportionate to the degree of offence: for good conduct, to be extended.

Proposition Third.—The classification of privates into three grades, according to conduct, assigning to the first, or most meritorious grade, certain pecuniary advantages, and extra privileges. The lowest grade to be that of "prisoners at large," imposed for disgraceful acts by sentence of a general court martial, in cases where dismissal is deemed inexpedient. The third class subject to the treatment of prisoners or convicts.

Proposition Fourth.—A conduct roll to be kept for the purpose of recording delinquencies which do not call for severe punishment, by marks of demerit, graded according to a numerical scale. The conduct roll to serve as a basis of classification.

Proposition Fifth.—The institution of ship courts, to be termed Courts of Inquest, corresponding to the regimental courts of the army, to serve as a court of appeal from the decision of the commander in the award of punishment, and to have intermediate jurisdiction over offences punishable by the commander, and over offences justifiable by a court martial.

Proposition Sixth.—Punishments assigned for offences to be—admonition, reprimand, simple arrest, close arrest, fines, reduction, imprisonment, dismissal, cashiering, death.

Minor punishments inflicted by the commander, or court of inquest, and right of appeal in all cases guaranteed.

Proposition Seventh.—The publication of a "Seaman's Register," annually, to contain the names of the privates of the navy, who will be regarded as attached permanently to the navy, and receive a leave of absence pay, if reported on favorably by the commander, on returning from a cruise.

Proposition Eighth.—At all events, repeal the "Act for the better government of the Navy of the United States," approved April 23d, 1800, and institute for the American navy an American law; discard these arbitrary and irresponsible powers, which are the characteristics of an age of aristocratic oppression and tyranny, and adopt a law founded upon the more enlightened spirit of these times, which shall protect all classes in the enjoyment of their rights.

It will be necessary to follow up each of these propositions with a few explanatory remarks:—

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1st. *The Spirit Ration.*—It is important, if not indispensable to the perfect success of the reformed system, that the spirit part of the ration be abolished, and that alcoholic drinks be forbidden to go on board national vessels, except for medicinal purposes. This would be an acceptable measure to a large, and increasing class of officers, under the existing regulations; and, were flogging abolished, the desire would be general.

No one will deny, that drunkenness is not the immediate cause of much of the flogging in the navy. Members of Congress can understand this, but they do not appear to appreciate all the disadvantages and remote evils of the spirit ration. The daily, or rather, thrice daily appearance of the "grog-tub" before the young, has a very pernicious effect. A formal call to grog is made before each meal. All who are entitled to it, proceed to the gangway, where it is "served out," and as their names are called, receive a "tot," as it is termed, (a small cup filled with the spirit) which they drink off with manifest gusto. The boys not being permitted to draw this part of the ration, but being the constant witnesses of this serving out process, acquire a longing desire to participate in what appears to be so highly relished by their seniors. They are thus made drunkards by example. The withdrawal of ardent spirits from the older sailors, would certainly promote temperance among them, for it is evident that three drinks daily must stimulate the desire for freer indulgence when opportunities present themselves.

The fairness or policy of allowing officers to bring liquors on board, and not permit the sailors to drink at all, may well be questioned. Government would pursue the wisest course, and consult its own interests, by keeping so fruitful a source of flogging among sailors, and court martial among officers, out of our national vessels altogether. If the ration was not morally objectionable, the gain of room in the hold of the ship, at present occupied by whiskey-casks, and the greater danger of fire from the exposure of so inflammable a substance, would justify the abolition of a useless luxury.

For eighteen years, persons in the navy have had presented them the option of drawing the spirit part of their ration, or receiving in lieu thereof a certain sum of money. Judge Woodbury deserves the credit of having first authorized this commutation. By his circular of 15th of June, 1831, all who voluntarily relinquished that part of the ration composed of spirits were paid at the rate of six cents per ration. The amount of commutation has since varied considerably. From June, 1831, to August 29th, 1842, it continued at what Judge Woodbury's circular established it, when it was regulated by an act of Congress, which provided, that to every person "who may relinquish the spirit part of the ration, there shall be paid in lieu thereof, the value of the same in money, according to the prices which are or may be established for the same." As the same act reduced the quantity from half a pint to one gill, the value was fixed at only about two cents. The effect of this upon the temperance cause in the navy was reactionary, as might have been expected. This was the amount allowed, until an act approved March 3d, 1847, provided that there shall be allowed three cents per day; and in the naval appropriation bill of August 3d, 1848, it was enacted, "that hereafter the amount of commutation money, allowed by law in lieu of the spirit ration, shall be increased to four cents." At four cents per day, or one dollar and twenty cents per month, it now remains.

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The last clause of the first proposition is to add the amount of the commutation of the spirit part of the ration to the pay of privates. Should the commutation be established at six and a half cents per day, this would amount to about two dollars monthly. A seaman would then receive fourteen dollars with a ration of the best description, and a prospect of higher pay as petty officer, instead of his present pay of twelve dollars and a ration, the spirit part of which he may, if he pleases, commute at one dollar and twenty cents. The amount of this commutation is not likely to enter into his calculations, however, when he balances in his mind the pecuniary advantages of the service. With a specific increase, this would be otherwise. The pay of the private in the navy would then compare favorably with that given in the merchant service; while the inducements to enter the former under the improved treatment bestowed upon them, would weigh the balance decidedly in its favor, and render the service so eagerly sought after, that selections might be made of the best descriptions of sea-faring men.

The law respecting the pay of privates in the navy presents a curious anomaly in our legislation. By act of Congress, approved April 14th, 1814, it is provided, that the pay to be allowed the petty officers and midshipmen, and the pay and bounty upon the enlistment of seamen, ordinary seamen and marines, shall be *fixed by the President of the United States:* provided that the whole sum to be given shall not exceed for any one year the amount which may in such year be appropriated for these purposes respectively." Here the law has remained for thirty-five years, except as regards midshipmen. Inasmuch as the aggregate pay of the various classes of privates exceeds considerably one million of dollars annually, it might be deemed of sufficient importance to merit the especial attention of Congress. We are aware that the objection will be raised, that the wages of seamen vary from month to month according to the demands of business. This may be true to some extent; but there has been no alteration made in the pay of seamen for the navy during this generation, and but slight changes in the pay of any class of privates. It is remarkable, that these changes were mostly confined to those not mentioned in the bill, viz., boys and landsmen. Had the changes in the pay of those grades been required, Congress could as easily have made them as the President of the United States, or rather the Bureau office, who, for the time being, may have had the ear of the Secretary of the Navy.

2d.—*Privilege of going ashore.* This is a more important point than may at first appear. When a sailor signs his name to the shipping articles and goes on board a cruising vessel of war, he has no more right to emerge from those wooden walls for three years, than if, after signing Wm. B. Astor's name to a negotiable note, and being legally sentenced to Sing-Sing for an equal length of time, he would have to step abroad on *liberty.* The principle is not affected by the practice being in most cases different, although in point of fact the restraints imposed upon some crews going on shore amount to a virtual imprisonment for years. Of this difference, the well disposed and decently behaved seaman is aware, and certainly it must go far towards inducing him to prefer a service where he is permitted to take recreation on shore after the labors of the day are ended.

"Liberty," or leave to go on shore, is withheld, chiefly because of the

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fear of desertion. It would be difficult to prove, from the testimony of officers, or otherwise, that more desertions have occurred where this freedom is most freely extended. On this point, Captain Griffiths, R. N., observes: "I have but little doubt but the records of the Navy Office would at once bear out the personal experience, that those ships wherein the greatest portion of leave on shore was given, ever present the smallest list of deserters, perhaps the larger portion of volunteers, reduced punishments, and less sickness." After relating various instances of numerous desertions from ships which could not trust a boat on shore, in contrast with others where no desertions occurred, with frequent temptations in their way, he adds, "the great boon which made this difference was comprised in the talismanic word—Liberty!"

This privilege greatly extended, exerts a happy influence upon the moral conduct of seamen when on shore. Recognizing themselves as worthy of trust by their officers, they will be far less liable to abuse the confidence thus bestowed. In making the continuance and extension of the privilege to depend upon the good conduct when absent, "liberty" would actually promote the cause of temperance, particularly where the habit for indulgence in spirituous liquors was not kept up by the daily ration. To this end the crew should be classified, the best being put upon a footing as regards privilege of leave, with warrant officers, who are permitted to go on shore whenever their duties do not require them to stay aboard.

Nothing indicates more clearly a high capacity for command in an officer than to have a crew to whom he allows constant liberty, in such a state that removes from his mind any apprehension of desertion and disorderly conduct on shore. When a crew is refused liberty month after month for these reasons, it may be safely assumed that a screw is loose somewhere. The apologists for such treatment refer the difficulty to the excessive depravity of the men. But it happens, that while these troubles occur to some every cruise they take, the universal practice of other commanders is to allow their crews the freest scope. Depraved as the crews of the men-of-war are said to be, precedents are to be found of some (recently shipped and in debt for their advance,) being allowed to go on shore every night in quarter watches, and returning in time for their duties the next morning, as respectable mechanics would return to an unfinished job—day after day, no cause of complaint arising.

The expense of a cruise ashore is urged as an objection against allowing men to go too often. This difficulty proceeds from the practice, which has obtained, of so seldom giving liberty. Confined to the artificial existence and annoying discipline of a ship for a year or more, men forget how to exercise any restraint upon their own conduct, when told that for twenty-four hours they are free to do as they please. It becomes the fashion then to make the day so passed one of unrestrained license; and if officers encourage the practice as a good old custom, sailors seem to regard it as scarcely creditable for one of themselves not to take a "regular blow out" on such occasions. Two, three, five, and sometimes as high as ten dollars are given to each "liberty man," but even the largest of these sums is often insufficient to satisfy many of them. Articles of clothing are sold at a great sacrifice to the first sharper in whose hands they may chance to fall; and on returning aboard, they have parted with their jackets and shoes to procure the means of beastly gratifications. Would it be worse to act upon the opposite extreme—to permit men to

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go as often as they could be spared, and to take with them as much money as they called for, if due them? As in every other situation of life, there would be some who would never accumulate a dollar, all their wages being expended as they became due; but, on the contrary, it would promote thrift in others, who might find that the recreation of body and mind, attending a change from ship to shore, could be enjoyed in short visits, which would obviate the necessity of drawing upon the purser for the savings of the proceeds of their industry. Nor would it exercise a less happy influence upon the conduct of sailors when discharged on a ship's return from a cruise. The extravagant and dissipated would then be without the means of vicious indulgence, while the prudent, having acquired a habit of self-restraint, could apply their increased accumulations in a way that might contribute to their future welfare and success in life.

3d.—*Classification.* According to the proposed classification, the crew may be arranged in three portions. The first class, under the designation of "picked men," (or some better name,) will be included, by the court of inquest, on the commander's nomination for deserving conduct. They will be entitled to an honorary badge or distinguishing dress: have the same privilege of liberty as the warrant officers, and when not on duty (returning from a cruise) will receive leave of absence pay.

The second class will consist of the remainder of the crew, generally those whose good conduct may not have entitled them to the honors and advantages of picked men, nor whose bad conduct have brought them to the misfortunes of the next class. They wear the ordinary naval dress, have the privilege of liberty guaranteed to them a certain number of times annually, and when not on duty receive half leave pay, provided they are recommended by their commanders to be retained upon the seaman's register.

The third class are those under temporary sentence of imprisonment for disgraceful conduct, by award of a general court-martial. They wear a perfectly plain dress, without any naval insignia, are forbidden liberty, kept aloof from the crew as far as practicable, and assigned duty under the immediate inspection of the officers. In fine, they are considered, and to be treated as *convicts* in a prison, who have been guilty of crimes demanding for the safety of society a curtailment of their freedom and privileges. *For the more perfect security of good order, moderate corporal chastisement may be inflicted on such convicts, by sentence of a court of inquest, under the same regulations as provided for minor punishments to other classes*, to whom the privilege of appeal is secured, and ample reports required to be made to superior authorities.

After our previous expressions respecting corporal punishment, it may appear incompatible with such views, to present a system which embraces this method of correction. But the cases are not parallel. At present, the law authorizes the flogging of all privates for offences of such general character as to relieve the commander of all responsibility, and take from the sufferer all security. One whose efforts to do right are unceasing, may, by an accident of his own, or by a transient error of another, or even without either, have inflicted on him a punishment the most revolting to a man possessed of due self-respect. But, by the terms of the third proposition, those only who have committed disgraceful acts can be placed in a grade to be subjected to a disgraceful punishment, if the preservation of order demands it. To get into this grade he must be legally

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condemned to it by a grave tribunal, whose forms are too cumbersome to be used for trivialnesses; and when there, it will be his own fault if he is ever flogged, for he is amply protected from its capricious employment. By this plan, then, we feel justified in asserting that it may be adopted with safety. Although the arbitrary exercise of the power to flog sailors is generally reprobated, yet many judicious persons, whose character entitle their opinions to respect, are reluctant to dispense with it altogether, and at once. The compromise we submit removes entirely one grand objection to flogging, viz., its liability to abuse, by which wild and thoughtless men, not disposed to be absolutely vicious, are made so, by being demoralized and brutalized. If a man disgraces himself, and merits disgraceful punishment by the commission of crime, it would be better never to retain him in service after being thus debased. But the condition of things in the navy may sometimes forbid this severance. Policy or necessity may confine to the service men who have lost all title to respect. Let them remain in the capacity of convicts, and treated by the same coercive means as we employ in our penitentiaries, to restrain the unruly and punish the vicious. On conviction, the court-martial may sentence them to the class of prisoners—but even in that class they have their rights. It requires in the state of imprisonment the commission of another crime, and a conviction thereof, on due investigation by a legal tribunal, before the offending convict can be exposed to the ignominy of stripes, That justice shall not be withheld him, not only the report of his punishment but the record of his trial is to be sent to the Navy Department, subject to the call of Congress and the scrutiny of the press.

Corporal punishment under these restrictions would rarely be employed, if authorized. The minor punishments we shall submit would be found sufficient in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred; and in many cases of trials for disgraceful acts, it would be expedient to dismiss the culprit. Especially would this be the case, if the navy were rendered so desirable as to be sought by well-disposed seamen. But, under sentence of imprisonment, it is manifest, that with the checks imposed, the culprit would be far more amply protected from the arbitrary infliction of stripes, than those now in the service with an irreproachable character. If we thought otherwise, the recommendation would not be submitted. The friends of reform should remember, that in abolishing the lash, they are, in a measure, responsible for the discipline of the service, under any substitutes that may be adopted. Let us not push matters to an extreme that hereafter may favor a reaction, for

> "We may outrun
> By violent swiftness, that which we run at,
> And lose by over-running."

By the *compromise* the convict even is exposed to no unnecessary hardships. If his conduct afterwards brings upon him a merited punishment, we have no mawkish sentimentalism for the felon rushing upon his own destruction, and carrying with him the destruction of all order. Hereafter, it will be seen, that inducements to reform are held out to the prisoner, which might exercise a salutary effect. Make dismissal the only severe punishment to be inflicted, and the discontented would be tempted to misbehave in order to procure their discharge.

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4th.—*Conduct Roll.* Demerit marks and conduct rolls will be derided by those who view the sailor's pride and character so contemptuously as to suppose that nothing but the fear of the *cat* will exact his compliance with wholesome regulations. This sentiment is the offspring of the same mistrust that has withheld its confidence from all efforts to elevate the masses in the scale of human civilization, and now beholds with alarm the consequences of universal suffrage amongst us We entertain different views. The effect of the conduct roll *per se* posted up conspicuously, so as to be accessible to all, would operate beneficially upon a ship's company, as experience proves it to have done at the West Point Military Academy, and at other places. Unite it with the system of classification, and let the absence of demerit marks confer a title to a position claiming privileges and increased emoluments, it could not but exercise a most happy influence. The imposition of demerit marks might with propriety be delegated to the watch officers, in the actual discharge of their duties, but open to the revision of the commander on appeal. Greater personal authority to punish, than he can now *lawfully* exercise, might thus with propriety be given the officer of the deck.

5th.—*Ship Courts, or Courts of Inquest.* A legal tribunal, inferior to courts-martial, would be a novel feature in our naval police, never having existed in that of our model—the English—because the jealousy of power inherent to irresponsible authority, prefers the off-hand decision of one man, which happily avoids all the trouble of codes and statutes, commentaries and precedents. Armies recognise them as necessary, and under any just plan of navy organization, they will be found as essential to its success. Three purposes are answered by the proposed courts of inquest:—firstly, the cognizance of such offences as the commander may see proper to refer to them, the nature or degree of which are beneath the jurisdiction of courts-martial:—secondly, as a court of appeal for any offender dissatisfied with the commander's award of punishment:—thirdly, as a board or council, to classify the crew, or rather to select from the crew those who shall occupy the first class, and for other objects hereafter to be mentioned. Faults of discipline, and slight offences, the commander may at his option adjudicate himself, in conformity with a defined penal system, or refer to a court of inquest. An accused person may appeal from the commander's decision to a court of inquest, and from the latter to a court-martial, being held responsible for making good such an appeal, and subject to additional punishment for a vexatious and improper one.

The necessity for an inferior court on board ship has not failed to attract the attention of writers on naval discipline. Respecting them, a distinguished officer of the British service, Captain Sir George Rose Sartorious, in a magazine article designed to point out the best means of making the national service a popular one, in order to promote a quick and efficient manning of the navy, remarks: "With these opinions it may be easily seen, that I am an advocate for inferior courts-martial, composed of the officers of the ship, acting under oath, where all crimes supposed to merit corporal punishment to the extent now permitted to be inflicted by commanders, should be tried; the captain or commander to have the power of mitigating the punishment. It is certain, with such improvements, the navy would become a popular service, and their prison-

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like confinement on board of their ships, and flogging, would become totally unnecessary."

Properly constituted, these courts would not detract an iota from the necessary authority of the captain. No judicious friend of naval reform wishes to derogate from the high standing he should occupy; and it is not doubted that a careful study of the subject will show that a reformed code, founded on principles of right and justice, will greatly strengthen the hands of the commanding officer who respected it.

The ends of justice are supposed to be best guarded when the legislative, executive, and judicial powers are kept as distinct as practicable. But, as the navy is now governed, the commander of a vessel issues his own regulations, (limited by but little than the indefinite articles of war, which can scarcely be called the law,) judges of their application, and directs the punishment of their infraction. This might not work so well if pecuniary mulcts, &c., under a system which protected the one from the illegal and improper use of the other's power, were substituted for the present plan of flogging, which, when a man has once received, he wishes to conceal from all the world.

Nor would a division of justice impair discipline and good order. It is a trite observation, that the certainty rather than the severity of punishment, deters from the commission of crime. The arbitrary power now held by the captain, cannot guarantee the same certainty of justice that would result from a system assimilated to our civil tribunals, unless we accord to him qualities of head and heart that never have been known to exist in individuals on land. He must be removed beyond prejudice or predilection, with passions so nicely balanced, that while on the one hand anger and revenge can never enter into the infliction of punishment, on the other the ends of justice were not to be hazarded by his inclining too far towards the dictates of humanity.

Let a supposed example illustrate the greater certainty of justice being awarded by a ship's court, having rules and regulations, grading officers, and punishments, not according to the customs of the sea service, but as far as practicable, with the same precision as provided by a civil statute. A sailor appears late at muster without a cause, or falls asleep upon his look-out. The penalty for either offence is indicated. The delinquency being reported, the penalty affixed by the law is awarded by the captain; or, if the offender appeals, or the captain prefers it, the name of the offender is recorded for trial. In due season, the case is legally investigated, and the penalty is imposed, if the charge is substantial. How is a case of this kind managed under the present law? Where the colt is used by order of the lieutenant, he directs the punishment, and dismisses the case without much ceremony. Otherwise, where an offender of this description is brought to the captain's attention, he may, if of an easy and irresolute disposition, find a dozen reasons for not flogging him, (particularly now that the subject is so much agitated) so that the offence goes unpunished, to the injury of the discipline of the ship. On the other hand, if the captain should be stern and unbending, scarcely any excuse may be taken or listened to. Substitute other means for stripes, if the arbitrary disposition of the case rested with one man, and the same diversity of action might occur. What one officer would take for an excuse would not be listened to by another. This diversity of action could not prevail, if an organized body investigated the matter deliberately, and dispassion-

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ately decided it according to established laws, and kept a record of its proceedings for future reference.

Some will object to the whole plan of this proposed court—that the preservation of correct discipline will not admit of the delay here required; that on board ship (as if humanity displayed a different *phasis* there) punishment must follow close on the heels of the offence. To prove this, examples will be drawn from imaginary cases, as of a sailor being ordered aloft, and refusing to go from any wilfulness; or even still more extreme examples will be imagined, (which, from the nature of things, will never happen) as of a sailor refusing to obey an officer's orders, to let go a sheet when the ship is struck by a squall, or to regulate the helm according to orders when on a lee shore, or in other extreme peril.

To all this, it may be replied, that under existing circumstances, punishments are often defined, and more frequently for grave, than for trivial offences. The present regulations of the British navy (admiralty instructions) require that twelve hours shall elapse between the inquiry and the punishment. Upon this point, the opinions of the ablest and most experienced of their officers are believed to coincide. Captain Basil Hall, who will not be accused of radicalism, proposes to make it imperative on officers in command, to defer specifying what the amount of any punishment is, until twenty-four hours have elapsed after the offence has been inquired into. He also considers that "great practical advantages would arise from investigating all offences between nine in the morning and noon; the most salutary check upon intemperance of any kind is a night's rest. I could relate," observes Capt. Hall, "many instances of injustice arising from precipitancy in awarding punishments, and of the beneficial effects of systematically deferring to pronounce sentence till the heat of the moment had passed."

If the above considerations be not sufficient, it may be added, that under the contemplated reform, a great improvement in the *personnel* of the navy may reasonably be anticipated. The objections to changes, having for their object an improvement in the treatment of seamen, arise mostly from considerations based upon their present debased state. But even as they are, we find sailors, as a class, cheerful, docile and obedient—disposed to do their duty well, when well treated—being the more attentive to their duties the more humane and rational the treatment they receive. Those forming exceptions to this class, getting into the service, would soon be ascertained and discharged. It may be further responded, that the captain's authority would still be ample to maintain discipline, by summary means, in an emergency; for in the most extravagant of the instances referred to, the offender would be liable to the charge of mutiny, and instantly confined. Or, even in an overt act of rebellion, the law of self-defence is paramount to all others, and any commander would be justified in using it, when other means are inadequate, for the safety of those under his command and protection.

But when a crew is well treated a mutiny is out of the question. Duke de Sully's maxim, that there are no unprovoked revolts, applies more forcibly to mutinies. The existence of a mutinous spirit in a ship (except under certain extraordinary circumstances, such as has recently occurred in California,) generally reflects more upon the conduct of the

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officers than upon the character of the crew.* The United States Navy is believed never yet to have been disgraced by a mutiny, for, even the affair of the Constitution, in 1800, can scarcely be considered one. Doubtless, there have been repeated instances of mutinous conduct on the part of an individual or individuals, such as mutinous words and practices, which would render them obnoxious to the penalties imposed by the 13th Article, and these will be found to have happened most often where there was the best ground for complaint. But the crew of an American man-of-war has never conspired to dispossess the officers of their command, and retain it themselves.

When mutinies have occurred in the British Navy, it has been on account of injuries to which it was too grievous for humanity to succumb. Witness the most celebrated in naval annals, the mutinies of the Channel Fleet, and the Nore, events which occasioned a greater depression of the funds than the threatened invasion of Napoleon. The injustice done the native African, when torn from his family, and transported as a slave, with all the horrors of the middle passage, is not more atrocious than was the practice of impressment, and the treatment of sailors, in English men-of-war, at the close of the 18th century. Yet all experience derived from these occurrences prove how difficult a thing it is for a mutiny to mature, even under circumstances of the most outrageous provocation. Men appreciate the force of a mutineer's (Taylor, executed in 1801,) dying speech. "It is impossible," says he, "for seamen to succeed in any attempt to mutiny. Sailors never did, nor ever would stick to each

* When complaints were made to Admiral Collingwood of conduct which was designated as mutinous, he would exclaim, "Mutiny, sir; mutiny in my ship! If it can have arrived at that, it must be my fault, and the fault of every one of the officers." Those whose opinions of the propriety of continuing corporal punishment in the navy are derived from the reported experience of officers, would do well to study the practices and sentiments of this eminent commander. Uniting to superior natural capacities, and extensive information, a lengthened service, and the most eminent success in every grade of his profession, he is justly regarded as a *model navy officer*. As a disciplinarian, he was in his day unrivalled. Captain of the Excellent, one of the ships of Earl St. Vincent's fleet, during the prevalence of the mutinies referred to in the text, his happy talents for command was such, that it was the frequent practice of the Admiral to draft to him the most ungovernable spirits. "Send them to Collingwood," he would say, "and he will bring them to order." Notwithstanding this, while capital punishments were frequently taking place in other ships, Captain Collingwood, by the kind and firm conduct which he adopted towards his crew, was enabled to maintain discipline, not only without being driven to the dreadful necessity of bringing men to trial for their lives, but almost without the infliction of any corporal punishment whatever. Contrary to the custom of his day, Collingwood was always present when a man was punished, and on those occasions he was for many hours afterwards melancholy and silent. He was the first (long before the admiralty directed it) to keep a record of all the punishments he inflicted, to refer to as a matter of comparison and meditation. As his experience in command and his knowledge of the dispositions of men increased, his abhorrence of corporal punishment grew daily stronger; and in the latter part of his life, more than a year has often passed away without his having resorted to it even once. This antipathy he carried out in all the fleet, when he became an Admiral. His correspondence exhibits evidence of his strong disapprobation of the conduct of some of the younger captains, who, he said, endeavoring to conceal by great severity their own unskilfulness and want of attention, beat the men into a state of insubordination; and that such vessels increased the number, but diminished the strength of his fleet. In Lord Nelson's ship, flogging was almost equally rare; and how well the men under both these commanders conducted themselves in the time of trial, it is unnecessary to remark. Both their systems of discipline possessed one quality that cannot be too much commended—its consistent application to officers as well as to sailors.—*See Correspondence and Memoir of Lord Collingwood, Vol I.*

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other on such an occasion." In truth, men become perfectly reckless of life when they begin to harbor the thought.

The tragical mutiny of the Hermione, teaches the instructive lesson, that corporal punishment may cause mutiny, and cannot quell it. Captain Brenton thus relates it in his Naval History:—"Excessive zeal often ends in tyranny, and tyranny is the parent of rebellion. Captain Piggott, of the Hermione, had unfortunately assumed the character of a martinet; a minute was thought by him sufficient to reef a top-sail, and those men that lingered on the yard-arm after the expiration of a certain number of seconds, were sure of immediate and severe punishment. This had been long borne by the crew of the frigate with that apathy, resulting from the discipline of the navy during the peace. On the evening of the 21st September, 1798, while the ship was cruising off the west end of Porto Rico, and, according to the usual custom in ships of war at sea, the people were reefing the topsails, Captain Piggott called aloud, and declared he would flog the last man off the mizzen topsail yard. The men naturally eager to escape the certain punishment, crowded over each other, to gain the topmast rigging. In the struggle, two of them missed their hold, fell on the quarter-deck, and were killed: their remains were by the men committed to the deep, with silent and sullen feelings of anger, and a fatal determination to seek revenge. In little more than twenty-four hours after this the mutiny broke out." Captain Brenton does not here inform us what we learn from another authority, that the words attributed to Captain Piggott, when his topmen fell crushed on deck, "*throw the lubbers overboard,*" are supposed to have filled to overflowing the cup of wrath his tyranny had prepared for him.

Against courts on board ship, then, will be urged the inconvenience of such a plan, the want of time, and objections of a similar nature. Whatever difficulties are suggested beforehand, or encountered on trial, may afterwards be smoothed down, or obviated altogether; but they can never weigh a feather in the balance against the advantages to be gained by the removal of the arbitrary and irresponsible power, which heretofore has degraded the private, and oppressed the officer of subordinate rank. If inferior courts will not greatly increase the actual efficiency of the navy, (although they may fail to perpetuate the present false notions of discipline,) it will be contrary to all the lessons of experience, and all the deductions of reason.

6th.—*Punishments.* The details respecting the nature of the punishments proposed to take the place of those now practised, will be better understood when the basis of an act is submitted. At present, a few remarks respecting some of them will be made.

It is reasonable to hope that demerit marks on the conduct-roll, when they are rendered so important as to determine the class to which the private shall belong, will be sufficient in the great majority of cases to punish ordinary faults against discipline, &c. When it is necessary to resort to other modes, the lightest punishments contained in the proposition, are *admonition* and *repremand.* The first is done privately; the latter is rendered more severe by the publicity given to it, and having it inserted in orders—thereby becoming a part of the ship's record to be transmitted to the Department. The next grade of punishments are arrests—the first being *simple arrest,* which excuses from no duty on board ship, but confines the culprit on board, and of course interrupts

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for the time the privilege of liberty, answering to the punishment known at present as "quarantining." *Close arrest* confines to a specified locality, and may be used for the safe keeping of an accused person, under certain circumstances, or as means of punishment in others, but with restrictions, to prevent abuse. Next comes fines.

As regards the efficacy of pecuniary penalties to check misconduct, a doubt need not be entertained. We associate with the character of a sailor the idea of a spendthrift, and his conduct on shore after a long cruise frequently justifies such an impression; but he is a very different sort of person during the cruise. Although generous at all times to a shipmate in need, he is then most careful of every penny of his hard earnings. No shopkeeper on shore has his accounts more rigidly scrutinized than the purser's charges for small stores. Jack will not brook the suspicion of an erroneous entry; he must be satisfied to the very penny that there is no mistake in summing up. He takes a particular pleasure in noting the amount due him at the end of the month, or quarter; and frequently calculates with much satisfaction the sum he expects to receive when paid off. The objections to pecuniary mulcts, therefore, is not that they would prove no terror to evil doers, but that sailors might entertain a suspicion, lest, by the system of fines, they would lose a portion of their honestly-earned wages, and be deterred from the navy in consequence. This difficulty is obviated by imposing them only for specific offences, and by a legal tribunal.

Reduction differs as applied to different classes. Officers are lowered on the list of promotion by seniority. Petty officers and picked men are reduced to the grade and privileges of a common sailor. Other privates are lowered in grade for incompetency. Reductions can only be awarded by sentence of a legal tribunal.

Imprisonment occupies a conspicuous place in most plans of rational discipline for military bodies on land. Prison-houses and prison-ships are unsuited for the service, however, unless there could be one to accompany every vessel upon the ocean, which is clearly impracticable. The navy itself has been looked upon too long as a penitentiary, and House of Refuge;* and as this must cease under any attempt at improvement, a method should be adopted to relieve the mass from the injury and wrong they may suffer from the presence of an evil few, who, being among them, expediency may render it necessary to retain. This we think will be arrived at by the plan of imprisonment shadowed forth in the remarks on classification. The prisoners constituting the lowest class, would, by the character of their dress, the nature of their duties, the absence of privileges, and the liability to unusual punishments for misconduct, be as distinctly marked, as if they were immured within stone walls. *Imprisonment* can be awarded by the sentence of a general court-martial, only; but it is proposed to make it competent for a court of inquest to remove the sentence of a court-martial, after a certain period, if the conduct of the condemned has been commendable—provided the captain recommends the same to be done. Such an inducement to reform would often exercise a salutary influence.

* The Baltimore Sun, a few months ago, contained the following notice:—
"Howard District Court adjourned last Friday till April 13th. There was an instance of the wrong which degrades the United States Navy, and furnishes a pretext for flogging. Henry Logue, indicted for stealing money, was discharged on condition that he be apprenticed in the navy."

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Dismissal and Cashiering. In every community, it happens, unfortunately, that individuals are found who will not do their duty to society, or themselves, by the hope of any reward, or the fear of any punishment. So on board ship, under any system which may be adopted, there will probably be some, who, agreeably to the present ideas of discipline, will deserve to be flogged every morning for missing their muster, every day for being dirty, and every night for skulking. The lash never reforms such characters; and it is to be feared, that, in some instances, not much better success would follow any other mode of discipline. What is to be done? Shall we proceed on for a whole cruise with reprimands, and arrests, and fines, and imprisonment? By no means. Where practicable, let such worthless drones be driven from the service, and cease to be a burthen to the government, and an annoyance to the ship's company. Numerically, the crew might be reduced one or two per cent., but its efficiency would in reality be improved. In the great majority of instances, sailors are not sent to sea until after they have shipped for weeks or months—being attached to receiving vessels, in the first instance, for a longer or shorter period, and from thence transferred to a ship fitting out, there, perhaps, to remain for weeks before getting to sea. During this interval, it could readily be ascertained who among the number were worthless. These could be discharged, their places be filled with better men, and the ship might proceed on her cruise fully manned. Or, if it were desirable to send dismissed men home from foreign ports, (in the store ships,) it is well known that sailors can be had most readily in the ports our cruisers frequent. Rio de Janeiro, the first harbor made by perhaps a moiety of our national ships, being one of the most important commercial marts on the continent, can generally furnish unemployed seamen sufficient to replenish a crew. But if the discharge of recently shipped men be objected to, for the reason that they may be in debt to government for an advance of wages; it is answered, that to retain them is still worse. Under any organization they do not earn their pay, but, on the contrary, exert a pernicious influence over others, so that it is better to discharge them in debt to government, than to retain them at the cost of their daily rations. We may add, that under the proposed reform, sailors never need be in debt to the government. It is a fair and reasonable presumption, that there would soon be created a naval corps of seamen, and other privates, who, coming from a ship on leave of absence, would receive pay for such time, and not require an advance. Nor is it too much to expect, that the naval service would be sought after so eagerly by those not in it, and clung to by those who were, that no advance need be made to any recruit, until after satisfactory testimony had been produced of his character, or security given for his good behaviour.

An objection of more weight will be started against the operation of dismissals, as a means of ridding the navy of improper persons, that those who should be dismissed from one station will reappear elsewhere under another name, and fasten themselves upon the service. Appreciating the full force of this difficulty, we feel assured that unless means are taken to accomplish effectually the permanent severance of the irreclaimably dissolute, the moral improvement of seamen in the navy will be greatly interfered with. The publicity of their personal appearance would answer in the majority of cases, but it might be attended with the inconvenience of subjecting others who resembled them to unjust suspicions. The

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readiest and most unerring means consist in affixing marks in indelible ink upon the hip, which we believe is in accordance with the practice of the French army, from which a man is severed forever by the infliction of an infamous punishment. The world at large would be ignorant of the existence of these marks, unless on any attempt to re-enter the service. Indelible marks may be stigmatised as branding, and be exposed to the prejudices due to other antiquated barbarities now so justly reprobated. As our plan will suggest them, they do not merit such odium: for, in the first place, they are placed on a part of the body the least liable to be detected, except on a close examination made for the purpose; and secondly, they are not resorted to for motives of revenge, but for the protection of society. Such a culprit would be made more of an outcast if his name and personal appearance were published abroad as a condemned felon, to be shunned by all good men. The pain inflicted is next to nothing, and is so little regarded, that a sailor can scarcely be found anywhere, whose person does not contain numerous figures or words made indelible by these means.

The appropriate distinction between "dismissal" and "cashiering," might with propriety be applied to privates, and be indicated by distinguishing marks:—dismissal admitting of a return to the service, after a definite season of probation, while to be cashiered, severs for life the culprit from the navy. It may be asked, why sailors and not officers should be subjected to these marks. The reason is obvious. Placed there not as a means of punishment, but to prevent the return of vicious persons into the service, it is unnecessary to apply them to officers, who, being once cashiered, could never assume a fictitious name among their old associates without immediate detection.

7th.—*Seaman's Register and Leave of Absence Pay.* The proposition is to publish, periodically, a register of seamen, containing the names of all privates serving on board ship, as well as those who may not be in actual service, but recommended to be retained. These latter to receive a reduced pay, graded according to the class to which they may belong.

"Picked men" to be entitled to double the pay of others—to receive one half at the end of each month. and the balance when reporting for duty; others to receive none till their leave has expired, and they report for duty. The object of the proposition is to retain within the navy good men; to create a corps of naval seamen, as there is already one of officers.

The moral effect of a leave pay could not be otherwise than favorable. With means accruing when off duty to meet his current expenses, the first effort of a sailor when he returned from a cruise with two or three hundred dollars due him, would be to invest it in some safe way, for which seamen's saving banks offer sufficient facilities. He would thus become interested in "saving," whereas now the accumulations of one cruise are squandered before entering upon another. Upon this much abused quality of *saving* may be said to repose the very superstructure of civilization. Nations advancing in wealth, advance also in refinement. In the United States, where the profits of labor are so amply secured, its effects are too obvious to require comment. In a few days of national existence, a vast extent of wilderness has been reclaimed, and adapted to the most delicate wants of society. The principle applies in like manner to the individual. Instil into the sailor notions of prospective comforts,

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elevate economy into a professional virtue, and he will no longer throw away his money on immoral pleasures.

The pay of privates on leave of absence would entail a considerable expenditure, but this might all be saved by retrenching the expenses of receiving ships and rendezvous, for which there would be but little necessity, as privates would report as officers now do to the commandant of the station. At present the receiving ships at the various stations contain hundreds of recently shipped privates kept in readiness for sea service, on full pay and rations. Double the number on leave would cost less, as not only the ration would be saved, but the expense of maintaining the receiving ships and redezvous might be curtailed, if not in a great measure abandoned.

The average of privates likely to be kept unemployed and on reduced pay, would not perhaps exceed five hundred under the present establishment. This number would be nearly seven per cent. of the whole complement; but it would scarcely happen on the return of a ship, that the entire crew again would report for duty. The pay of five hundred men on leave of absence (averaging one grade with another, say ten dollars a month, which is a large estimate, eight dollars a month would be nearer the mark,) would entail an annual charge upon government of sixty thousand dollars; or if the number unemployed should be greater than has been assumed by an equal part, the cost would be $120,000 every year. Now we contend, that this amount would not be an increment to the present charge of maintaining the navy, but simply the direction of a present expenditure would be changed;—that is, the same money would go to pay privates on a reduced scale in their own homes, who, under the existing plan, are maintained at a much greater expense in receiving ships. It might perhaps be shown, that the reduced expenses following the alteration in the character of rendezvous and receiving ships, which would be admissible if privates reported for duty as officers now do, would meet not only the pay of privates on leave, but the charge that would attend their proposed increased pay, by the amount of difference between four cents daily (the present amount of the grog ration when commuted,) and six and a half cents daily, which it has been recommended to add to the pay of privates, the aggregate of which would be about the same as the leave of absence pay of five hundred privates, at ten dollars monthly.

But should there be a doubt of the adequacy of this retrenchment to the expenditure, there exist various other sources of navy retrenchment, which would not escape the vigilance of a committee of Congress, disposed to ascertain them, if a leave pay is only withheld from seamen on account of motives of economy.

Although the amount named may appear large to add to the pay of privates, much of which is to go to those who are unemployed, let it be recollected, that about half a million of dollars annually pass from the treasury of the nation, to pay officers of the navy not on duty; one-fifth of which sum, or enough, probably, for the expenses proposed to be incurred, goes to the leave of absence or off-duty pay, of forty persons belonging to one grade, whose whole number is sixty-eight. Let it be borne in mind that the proposed leave-pay of more than twenty privates, only amounts to what one captain now receives, when off duty; that the proposed leave-pay of fifteen privates is no more than what one commander, one surgeon, or one purser now get when doing nothing; that all these grades of officers are often years off duty, where the private is likely to be

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months. Reference is made to the off-duty pay of these classes, not to find fault with their magnitude, or to express any opinion concerning them, but to anticipate objections that may be raised by those "blind guides, who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

8th.—*Reorganization.* A few of the imperfections of the present naval organization have been pointed out, and its system of discipline reprobated. Enough it is hoped has been said to stagger the confidence of the open advocates of flogging, to convince the wavering of the propriety of its abolition, and to confirm the convictions of those who have inclined to the cause of humanity and justice.

Our hints, to serve as a basis for a plan of organization, will be better understood, by carefully perusing the part which is to follow in conclusion. An objection may be raised to it on the ground of complicateness; or rather, superiority will be claimed for the present system, or no system—that it has not the intricacy which will be said to involve any other. As a despotic power, containing no checks or guarantees, is necessarily more simple than a constitutional one, which embraces the means of holding one party responsible, and affords due protection to another, this objection will apply as well to laws for civil government as to military; but the project of abandoning all guarantees on that account is not likely to be entertained. The argument, at best, is that of the outlaw; and it is well expressed in the oft-quoted lines of Wordsworth, which he adopts as the sentiments of a robber chief:—

"Said generous Rob, 'What need of books?
  Burn all the statutes and their shelves!
They stir us up against our kind,
  And worse against ourselves.

"'We have a passion—make a law,
  Too false to guide us or control;
And for the law itself we fight
  In bitterness of soul.

"'And puzzled. blinded, then we lose
  Distinctions that are plain and few;
These find I graven on my heart,
  That tells me what to do.

"'The creatures see of flood and field,
  And those that travel on the wind
With thee no strife can last; they live
  In peace, and peace of mind.

"'For why? Because the good old rule
  Sufficeth them; the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
  And they should keep who can.'"

Whether a plan similar to the one we have delineated is adapted to present circumstances, others will decide; but it should be insisted by the friends of civilization and morality, that all existing laws which tend to degrade seamen be repealed, and that legislation respecting them hereafter be conducted upon republican principles. A free and enlightened government, like that of the United States, ought no longer to look upon so large and important a portion of its citizens as, what Clarendon terms them, "a nation by themselves."

The subject of naval reform addresses itself with peculiar force to every philanthropist. Sailors, as a class, have too long been degraded

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and overlooked. They are men superior to the mass of laborers in docility and intelligence, from the circumstance that the nature of their duties allows them time for intellectual cultivation. They accompany our flag over the whole globe, and exert an influence for good or for ill, according to the developement of their characters. Therefore, while admitting readily of moral improvement, the objects to be obtained are not confined solely to the benefit conferred upon themselves. Sailors' Homes and Bethels, and Sailors' Saving-Banks have done much towards the accomplishment of these objects. There is certainly an improved morality among merchant seamen due to these influences. But the short period of time which sailors can be subject to such influences, causes the good impressions they may leave to be often effaced when associated afloat, with the depraved and dissolute. The efforts of philanthropy are thus liable to disappointment. "Ah! there is a lion in the path." The character of the American seaman can never be elevated while the law for the government of the navy exists, which sanctions his degradation, by authorizing an offender to be flogged at the discretion of the captain, or to be punished according to the usages of the sea service. Under such a law, the presence of one man-of-war's-man would contaminate a whole forecastle of merchantmen, if there was a bethel for every ship, and a home for every sailor.

The propriety of repealing these laws has been warmly advocated in Congress, but so vigorously resisted as to render success doubtful, unless the public mind is convinced of the necessity of its repeal, and the public voice addresses itself to their representatives in tones not to be misunderstood.

Upon whom devolves the obligation of awakening the public attention to this subject? The politician who undertakes to befriend this downtrodden class is assailed with the vile charge of demagogism. One connected with the navy taking part in such a work would be stormed by the tyranny of opinion in that service, regarded (certainly most unjustly,) as having attacked the vested rights of officers, and proved recreant to the interests of his station.

Fortunately there exists a powerful body whose philanthropy need not be restrained by these or similar difficulties :—The class of Gospel ministers, and their active coadjutors in the promotion of all Christian benevolences,—those who are influential in sending the missionary of the cross in obedience to the command of their divine master, to the remotest regions of the earth :—those who keep in motion the machinery that gives activity to the various societies for administering to the moral and religious necessities of our race—let these speak the word, and the work is accomplished. Humanity, justice, and every other precept of the religion which they profess, call upon them to agitate freely the subject, and to arouse the passive sympathy of the public into an active and energetic movement. From the pulpit and the press, in collected assemblies and in private circles, let their statements be expressed. Let them call upon the people of their congressional districts to memorialize Congress for the immediate abolition of corporal punishment in the navy, and the spirit part of the ration. Let them ask for the navy an organization on a republican basis, wherein a seaman may be defended in his rights; and the first session of the thirty-first Congress will not pass by without an affirmative response to their petitions.

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ALICE:

A STORY OF COTTON MATHER'S TIME.

(CONCLUDED.)

FAINT and sick, Alice hurried home; and why could she not die, as she crossed the threshold, and thought of Mrs. Coleman and of Robert? Mr. Coleman met her there, and wanted tea. Statue-like she did the honors of the table, and then threw herself into Mrs. Coleman's large chair to wait for Robert. Night came, but not with it Robert. Ah, then the sacrifice need not be made—need it, *must* it ever be done? Lamps were lit, and Mr. Coleman went to bed, and left Alice to her own heart, where storm and fierce tempest raged. The hours went by; it was late, when she heard Robert's voice singing a well-known air. This was the first time since Mrs. Coleman's death that he had come to the door with song.

With a burst of joy and sunshine in her heart, that should have taught her that to make up conscience the affections must have their part in the debate, she went to undo the latch; but the sight of his happy face reminded her of all, and the faint feeling again came over her. "Why, what ails you, Alice dear? You are as white, as white,—let me see—as white, as white as you are yourself," said he, laughing. "Come, Alice, these white cheeks must be tinged with the rose—I *must* have them changed. The Manchester is just in, and brought letters to me, which summon me over the broad seas to dear old England, and it is commanded that I take you with me; we will come back with father and mother, and then your white cheeks will be red again, and I shall have my old Alice again. Come, love, say yes, that you will go with me; say yes, and dont weary me any more with—no, no." Poor Alice sank in her chair and buried her face in her hands. Robert, thinking she suffered from too vivid a recollection of Mrs. Coleman, and feeling the want of her at such a crisis in life as marriage, put his arm caressingly about her. At last she looked up, and he read wretchedness unutterable written on her face;—"Robert, Robert," she gasped, "I fear I cannot marry you;" then followed explanation upon explanation, entreaty upon entreaty, which, after an explicit detailed declaration of his faith, she could not consider as aught but the wiles of Satan. With inward prayer and agony she saw she must tear him from her life, and told him so, in so determined a manner, that Robert became angry, and more than suspected her quietness, instead of covering a warm heart, had but concealed a cold one. "No, Alice," he said, "I am *not* willing to be damned eternally for God's sake, nor do I believe He would love me were I willing; neither do I believe in a God who can elect this or that one to happiness, and doom this or that one to unutterable misery. Your God is no God of mine; and if you will not believe that I can be a good and kind husband, even if my faith is, and must be different from yours, why then we had better separate, as you seem determined to do; and the sooner we do it the happier for us both." He moved to the door, but paused there. "Alice!" he exclaimed, in an agony of reproach—"Alice!" She moved

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not, stirred not; her face was turned from him, it looked to heaven—he was gone.

When it was over, she moaned the night long in bitterness of desolation. She was sustained by a sense of right doing, which wavered, however, and flickered, and at times almost went out; but with the next day came Cotton Mather, and the firmness of his faith in the truth of his advice and his eloquence, led her in her misery to God's throne; and whoever truly went there, no matter what cloak of faith they threw about them, but gained consolation and exaltation. When he had gone, a note from Robert was given her, saying he had been angry the night before, and now deeply repented it, and besought her to see him again. She replied kindly but briefly, that she could not see him again but as a stranger, and then with calmness attempted to set the house of her future life in order, and as a house dedicated to God alone. But order could not be there, for all of the officers and counsellors of conscience had not been treated with proper dignity, and of course the sure consequences came.

When Robert had really gone to England, and without her having seen him since that eventful evening, indolence, inertness and pettishness had crept upon her. Her black garb was a palliation of the two first in the world's eye; but some went nearer the cause, and suspected some quarrel between herself and Robert, and so did not jest her about his absence. This made her trial more tolerable; but her conduct assumed a new aspect when Robert came back, and she did not seem to dislike society. Still this was bearable, because it was there she only heard of him. Her time of wearing mourning was not over, and how very long she prolonged it! Then the indisposition for company, because of her now habitual absence from it was an excuse—then this thing or that thing was reason enough—and so two years went by, and people talked of Anna Higginson and Robert Mason, and one day unobserved by them she saw them together, and knew how happy they were. Alice looked to heaven for consolation, though not with the full firm eye of one who has fought a good fight, for she had not been wholly patient under the dispensation, and had wished secretly at times that Robert might come back, heretic as he was; so true it is conscience's counsellors will be heard some time or other. But for returning Robert *showed* no inclination; he had been as angry as his affection had been strong, and he determined to throw off a woman, whom, as he told his mother, wanted him to be willing to be damned, and his anger weakened his love; and one day when Anna Higginson accidentally acknowledged her unbelief in some cherished dogma of the strict ones, he looked at her earnestly, thought her pretty, and sighed, as he asked himself, why Alice did not think as Anna did. Not by word or sign did he ask Alice to change her former decision;—why should he? All whom he heard speak of her repeated some fine exalted saying, and her devotion to meeting and disinclination for society proved to him that she was not at all like one who wavered. He began to find Anna pleasanter than the other girls, and at last loved her, not with his first love, but certainly with a wiser and therefore a happier one.

Alice's secret was her own—none but Mr. Coleman and Robert's parents knew of it, for to Cotton Mather she had not mentioned any name. His parents of course felt aggrieved because of her distrust in one they *knew* so worthy, although they mourned that he was not more of the faith; but comforted themselves that life was before him, and their love

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and hope made them sure he would be saved. As Alice did not go into society she rarely encountered Robert, and then his words were few, as if from a stranger to a stranger, and his bow was formal. This was what she had expected; but she submitted to it, thought he had forgotten his love for her, as at last he did;—no, not forgot, but looked upon it as a thing of the past.

People rarely jested her about him, for it was the opinion of many that Robert had become wearied of her. This fortunately no one told Alice, for it would have humbled her pride too much, though she would have borne it silently; this she was spared, and she was spared a constant fear of meeting him, as he was of the flock of Mr. Brottle, and not of Cotton Mather.

Three years after her engagement to Robert, he married Anna. Her heart rebelled and ached, but she rarely saw Anna in her bridal happiness. A new society had crept into the city—new comers took up their abode there, and brought fresh fashions and gaieties;—to these the newly married couple clung, and from them Alice fled. Robert had told Anna of his love history, and Anna waited in delicacy for Alice to renew the acquaintance if she wished it; for Anna, finding Alice but a dull companion after Mrs. Coleman's death, and believing she preferred her solemn friends, of course sought for brighter companions, and no tie of love had ever bound the two girls together. Alice had no wish to renew the acquaintance; so time passed on, until she married. Robert grew rich, and seemed happy, while in Alice's home all was outwardly almost stationary—the mahogany took to itself a darker hue, and the window-curtains were replaced—that seemed all. Mr. Coleman, however, grew more and more austere, missing as he did his good wife's cheerfulness, and not finding at home the old survivors. Alice had lovers, but some she frightened away by her stiffness, to others she said nay, and so her heart being torn from its proper life-course, grew hard and stern in its loneliness. Mr. Mather was by to check or divert her, and many an act and expression which once she looked upon as at least excusable, she now shrunk from with horror; then Mr. Mather had so insisted upon her expressing her religious opinions fearlessly and upon all occasions, that she even learned to use a reproving tone of manner and speech, and condemned, not as once, silently and humbly, though firmly, but loudly and sternly. What all this would have led her to be it would be hard to tell, had not circumstances occurred which made her respect for the wisdom of her teachers in the Lord tremble and fall down;—the scales fell from her eyes—they were no longer beings almost infallible, but weak and misguided.

This change in her opinion was caused by their proceedings against those people called witches; the witches which Cotton Mather had prayed to be spared from, the evening of our first acquaintance with Alice. Now Alice did not believe in these witches; that they did exist she did not doubt, but not one of the nineteen executed as such, in the region round about her, did she believe were real ones. The evidence brought against them she could account for in many ways other than of witchcraft, and it was horrible to hear the detailed accounts of the sufferings of those who were under sentence or suspicion of participating in this, the devil's frolic. These she heard from those who assembled at Mr. Coleman's house, for

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he and Mr. Mather were the prime movers in this most strange infatuation. All this, as I said, shook her faith in her spiritual helps, but not in her religious creed itself; that she carefully tested in this hour of new desolation, and found it a faithful friend; but as to the manner in which she was called to prove her faith, she no longer trusted to their guidance—her confidence in their wisdom was gone—of course she became more gentle and happier.

All the ministers did not agree with Cotton Mather in this affair. Increase Mather, his father, protested against these proceedings; so did many an honorable, upright man also. Many and most, however, were silent through doubt or fear, for the multitude was mad in its ultra belief; and Alice's heart swelled with pride and joy when she heard that the most determined outcrier against the trials and punishments was Robert Mason. In the bitterest hour of the fanaticism he printed a pamphlet to subdue it, telling many truths, and accompanying truth and reason with caustic satire, which made Cotton Mather hate and fear him the remainder of his life. And ah! how often Alice pondered over his writings, upon what she heard he said, and feel that possibly, probably she was wrong, very wrong when she refused so bold and noble a man.

That Cotton Mather was sincere, no one can doubt; his private journal testifies to the truth, as well as his words and acts. In his hard, stern way he does not express the least regret that innocent blood had been shed; he only thinks that "they had been a going too far in that affair." But so far from taking any responsibility upon himself or his coadjutors, he charges their excesses upon the powers of darkness, which, he said, had circumvented them, and made them proceed against persons who were not guilty. That they had gone too far, he says, using the words of another, appears from the number of the accused: "it was not to be conceived that in so small a compass of land so many should so abominably leap into the devil's lap all at once." Cotton Mather suffered in after life from odium attached to his name for his participation in the trials and accusations, but he suffered as one who considers himself a martyr. He was a strange man, with much learning and less judgment, with a thousand good qualities and many weaknesses.

Soon after Mr. Mason's pamphlet was printed, and had excited a great deal of remark, popular fury against the witches having received an impetus not immediately to be checked, sped on to its height, and one day some visitor told Alice that Martha Pearson had been bewitched for ten days, and that she complained that it was Mrs. Mason who so vilely tormented her. Alice's heart died away as she thought of her once friend and present rival being forced to suffer the horrors of a trial, and possibly condemnation, or even of suspicion; and so soon as her visitor had left her, she tied on a large hood, wrapped a shawl about her, and hurried to Martha Pearson's. Martha Pearson was a woman of high, revengeful temper; this Alice knew well. and therefore divined rightly it was some wicked hate which caused this bewitchment. She had lived at Mrs. Coleman's house, as a servant, for years before she died, and Mrs. Coleman had had great influence over her . lice prayed that with her might appear to Martha the remembrance of her former mistress, and that the mantle of her influence might fall upon her, and so she might be able to avert the dreadful evil from the home of those she loved. But when she entered Martha's room, she was so interested in what she saw

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there, that she left without scarcely speaking to her. Martha Pearson lived in a small house of her own, and had taken home a young girl, a niece, as her adopted child, after she left Mrs. Coleman's. Being skilled in the ways of the kitchen, she bethought herself to take up the trade of a professed cook. In this she succeeded admirably; and many of those old-fashioned, heavy dinners of the olden times, and much of the wedding-cake, can be ascribed only to her guidance and consummate skill. Power did not improve her temper—she was the terror of all who dealt with her, but by her labor she had amassed already quite a sum of money.

When Alice went into the room where Martha lay, she found that several were there, some were praying, some looking on aghast, and one of the men present was taking notes of all the bewitched said or did. She, the wicked one, lay on a bed in the corner, and for a few moments after Alice entered, seemed quiet; these moments were for Alice engrossed by a woman who intercepted her passage from the door to the bed, by sundry oh's and ah's, and accounts of what she had been saying, and with information that a deputation of people, Cotton Mather at the head, were to go and question the accused, this very afternoon, and probably were there already; furthermore, the woman accompanied her news with a declaration that Satan had now began to choose to go into high places, and people perhaps would now realise that fine houses and dresses could not awe *him*. Looking at her with disgust, Alice made no reply to all this; and as she approached the bed she saw the bewitched one close her eyes and begin to groan, then she screamed out that her eyes were shut so tightly she could not open them, that they were pouring hot lead on them to close them forever.—"Anna Mason! Anna Mason!" she shrieked, "don't pour it over my mouth and stifle me—don't, don't, don't." Her shriek died away into a moan, and she remained quiet a moment, then she repeated strange words, which she said the devil made her say. Meanwhile, her body seemed cramped in every limb, then she threw her arms about her wildly, and after tossing on the bed a few moments, she screamed one horrible, long, wild scream;—as it died away, pale with horror and disgust, Alice, who had until then been content to watch her, put her hand on her arm firmly, and said, in a tone of severe reproof, "Martha Pearson!" but the woman shook her off, and again, and again, and still again came that same enduring, awful scream. Wearied at last, the bewitched leaned back on the bed, and said, in a husky tone of voice, "she's coming—she's coming—she's coming"—— "She is here," answered a firm voice, and making way through those present, who had gathered themselves about the bed, Mrs. Mason, for it was she, stood beside Martha Pearson, still, and steadily looking at her. Mrs. Mason was intensely pale, almost as pale as those about her, while a bright red spot burnt in either cheek. Martha really for the moment forgot her part at the appearance of Mrs. Mason, and as her voice was heard many shrieked, believing the devil himself had come, and one woman fainted. Martha covered her face, being unable to meet the gaze of the one she meant to injure so deeply; and Mrs. Mason's eye presently flashed, and, placing her hands on her shoulders, she raised her in bed, and shook her very severely, then said, in an authoritative tone, "No more of this—no more of this, Martha, on your peril. You know that I am no witch—you know that this is all a farce;—you know

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that you have fancied some wrong, and have vowed revenge—take care; there were those present when you vowed vengeance against me, whom you cannot dupe, who heard your uncalled for deep vows and menaces, and they shall be witnesses against you. You shall be sued for libel, for slander, and you will suffer severely for this, unless you this instant desist; and remember that a prison for years for your abode will be dear pay for a day's revenge. Now confess this instant that this accusation of yours is all false, utterly false—call God to witness that you know I am no witch, or I leave this house directly—Mr. Mason shall this very day see you lodged in the jail, for it is for you to fear me, and not I you." And leaning over the woman she whispered some secret. Cowed before the whisper was heard, Martha was utterly subdued by it. It was evident to all that Mrs. Mason knew of some misdemeanor or crime, the knowledge of which Martha had thought safe in her own keeping, for she ejaculated, "anything! I will! I will!" Mrs. Mason called for a Bible, and upon it, before the many witnesses, she made the wretch swear to the falsity of all her accusations; then speaking a few sensible words to those present, upon the delusion of the day, she turned to go, when Robert Mason himself came in. He had heard that the deputation was to wait upon his wife, and immediately had flown to his house; there he learned from his frightened servants that the deputation had been and gone, that Mrs. Mason had left the house, and that was all they knew. Not finding her at his mother's, he had come to Martha's to confront the accusing one, never dreaming to see his loved wife in the lion's den. One glance sufficed to show that there had been some great excitement, and that Anna was triumphant—how, or why, he could not divine. Folding her in his arms, he said, with deep emotion, "You are safe, my dear wife. Oh, God!" he murmured, "I bless Thee that Thou hast delivered us from this distress. Known unto Thee is my unutterable gratitude and trust. Thou hast seen fit to give unto me, for my life discipline, as yet, scarcely aught but joy, and in this my great gladness, let me pray that I may always recognise as I do now, and have as yet done, Thy wisdom, Thy perfect love; if Thou shouldst send sorrow, let me then feel this same trust in Thee—this same love." Tears choked his utterance, and he wept and sobbed like a child. Anna wept, and Alice wept, but her tears were of mingled joy and sorrow. Half concealed by the curtains of the bed and her hood, she was conscious she had not been observed by either, and so she could glide from the room unnoticed, weeping tears of joy at Anna's escape, and with a bitter reflection that she had thrown away this noble soul, and taken unto herself desolation and sternness instead. Robert's manly trust in God's love seemed like a new revelation; fear he did not seem to think of, his only thought was that he might lose his appreciation of God's dear love. For the time her soul recognized the truth of God being only a Father of love, and that comforted her; and wiping away her tears, she communed many hours with her soul, and came from her thoughts a wiser, though a sad woman. Not that her old belief did not cling to her, the fear still dwelt within her, but it was tempered, it was modified.

Anna Mason, from gratitude, sought Alice's acquaintance again, and the once girl-friend renewed their intimacy. It seems that "Martha Pearson" was terrified at her own daring, and had then vowed to carry

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on the falsity but a few hours more. Anna frankly told Alice, during her first visit to her, that she knew that Robert had been refused by her, and afterwards finding Alice did not care to meet him, offered to do most of the visiting. This she agreed to willingly, only desiring the word only should be changed to *all*, and that was, after much demurring, determined on; and Alice's countenance assumed a more pleasing expression, for her heart had lost its contraction. Anna was as an angel from heaven to the lonely one, and now daily Anna either saw Alice or some token of love was passed between them. Alice learned to love Robert's children, and she used to wile them into talking of their father. Anna spoke often and freely of him, and a new world seem to have taken the place of the old and cold one, which Alice had created for herself; besides, Anna softened many of Alice's bigoted ideas, made her more womanly, more genial in her faith and character; yet still the austerity and stiffness had entered into her soul, and although she was softened, still she was a far different being from Anna, whose whole life and education had been kindly, and that, combined with a naturally warm-heartedness, gladsome nature, exquisite taste and enthusiasm, made her a glorious being.

The sorrow which Robert prayed God he might have strength to bear came at last, and assumed a shape that for the time made his faith and trust bend like a reed—the darling of his soul, Anna, died. During the hour of her consciousness of approaching death, she prayed him to marry again and give a good mother to her children, and said, though he was the best judge, she thought Alice was one well fitted for the task, and told him she believed that she still loved him. Robert would only promise that the children should find some kind guardian; his heart shrunk from giving Anna's place to any one else. But as years went by, he found it difficult to get or keep one for his children, and he saw with pain that a mother was very sadly needed by them; he obeyed Anna, again sought Mr. Coleman's house, and Alice was called Mrs. Mason. Alice never made good the loss of his dearest love, Anna—he missed her as long as life lasted.—Alice was dear to him, a good mother to his children, a good and a happy wife; but when the door opened, he sometimes started, as if eagerly hoping to hear Anna's ringing laugh and meet her loving eye; and when he was an old man he would let his book fall, and sit and muse about—"dear Anna."

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EARNING A LIVING;

A COMEDY IN FIVE ACTS.

ACT III.

SCENE I.—GLUMLY *at a table, with books and papers in his own room.*

(*Enter* BARBOW.)

B. Good morning, Glumly.

G. (*looking around without rising.*) Ah! Barbow—sit down.

B. (*sitting opposite to him, and looking him in the face, speaking slowly and distinctly.*) How does the magazine come on now?

G. Very well. I think your honor asked me that question before.

B. I am obliged to ask it once a month.

G. There is a damnable significance in your tone. Here, Barbow—here is twenty dollars. I can't get on without your articles; and it is another question whether I can with them.

B. Has not the last number sold?

G. Yes—pretty well. There was the portrait of General Taylor, you know, and your sketch of his life; and what do you think besides? Twelve articles of my own, under different signatures.

B. Yes; there was quite a variety.

G. Don't sneer, you rascal. Why, what the devil could I do? I can't afford to pay all through; and as for these volunteer correspondents, (*holding up a bunch of papers,*) confound them! their brains would'nt make *soupe maigre.*

B. No; but then you know they are ambitious of print.

G. It's a small honor; but it does seem to inspire those who are beneath it. I wish I could only get clear of it.

B. There is a way, you know.

G. What way?

B. Wedlock.

G. With the girl I love? Bright eyes—a romantic heart, and nothing to boil the pot with.

B. Not exactly; but with a rich widow, or old maid just turning sour—a swarthy complexion, green eyes, and, if possible, a Quaker.

G. Why a Quaker?

B. She will have more money than another, *cæteris paribus.*

G. What does that scrap of Latin signify?

B. Other things being equal.

G. Right; it does so. Your Latin and your impudence are both unexceptionable. Why, you malignant brute, must I sell myself to an ogre? Am I devil all over?

B. Turn you inside out, and you would be.

G. There is something in that. But everybody can't see in, as you pretend to.

B. Black eyes see something.

G. Miss Hollybush, to wit. Well, Barbow, I have a great mind to try a *coup de main* in that quarter, notwithstanding.

B. You have strong rivals, if rumor says true.

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G. Hay and Hartington. But I shall only compete with one of them.

B. Of course, but which one?

G. Hartington. Charlotte is softer—more impressible. I am afraid of the other.

B. Very well. (*Arranging the table.*) Here is pen, ink and paper. Now proceed.

G. Curse me, Barbow, you come in here and sit down among my thoughts like a juggler amongst his tools. I have been hesitating all day about this very thing. (*Taking the pen.*)

> "Thou marshall'st me the way that I was going,
> And such an instrument I was to use."

B. Yes, it saves a deal of stammering in such cases. Now, let's see it walk. Dear Lady—

G. (*writing, then reads.*) "Dear Lady, it is not without a consciousness of extreme presumption that I venture to offer to one, placed as you are"—(*hesitates.*)

B. Very good, so far.

G. Placed as you are, the homage of new admiration—

B. New?

G. That is, additional. One more in her train.

B. Say so, then. Your admiration is not new, you know. You have been contending with it, stifling it—

G. Repressing it.

B. Ever since you knew she was rich—

G. Ah, Mephistophiles, (*writes,*) the homage of another adorer.

B. Very well.

G. (*writes, then reads.*) "I have hoped, indeed, and feared by turns, that through the cold forms of society, your quick eye may have divined the deep feelings those forms restrained."

B. Very well.

G. (*writes, then reads.*) "But I cannot leave this any longer in doubt. I am urged by an impulse too strong for forms, to send you this brief declaration, that I may know positively that you know that my life is in your hands, and may receive from your smiles or frowns, when we next meet, the unequivocal oracle of my destiny."

B. You don't receive oracles. You consult oracles and receive responses.

G. (*correcting.*) "Find in your smiles, &c., the oracle"—

B. That's better. Now sign and seal and send off. Just do this deed before your purpose cools. (*G. copying out the letter on a fair sheet.*)

G. (*folding the letter.*) It is better so. (*Puts it in an envelope, and puts the direction on it.*) I will send it over immediately.

(*Knock. Enter* VANSITTART.)

G. Ah, Vansittart, good morning.

V. How are you? here is your Retsch. Much obliged to you.

G. Very welcome; anything new?

V. Not much. Your new picture is quite ornamental here.

G. Yes, some pictures are ornamental, certainly. But I have no enthusiasm about the arts.

V. Nor I. I have a natural faculty, too—a certain skill or connoisseurship. I can recognize genuine pieces of painters, whose style I know, and detect counterfeits. But I hardly ever see a picture that gives me pleasure.

G. One picture in a million is well executed. And out of twenty good ones, nineteen represent crucifixions, murders—

V. Martyrdoms, saints boiled in oil—

G. Or tame madonnas, with which we have been sickened by infinite repetitions. That gives you one in twenty millions by close calculation, that really should give one pleasure.

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V. That's a little extravagant. But Hay goes beyond you, he says the whole art of painting is a failure.

G. Yes, and then he writes me that critique in my December number on the Art Union exhibition, full of artistic cant and entusymuzy.

V. Just like him; and we all do so more or less. By the way, have you heard what has happened to him?

G. No!

V. Mr. Hollybush has politely requested him to discontinue visiting at his house—him and Hartington.

G. By Jove! is that possible?

V. Yes, and without any reason assigned. The old man draws it cool and strong, but he is too late.

G. How—too late?

V. Yes, they have been positively engaged now over a month.

G. Who? Hay and Mary Hollybush?

V. Yes, and Hartington and Charlotte. That has been a secret till now; but to-day Hartington has a note from Charlotte, speaking for herself and her sister.

G. Confirming the engagements?

V. Yes, and adding that they deem those ties paramount to the duty of filial obedience; that they were contracted, as it were, under their father's eye, with his tacit sanction, and cannot be set aside without grave and irresistible reasons.

G. Which reasons cannot well exist in this case.

V. No, but there do exist reasons, which in due time will convert the old gentleman.

G. Do you think so?

V. Yes, but that remains a secret. Miss Hollybush adds, that she and her sister are desirous now that their engagement should be publicly avowed. That I suppose is intended to force out their father's reasons, if he has any. Good morning. [*Exit.*

B. Where is your valentine?

G. Here—under the inkstand. Throw it in the stove.

B. Not I, thou man of rash and desperate words. It is a good letter, and must be made to do good service.

G. Why, you would not have me send it now?

B. (*tearing off the envelope.*) Not to Charlotte Hollybush? The devil, I know the temper of that family too well. Hartington is sure of her.

G. To whom, then?

B. Why, indeed, to whom then? Come, come, you are well launched in society; you have talent, reputation, and a profession.

G. Such as it is.

B. Such as it is, and you want a rich wife. You may meet with some refusals, but a refusal breaks no bones; and if it did, first or last, you will get salve for them.

G. You are desperately anxious to succeed to the magazine.

B. It is true, I have need of the succession. Come, whom do you know?

G. Minetta Campion.

B. Very good; four thousand a year, and possibilities.

G. Certainties.

B. So much the better. (*Reading over the letter.*) It will suit her just as well. I believe Jacob Hollybush is in your way; but I fancy you are too many for him.

G. I hope so, although he is rich, and I fear Minetta is not romantic. Still I know her much better; I am on terms there a good deal more intimate—and it would be a pity too, to lose all that.

B. Bah! Don't be afraid. Take this envelope, (*hands him one*) and put the address on your letter. There is no girl of twenty-five in New-York that will like you the less for writing her such a letter, even if it fails of its object.

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G. Something in that, perhaps. (*Directs and seals the letter.*)

(*Knock. Enter* JACOB HOLLYBUSH.)

J. H. Good morning, Mr. Glumly. I stopped in passing, at the request of Mrs. Campion. There will be a few people at her house this evening, at a reading and talking party—will you come?

G. With great pleasure. Who will be there? do you know?

J. H. Oh, just a few people. The Dubarres, Hay and Hartington, and perhaps a dozen more.

G. And your nieces?

J. H. Very likely. Well, as I am here, I think I may as well tell you a bit of news.

G. I suspect I have heard it.

J. H I suspect not. From whom?

G. Vansittart.

J. H. News from Vansittart!—what was it? does it concern me?

G. It concerned your nieces.

J. H. Oh, that is not it. I have nothing to say to that either way. My news concerns myself.

G. Indeed! if it is good, let me congratulate you.

J. H. Yes, it is good. Mrs. Campion insisted on secrecy at first, but that was to have the first telling herself I find. So now it's out. I'm engaged to be married.

G. To Miss Campion?

J. H. Yes, and the official promulgation is to take place at this little evening party.

Barbov, (*taking the letter out of the envelope, secretes the letter and holds up the envelope to Glumly.*) Glumly, I can't stay. I'll burn this paper by your leave. (*Puts the empty envelope in the stove and exit.*)

J. H. Well, we shall see you there.

G. Certainly. [*Exit J. H.* (*G. sits down and rests his head on his hand.*)

[*Scene closes.*

SCENE II.—MRS. CAMPION'S. MR. *and* MRS. C., MINETTA *and* RUPERT HAY.

Minetta. Nobody comes—it is getting late.

Hay. Please to count me for one.

Minetta. No, only half of one. But we expect the other half.

Hay. You speak from the heart. You apply to me the sense of incompleteness you feel in yourself.

Minetta. Possibly. Who will come do you think, Mamma?

Mrs. C. Jacob Hollybush.

Minetta. Ah, don't teaze me. Will the Dubarres be here?

Mrs. C. Yes, Mrs. Dubarre and Nancy. Dubarre not.

Hay. Do those two ladies get on together as usual?

Mrs. C. I believe so.

(*Enter* JACOB H., CHARLOTTE *and* MARY. *Salutations exchanged.*)

Mrs. C. (*to Jacob.*) We were speaking of Jane Dubarre and her sister-in-law.

J. H. Ah, Miss Nancy? she won't disappoint us, will she?

Mrs. C. Oh no, she goes everywhere. She did not feel the loss of her lover much.

J. H. She could not much regret him personally, he was and is such a brute. But she could not but feel the manner of the thing. It was atrocious.

Minetta. She ought not to have made such a mercenary engagement.

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J. H. Yes, Milbury is very rich—five times her fortune. He has now married a poor girl, but a very pretty one.

C. How can she endure him?

M. Such gross, vulgar, ignoble ugliness. A great puffy colossus—the very sight of him makes me sick.

J. H. Nancy Dubarre is no beauty.

Hay. She's as ugly as Satan.

Campion. And as cross as a milldam.

Hay. Impedimentary—obstructive.

Minetta. Dissatisfied—complaining.

Hay. Empty and talkative.

J. H. Come, these be epigrams. She has fifty thousand dollars—she is not an ogress, and I don't believe she has any fault that can't be cured. But she is determined to be married.

(*Enter* Mrs. *and* Miss Dubarre, *and* Hartington. *Salutations.*)

Mrs. D. Are we late?

Minetta. No, our principal performer has not come yet.

Mrs. D. Who is that?

Minetta. Mr. Glumly. He is to read us something out of Shakspeare and something of his own.

Campion. A streak of fat and a streak of lean.

Minetta Oh, Papa! that is not fair.

Hay. Which is fat? and which is lean?

Campion. I can tell you which is rich and which is poor?

Hay Ah! that is more intelligible.

Mrs. C. Glumly writes very well sometimes.

H'n. Some men do. But none read well.

Hay. Yes. Vindoboni.

H'n. True, Vindoboni reads French, so that it is a pleasure to hear him—a very great pleasure. He chooses his readings well, too. They *have* those things in French.

Hay. Vindoboni is the sort of man we want here—an element our society is deficient in. He is full of accomplishment and knowledge, and he has the art of making current coin of what he knows, and giving other people some pleasure from it.

H'n. Dr. Sloper knows ten times as much.

Mrs. D. He's a pedant and a bore.

Hay. Well, what I have to say is, that I hear a good deal of talk about foreigners coming out here to pick up heiresses, and all that. But when the foreigner is such a man as Vindoboni, the heiress gets a good husband, and our society a great accession, and a model.

Mrs. D. Pretty high praise that—very liberal indeed as from one gentleman to another.

H'n. It don't apply, you understand, to all foreigners indiscriminately.

Hay. Certainly not. Foreign society, taken as a mass, is no better than our own, in many places not so good. But Europe does produce this specific thing, the elegant man of society, in greater perfection than we have it.

(*Enter* Glumly. *Bows to* Mrs. *and* Miss C., *and shakes hands with* Mr. C.)

Mr. C. You come last, Mr. Glumly, like the king.

G. Truly sir, I have no such pretension; and besides, there are half a dozen guests or more still in the dressing-room.

Mrs. C. Well, we won't wait for them. Mr. Glumly, you are expected to furnish forth this evening's entertainment.

G Madam, my humble powers are all at your disposal.

Mrs. C. Gallantly said. Now, sir, I call upon you first to recite, or read us something of your own. Afterwards you shall read us the last act of the Merchant of Venice.

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G. After which. I suppose I shall be allowed to take supper with the company? (*Several other guests enter and bow to Mrs. C., and take off her attention for the moment.*)

J. H. (*aside to H'n.*) That's an unlucky hit; there is to be no supper.

H'n. Tea and soft waffles, eh!

J. H. I believe so.

G. Well, when shall I begin?

Mrs. C. Immediately. This is recitation room, and then we'll pass into the reading room, where all is prepared.

G. Very well. I will give you some verses I wrote yesterday, on a chance meeting which saddened me. You know, Mrs. Campion, I have often been crossed in love.

Mrs. C. Certainly. Am I not your confidante?

G. Well, this was one of those obdurate ladies that used to reject me—the best beloved of at least a dozen. Can you give me a miniature or something of the sort? I must act a little—very little indeed.

Minetta. Here is a daguerreotype.

G. It will do. Only you are all to fancy it is a beautiful miniature of the lady in question. (*Places himself in a pensive attitude in a chair; lays the miniature on the table near him. Miss Dubarre comes and places herself so as to front him as near as she can.*)

Glumly.—

The rose's sweetest glow has not
Departed from her cheek;
Nor have those glorious eyes forgot
The tongues they used to speak;
Yet certain changes time has wrought,
And on her lofty brow.
Are traces of maturer thought—
I think—she'd take me now.

(*Takes up the miniature, opens and looks at it.*)

Years have not touched her loveliness,
Nor dim'd its gentle ray,
Nor made one grace or charm the less,
Since that all nameless day.
All that she was is there—yet there
Is not the thing I loved,—
My own high dream of what, with care
And toil, she might have proved.

(*Lays the miniature down.*)

What canvass hope had there to fill—
What schemes my fancy drew,
When those rich energies were still
Elastic, pliant, new.
To concentrate, to guide, advance,
Impel their glittering train,
Presumptuous was the wish, perchance—
At all events 'twas vain.

Miss D. That's beautiful.

Mrs. C. Be-a-u-ti-ful! (*G. bows and goes on.*)

She deemed herself a pearl, more worth
Than all the sons of men,
And might have been—oh Heaven and earth!
What might she not have been!
But cheated of its food, her mind
Hath nearly fared like him,
The self adoring youth, who pined
Upon the fountain's brim.

J. H. Narcissus.

H'n. Rupert Hay.

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Miss D. Oh, gentlemen, how can you?
G.—

She trusted all too much to Heaven,
Nor deemed she'd aught to do—
But nature who had promise given
Would give performance too.
As if our minds grew rife and rich,
Even like the unweeting grain,
Pour'd from the summer clouds, to which
Comes eke the latter rain.

Miss D. Is not that admirable?
Mary H. It is very good, certainly.
G.—

Her soul, that might have risen to seek
The founts Minerva used,
Lull'd by the praises of a clique,
Deluded, mock'd, amused—
Idle, with undeveloped powers
And unexpanded wings,
Flung all to waste those precious hours,
And missed those holy springs.

She sought her Phœnix mate in vain,
And now that chase is over,
I think she haply might be fain
To take a mortal lover.
I will not have her now—I'll try
My skill some fair to reach,
That's young enough to learn when I
Am old enough to teach.

Miss D. Oh, that is excellent! But there's a deal of spite in that last stanza, that must have come from old wounds. I'm afraid there's truth under all this, Mr. Glumly.

All. Excellent!—very good!—admirably delivered! (*G. bowing.*)

Mrs. C. Well, ladies and gentlemen, we'll retire now to the next room and take a cup of tea, after which we will put those fine tones in further requisition.
(*Takes Hn's arm and threads the way, and all follow.*)

SCENE III.—*The same.* (*Re-enter* HARTINGTON, *and soon after* MINETTA.)

H'n. Did you speak to her, Miss Minetta?
Min. Yes, she'll be here directly. [*Exit.*
(*H'n. walks up and down looking anxiously at the door.*)

(*Enter* CHARLOTTE.)

H'n. (*taking her hand.*) Dear Charlotte—did you get our notes this afternoon?
C Yes.
H'n. Well, and what have you resolved on?
C Oh, Hartington, I hardly dare speak the words. We have resolved to do all you ask.
H'n. Bravely resolved! Now, we must not talk long here—all the arrangements are made. Minetta will tell you, and she goes with us.
C. She goes with us!
H'n. Yes—it is the oddest thing in the world. She and you, with Jacob. She will explain. You must hasten back before your absence and mine are much observed. I'll go round and come in by a different door.
[*Exit Charlotte. Exit H'n.*

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SCENE IV.—GLUMLY'S *room.* GLUMLY *in morning gown and slippers.* (*Enter* BARBOW.)

G. Ah, Barbow! how are you this morning?

B. Very well; how goes it with you, after your dissipation?

G. Very dissipated, indeed. You mean the reading party?

B. Yes.

G. We assembled between eight and nine, had tea and soft waffles, and I read myself hollow with the Merchant of Venice, and they sent us home supperless at eleven.

B. Lenten entertainment. But perhaps you got some indemnity otherwise. Were the ladies very kind to you?

G. Some of them were. I thought the Hollybushes were rather silent and distant. Hartington does not like me, and I suppose they catch feelings from him now.

B. How did Miss Dubarre treat you?

G. Oh, she was all smiles and compliments. I never liked her so well. I recited something of my own, and she admired it, to my full satisfaction.

B. Smiled upon you, too?

G. Yes, she was as gay and pleasant as possible.

B. Ah, ah! Well, (*rising and walking up and down, and examining Glumly as he speaks,*) well, there is a good deal about you to smile upon. And if Miss Dubarre chooses to do so, there is every reason in the world why you should reciprocate.

G. So I should think. Don't you want me to try another experiment!—write another letter this morning, eh?

B. No, I don't.

G. And before the ink is dry, have Vansittart perhaps drop in and tell us he is engaged to Miss Nancy Dubarre, eh?

B. No, no, I tell you. Allow me to pursue the train of my own reflections. Your fate is in my hands.

G. Is it so?

B. Yes, and Miss Nancy Dubarre's.

G. (*ironically.*) Powerful magician!

B. Yes, powerful magician. "For such there be, but unbelief is blind,"—(*taking a paper from his pocket.*) Here is a talisman which shall exercise an influence upon both of you all your lives. And before I quit you, you will appreciate its powers as I do.

G. You are a man of strange words. Have you had your breakfast?

B. Yes.

G. Ambrosia, I suppose.

B. No, sausages. But to resume. This talisman—

G. (*snatching at it but missing*) Damn your talisman! Come, come, Barbow, you are contriving to get me into some new folly. Out with it, speak plain and I will answer you.

B. Glumly, are you tired of this magazine?

G. You know very well I am.

B. You would assuredly throw it up if you were otherwise provided for.

G. Most assuredly.

B. Very well, I want it. Now, draw me up an assignment, and I will bestow on you, by unfolding this paper, the hand and fortune of Miss Nancy Dubarre.

G. Bah! Haven't you done with that nonsense yet?

B. Yes, and I will begin with the sense. You are engaged to be married to Miss Dubarre.

G. I am not.

B. You are, and do not know it. You have proposed, and she has consented, but the matter hangs there, an unsolved mystery, till I speak. Do you know this letter?—(*Hands him the paper.*)

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G. It is a copy of my unfortunate composition of yesterday, apparently.—Did you make it out from memory?

B. No, I copied it, with the original under my eye.

G. I saw you put the original in the fire before you left me.

B. You saw me burn the envelope. But the letter I kept, and I sent it to Miss Dubarre; your own hand-writing, signed with your name. Now read it, and you will perceive that the thing is growing serious.

G. (*rising, and seizing his arm.*) Barbow, is this thing true?

B. As true as fate.

G. You sent her that letter! But did she receive it? Are you sure she received it?

B. I took good care of that. I had it put into her own hands. Now read it out to me.

G. (*sitting down—agitated.*) Read it to me.

B. "Dear lady—It is not without a consciousness of extreme presumption, that I venture to offer to one, placed as you are, the homage of another adorer. I have hoped, indeed, and feared by turns, that through the cold forms of society, your quick eye may have divined the deep feelings those forms restrained; but I cannot leave this any longer in doubt. I am urged by an impulse too strong for forms, to send you this brief declaration, that I may know positively that you know that my life is in your hands, and may find in your smiles or frowns, when we next meet, the unequivocal oracle of my destiny. Your's devotedly, Robert A. Glumly."

G. "Placed as you are." I wonder what she thought I meant by that.

B. I don't very well know what it meant when you wrote it.

G. I alluded to Miss Hollybush's high position in society. But that don't apply so well to Miss Dubarre; and besides, the affair with Milbury is fresh—she may think that I meant that.

B. The devil!—no. She would interpret all for the best. You see she did, indeed, by her conduct.

G. Yes, the unequivocal oracle was favorable enough.

B. I would have paid well to see the scene. You calm, collected, unconscious, reciting and reading, and taking her compliments, and fifty others, with equal indifference. She all in a flutter, full of significant smiling and nods, and becks all lost, or only to thaw out upon your unapprehensive brain, after ten hours time, in the genial warmth of my presence—

G. (*not attending to him.*) It is a very strange position.

B. Yes, to have the ice all broken for you, and the chill taken off the water. No fears of a cold reception now.

G. No possibility of getting into hot water, think you?

B. Bah! not the least. Get your breakfast, man—put your coat on—and go and make assurance sure: after that we'll talk about the magazine.

Go where glory waits thee,
But when success elates thee,
Oh, then, remember me! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.—HAY'S *room.* HAY *alone.* *Enter* HARTINGTON.

Hay. Oh! I've been expecting you are home.

H'n. All's right! carriage engaged; church and clergyman bespoken; we shall be fairly wedded this evening.

Hay. I'm glad to hear it.

H'n. The girls are to stroll into Thompson and Weller's at four o'clock. We shall be waiting there, with two coaches ready in Washington Place; we shall pass out, merely bowing to them, and get into one; and they will follow, and take the other.

Hay. By themselves?

H'n. No; Minetta Campion goes with them.

Hay. Minetta Campion!

H'n. Yes; and Jacob Hollybush with us. They are to be married also.

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Hay. What an astonishing arrangement! What need have Jacob Hollybush and Minetta Campion to elope?

H'n. Only the frolic, I suppose; or to matronize Charlotte and Mary.

Hay. It's very kind. Whose whim is it? Minetta's?

H'n. Yes; when she heard of Mr. Hollybush's proceedings, she broke out violently upon Jacob, and wanted him to interfere. He would'nt; and she vowed that the hour of our marriage should be that of hers.

Hay. And he agreed to that?

H'n. Yes; he did not care. He is perfectly indifferent about such matters. If the thing he does is right, he neither cares what the form is, nor what anybody says or thinks. He goes for the substantials.

Hay. Yankee all over. But I should have thought he would have tried to mollify Robert.

H'n. No; he has explained himself about that. Many years ago he gave Robert some advice in an important matter; and one where a lady was concerned. He gave information, too, that showed his advice was sound, and Robert took it; but Jacob says he never forgave him.

Hay. Never?

H'n. No; there was a perceptible coolness for some years; and Jacob says he knows the traces of the feeling exist in the old man's mind yet.

Hay. That seems like insanity.

H'n. Probably Jacob's discoveries were mortifying to his pride. Probably he was going to commit some egregious folly.

Hay. He has a very strange temper—so courteous, so mild, in general, and then such devilish caprices.

H'n. Jacob says now, he will not meddle in this affair of ours, for good nor evil. He is to see us elope; go with us, and be married himself at the same time; but he shuts his eyes at our doings, or, at least, what suits us as well, he shuts his mouth.

Hay. Very well. It's odd; but I don't think it's disagreeable. By the way, I must go down and engage a parlour, and our rooms at the Astor.

H'n. I'll go along. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE VI.—MRS. DUBARRE'S *parlour.* MISS D. *alone. Servant brings in a card.*

Miss D. Mr. Glumly, ah! Show the gentleman up.

Servt. Yes, madam. (*Exit; after a moment enter Glumly.*)

G. Good morning, Miss Dubarre. I hope I am not deranging your morning occupations.

Miss D. (*embarrassed.*) No sir; not particularly, sir.

G. Miss Dubarre, I took a liberty yesterday—I took a step—(*Hesitates.*)

Miss D. Sir!

G. I took a step yesterday, with much apprehension of the result; a step which I feared my footing here would not justify—

Miss D. Oh, sir!

G. But the rarity of opportunities like the present—the impossibility of preventing interruptions.

Miss D. Oh! no more apologies—

G. The written thought cools, Miss Dubarre. I had a brain of fire yesterday when I penned those lines. I could have spoken movingly; but I wrote—I know not how. Say you have forgiven me.

Miss D. There was nothing to forgive.

G. There is everything to hope then, (*seizing her hand.*) Your smiles last night, and your kind words this morning, have made me the happiest of men.

Miss D. Indeed, Mr. Glumly, (*disengaging her hand,*) indeed you are wrong to remind me of that. I certainly did smile last night, but you—you did not seem to understand me.

G. Dearest lady, how can you start such an idea? Amid all that gossip,

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and recitation, and reading, where half the time all eyes were on me as a performer, could I presume to show any thankfulness for your kindness there? It would have seemed like an attempt to publish it.

Miss D. But I grew tired of being kind to no purpose; and the latter part of the evening I was cross—you might at least have discovered that.

G. Dear lady, so I did; but I thought your altered demeanor was a hint to me to keep my distance. I took your first smiles for smiles of promise; and then your frowns seemed to say, keep dark.

Miss D. You have your answers ready. It is impossible to quarrel with you. (*Gives him her hand.*) Are you sincere and constant.

G. Sincere I am, aad constant I will be. My constancy in love is hitherto untried.

Miss D. Oh, that is impossible!

G. No; I have a calm spirit, that can bide its time; but a strong one, that can use the time when it comes. Why should that be impossible?

Miss D. But you have wandered through the world so much—through so many societies—all full of beauty and attraction.

G. True, lady; but always with a model in my heart of something I sought, and did not find. I have found it now. Do you think I would offer you a rejected hand—a soiled and cast-off heart.

Miss D. It might have been cast off, and yet not soiled. The heart makes mistakes sometimes, and corrects them, and is itself again.

G. (*Aside.*) Oh, Milbury, what a devil of a blunder! (*To her.*) True, Miss Dubarre, the heart may be misled, and right itself, and be the purer. But man's heart is the leader; he should go always right; and when he fixes, fix forever.

Miss D. I hear my sister's voice—leave me now, Mr. Glumly. I shall go over to Minetta's bye-and bye. Adieu.

G. Adieu. (*Kisses her hand, and exit.*)

SCENE VII.—*The street before* MRS. DUBARRE'S *house.* BARBOW *waiting.* *Enter* GLUMLY *from the house.*

B. (*Coming to meet him.*) At last. Well, is all settled?

G. All is settled, I think, definitively.

B. Did you get on smoothly?

G. Tolerably; but I had not had time to study my ground; and I got into one or two hobbles.

B. And out again?

G. Yes; thanks to nonsense, which I talked abundantly. I wonder where it all comes from.

B. I don't know. But I know where a good deal of it goes.

G. Where?

B. Into the magazine. And I have been waiting here to talk to you about that.

G. By heaven, Barbow, you are intolerable. Are you beginning already to dun me for the assignment?

B. I am entitled to it now.

G. Not at all. I will give it you when I have made sure of something else. But I can't throw away my crutch, because I have bespoken a carriage.

B. Well, then, when your carriage comes home?

G. Yes, then I will redeem my promise.

B. See that you do. I might make you do it sooner, but I forbear.

G. Make me do it sooner?

B. Certainly; here is my talisman. (*Shows the copy of the letter.*)

G. Ah, that is your talisman. And you have thus a certain power over me, eh?

B. Precisely.

G. And you can make me do things, eh?

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B. Perhaps so.

G. And having made proof of your power by making me do one thing, in process of time you may perhaps ask for another?

B. No, that I shall not.

G. And you will hold your talisman over my head all the rest of my days—harrassing, threatening, tyrannizing?—

B. No, no, no.

G. Levying black-mail?—

B. No, no, in the devil's name.

G. Yes, Mr. Barbow, yes, in the devil's name. But I won't stand it, and we'll settle this thing now. Give me that paper.

B. Excuse me.

G. Give it to me, or by heaven, before this sun sets, I'll put the magazine beyond your power and mine. Give it to me. (*Hesitates, then gives it up. G. tears it to bits.*) Bah, if you make such a point of it.

B. So far, so good. But you could write out another from memory, could'nt you?

G. I suppose I could.

B. Do it if you dare. Go to Miss Dubarre, tell her the whole story about that letter—she won't believe it all, but you will make me some trouble—you will make rather more for yourself. Be calm, Mr. Glumly—there is no need of all this heat.

G. Calm, sir—damnation! If you utter a word to me, or give me a hint about that consignment before I'm ready to give it to you—before I volunteer to offer it—I swear to you, you never shall have it at all. And if you threaten me again, I'll break all your bones into dice.

B. Very well, sir.

G. I believe I understand such matters. I have not edited a two-penny paper for nothing. I know the ways of the town, and especially how to stave off black-mail. (*Shakes his stick at B. and exit.*)

B. It seems he does. (*Exit.*)

SCENE VIII.—MRS. CAMPION'S *house.* MINETTA *and* MISS DUBARRE.

Minetta. But, dear Nancy, is not all this very sudden?

Miss D. Sudden, dear—oh, not at all. I was very much taken with Mr. Glumly the first time I ever saw him, and I do believe I made an impression at the same time on him.

Minetta. That's happy.

Miss. D. Yes, he always showed a preference for me when he had an opportunity. His approaches were so quiet, and so gradual; he is a person of great delicacy of sentiment.

Minetta. No doubt of it. Did you expect a declaration when it came?

Miss D. Not at that moment. But you know, dear Minetta, when we have a prisoner, we can always see pretty nearly what he is thinking about; he can't take us much by surprise.

Minetta. No—they have very transparent heads, these lovers.

Miss D. And when the crisis approaches—when we've played off all our coy airs, and got quite ready to surrender, then we make them believe the very contrary.

Minetta. When we work them up into heroics.

Miss D. Yes, or tragics, or romantics, just any shape of passionate demonstration we prefer. Then comes the declaration which they think *they* make, poor fellows. Why. it is nothing but a tune we play upon them.

Minetta. Did you manage Mr. Glumly so?

Miss D. Certainly. I put reason, passion, hope, fear and jealousy by turns into his behavior, just as systematically as a cook would put salt and pepper into soup. Did you not do so with Mr. Hollybush?

Minetta. Of course I did; and I spiced the soup pretty freely sometimes.

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Miss D. Bless the men, they know but very little who gives them their ideas. I mean to keep the spice-box after marriage, Minetta.

Minetta. So do I. We are to be endowed with their worldly goods, you know, but not with their heavy wits.

Miss D. Heaven forbid!

Minetta. But now, dear, I have something very particular to tell you. I am to be married this evening.

Miss D. This evening!

Minetta. Yes, this very evening. And so must you.

Miss D. Impossible! Oh, Minetta—

Minetta. Yes, you must. Here's company coming—come up to my room, and I'll tell you. There's a party of us—

(*Enter* JOHN.)

John. Mr. Glumly.

Minetta. Show him up. There's a party of us going to elope.

Miss D. Elope!

Minetta. Yes, yes—but I can't tell you now. (*Enter Glumly.*) Mr. Glumly, excuse us a few moments. I'll send word to mamma you are here. I've something to say to Nancy, and all for your interest, I assure you.

[*G. bows. Exit M. and Miss. D.*

(*G. walks up and down. After a few moments, Enter* MRS. C.)

Mrs. C. Good morning, Mr. Glumly. Much obliged to you for our pleasant entertainment last evening. I hope you did not over-exert your voice.

G. No, madam, thank you; but if I had, I received a tribute of sweet voices that would have restored it.

Mrs. C. Very pretty. Have you been down Broadway, to-day?

G. Yes, as far as the New-York Club.

Mrs. C. Ah, you go to the Young Men's Club. What did you find there.

G. Oh, some boys—regular New-York boys. Their hats and coats were most of them unexceptionable.

Mrs. C. Why, you did not converse with hats and coats, did you?

G. Not directly. But the hats and coats did furnish most of the conversation, Horses, to be sure, and billiards.

Mrs. C. And a little about parties and balls.

G. Yes, and about young girls, and their respective attractions and fortunes. I wish the young girls would hear—

Mrs C. Mr. Glumly, shall we never have any intellectual men in our society?

G. Yes, madam, when New-York is as large as Paris.

Mrs. C. Not till then?

G. Oh, that's not so very long. But the intellectual and *educated* man is a rare combination. You only get one out of a great many thousands.

Mrs. C. So I have discovered.

G. Well, but we shall get enough bye-and-bye to form a circle, notwithstanding; and when we do, that circle will exercise a mighty influence.

Mrs. C. Will it displease those young men you spoke of, or improve their talk?

G. Yes; knowledge, education, taste and refinement even, are penetrating the whole mass of our population. Set up a good nucleus, and young men will come forth from every class of our society, and take their places with the best.

Mrs. C. Will the ladies consent to that?

G. Yes; they will appreciate strong understandings and trained minds, and they will be the first to prefer them to a pack of idle blockheads, whose educations have been done by contract, by fashionable school-masters.

Mrs. C. Well, it may be so.

(*Enter* MINETTA *and* MISS D. *Miss D. bows to G. and exit. Minetta detains him.*

Minetta. Mr. Glumly, Miss Dubarre desires you to remain here a moment. Mamma, I'm going out shopping, and I will take Mr. Glumly along, with your permission. I have something special to arrange with him.

Mrs. C. Very well, dear. [*Exit G. and Minetta. Scene closes.*

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IPHIGENEIA IN TAURIS.

A DRAMA OF GOETHE.

ACT III.

IPHIGENEIA AND ORESTES.

Iphig. (*unbinding him.*) Unhappy man, I only loose thy bonds
In sign of harder fate: the freedom granted
Here in the holy grove to both of you,
Is, like the last bright gleam of animation
Upon the sick man's face, death's harbinger.
I dare not yet acknowledge to myself
That you are lost; for how could I uplift
A murderous hand 'gainst your devoted lives?
And no one dares presume, while I am priestess,
To touch your consecrated heads. But, ah!
Should I refuse obedience to the king,
In anger he will choose among my train
Some other virgin to discharge the office,
And I shall have but wishes to bestow.
Much-valued countryman! The very slave
Who but approach'd our patrial household gods,
Is richly welcome in a foreign land—
How can I pour enough of joy and blessing
On you, who bear the image of the heroes
Whom from my infancy I've learn'd to honor,
And in my inmost heart light up anew
The faded flattering pictures of my youth.

Orest. Dost thou from prudent choice conceal thy name
And thy descent, or may I hope to know
Whose heavenly goodness warbles comfort to me?

Iphig. Yes, thou shalt know me; but inform me first
(For from thy brother I have learned but half)
Of those, who coming back from fallen Troy
Found on the threshold of a long-wish'd home
An unexpected, hard, and cruel doom.
Tho' I was early banish'd to this shore,
I recollect the shy and hasty glance,
I cast with wonder on the train of heroes.
'Twas as Olympus from its top had pour'd
The awful shadows of the illustrious dead
To stalk in terror to the walls of Troy:
And Agamemnon was of all the greatest.
Tell me—he fell, the day he saw his home,
By Clytemnestra and Ægisthus slain?

Orest. He did.

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Iphig. Ah, sad Mycene! On thy site
The sons of Tantalus, with lavish hand,
Are stowing curse on curse: like baneful-weeds
They teem with ever multiplying crimes,
And to their children's children still transmit
Murder on murder for inheritance.
Disclose the rest thy brother left untold,
When horror's glooom suspended my attention—
How was the remnant of this mighty race,
Hereafter the avenger of his father,
The last born child, the only son, Orestes,
Preserved from slaughter on that day of blood?
The net of black Avernus round his head
Has a like fortune drawn, or spared in mercy?
Say, was he saved? Lives he? and lives Electra?
Orest. They live.
Iphig. They live? Lend me, thou golden sun,
Thy fairest beams to lay in gratitude
Before Jove's throne! for I am poor and mute—
Orest. If the heir'd ties of hospitality
Or nearer bonds connect thee with this house,
As by thy joy would seem, O curb thy heart:
For to re-plunge into a sea of sorrow
Is to be happy doubly horrible.
Thou only knowst of Agamemnon's death
I find—
Iphig. And is not this enough to know?
Orest. Thou yet hast heard but half the horrid tale.
Iphig. What more!—Orestes and Electra live?—
Orest. Hast thou no fears for Clytemnestra's fate?
Iphig. My fears or hopes are impotent to save her.
Orest. She is departed from the land of hope.
Iphig. Did her repenting hand in expiation
Shed her own blood?
Orest. Not so; yet her own blood
Consign'd her to the shades.
Iphig. Give clearer answer.
Uncertainty with many-folded wing
Hides in ill-boding gloom my anxious head.
Orest. And have the gods reserv'd me to relate
A deed, which gladly in the silent realms
Of night and hell I would forever hide—
Thy gentle tongue against my will compels it.
Expect and have a tale to shudder at.
The day that royal Agamemnon fell,
Electra's prudent hand conceal'd her brother
Beneath the roof of Strophius, a kinsman.
He willingly received, and educated
With his own Pylades, the fugitive,
And both the youths grew up in tenderest friendship.
Their bosoms early felt a burning wish
To 'avenge the monarch's death: in strange attire

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They sought Mycene, and announc'd themselves
As messengers of young Orestes' death,
And bearers of his ashes. Thus they gain'd
A glad admittance from the credulous queen.
Orestes to Electra then disclos'd
His name and purpose. She with ardent lip
Rekindled soon the embers of revenge
That in the sacred presence of a mother
Had faded in his breast; in silence led him
To where his father fell, and pointed out
A wither'd blood-mark on the guilty floor
That linger'd still for vengeance; there describ'd
With tongue of fire each murky circumstance
That dy'd the crime still deeper, wail'd her own
Hard slavish treatment and the haughty carriage
Of the successful traitors, show'd the dangers
That lowered over Agamemnon's children
From their unfeeling step-mother (for such
To them she was become) and to Orestes
Consign'd the old and oft-incrimson'd poignard
So wont to murders in the house of Pelops—
And Clytemnestra by her son was slaughter'd.

Iphig. Immortals, who on ever-golden clouds
Spend your clear days in joy—was it for this
Ye tore me from my country, from the world—
For this that ye approach'd me to your shrines—
For this intrusted to my patient hand
To feed the holy flame, taught my calm'd soul
Like it to lift a clear and equal look
Of pious hope to your unruffled dwellings—
That I might later learn and deeper feel
The dire misfortunes of a race we frown on?
Talk to me of the wretched—of Orestes.

Orest. Would I could tell thee also of his death!
How from his mother's gaping wounds arose
Her haughty spirit, and with angry yell
Shriek'd to the daughters of the ancient night—
"Seize on this parricide, this son of guilt,
And with implacable revenge pursue him."
They heard her voice: they roll'd their hollow eyes,
Like famish'd eagles on their destin'd prey;
In their dark dens they stirr'd: their sad companions
Doubt and Remorse from silent corners stole
With knitted hands to earth, from their loose locks
Dispersing pitchy damps of Acheron.
Now ceaseless contemplation of the past
Rolls in black gyres around his haunted brow.
The fiends long-banish'd from the beauteous earth
Renew their all-deforming range with him,
Pursue his rovings, hang upon his step,
And only stop to add redoubled horror
To the black hour they overtake his flight.

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Iphig. Unhappy man! Thy much resembling fate
Makes thee more deeply sympathize with his.
Orest. How cam'st thou to suspect my fate like his?
Iphig. Thy younger brother has intrusted to me
That thou hast also slain thy nearest kinsman.
Orest. I cannot bear that thy pure spotless soul
Should be misled by falsehood. Let the stranger
Weave his deceitful and ensnaring wiles
For them he fears; but between us, be truth.
I am Orestes: and this guilty head
Is stooping to the tomb, is seeking death—
In any form his coming shall be welcome.
Whoe'er thou be, to thee and to my friend
I wish deliverance, to myself destruction.
Thou seemst to be detain'd against thy will;
Contrive to fly with him, and leave me here,
That headlong hurl'd from these impending rocks
My gushing blood may to the sea extend,
And roll wide curses o'er this savage shore.
Go ye together back to lovely Greece,
There may new life and happier days await you. [*Retires into the wood.*
Iphig. Fulfilment, daughter of the almighty sire,
At length the hour of thy descent is come,
And thy vast image stands unroll'd before me!
My aching sight scarce reaches to thy hands,
Which, with the treasures of Olympus fill'd
Shower wreaths of benediction!—As a king
Is known by the profusion of his bounty,
(For that to him is nothing, which to crowds
Is riches) also ye are known, Celestials,
By long reserv'd and wisely granted gifts:
For ye alone distinguish what behooves us,
And oversee futurity's wide realms,
While mists conceal from us the wondrous prospect
And dim the twinkling star-beams to our gaze.
Calmly we hear our restless childish prayers
To hasten your decrees; but your wise hands
Cull not the heavenly fruit, while unmatur'd
And woe is him, who with impatient lip
Would seize the good in store!—he swallows death.
Let not this long-awaited joy forsake me,
And, like the visions of departed friends,
Abandon to reality of woe.

IPHIGENEIA AND ORESTES.

Orest. (*returning.*) If thou be praying to the gods above,
Speak not my name with thine and Pylades',
My name draws vengeance down on its associates,
And prayers are impotent to soothe this torment.
Iphig. My fate is knit with thine.
Orest. Not so: alone
And unattended would I sink to Hades.

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Were thy own veil inwrapt around my head
It could not hide me from the dragon-eyed,
The ever-watchful followers of my step.
Nay, e'en thy very presence, heavenly woman,
May turn their looks askance, but can't avert them.
What though their impious brazen thread may not
O'erstep the limits of the holy grove,
I hear them yonder grinning horrid laughter,
Like wolves around the tree upon whose top
The traveller climb'd in safety. There they lie,
And at my coming from the earth shall start,
Lift the big cloud of dust with busy feet,
Give to the hissing winds their snaky locks,
And dog my flight with never-ending chase.

Iphig. Orestes, listen to a friendly word.

Orest. No: keep it for a friend of the celestials.

Iphig. They give thee earnest of reviving hopes.

Orest. I see the pale gleam of the flood of death—
'T will guide me through this mist of woe to hell.

Iphig. Hast thou no other sister but Electra?

Orest. I knew but one; yet the all ruling hand
Of fate remov'd an elder, who beheld not
The miserable doom of all her kindred.
Cease, cease thy questions, do not join the band
Of my tormentresses, who blow away
With wicked joy the ashes of oblivion,
Lest the warm embers of remorse should fade
And cease to scorch my soul. Will they forever
Cast scalding sulphur on the glowing brand
Which crime has given to the sons of Pelops
For a perpetual heirdom—ever sear
My soul with coals of hell.

Iphig. Be 't mine to fling
Some fragrant incense on the flame. Allow
Affection's gentle breath to cool thy bosom.
Orestes, my belov'd, wilt thou not hear me?
Has the terrific band of thy pursuers
Drain'd all the blood of nature from the veins,
And have their Gorgon-eyeballs petrified
Thy feeling heart?—O, if a mother's curse
Call thee with hollow accent to the shades,
May not the purer blessing of a sister
Draw from Olympus ease and comfort to thee?

Orest. She calls—and thou combin'st to rend my bosom.
Have gods of vengeance borrow'd e'en thy form?
Who art thou, that with searching tongue disturbest
The very bottom of my billowing soul?

Iphig. Does not thy heart inform thee? I am she—
Iphigeneia—and am here—alive.

Orest. Who, thou?

Iphig. My brother!

Orest. Hence! nor touch these locks:

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As from Creusa's wedding garment, thence
Contagious flows a fire unquenchable.
Away—like Hercules, I would exhale
My worthless hated life in wilds and deserts.
Iphig. Thou shalt not perish. O that I could hear
One calm reply to banish every doubt
And make me sure I have the bliss I've pray'd for.
A wheel of joy and sorrow hurries round
My agitated soul. Upon the stranger
I look with apprehension; but my heart
Resistless throws me on a darling brother.
Orest. Is this Lyæus' temple, that the priestess
Thus with unbridled holy fury glows?
Iphig. O hear me, look upon me, how my heart
Expands to compass all the happiness
Of seeing thee (the dearest whom the world
Has left me still) of folding in these arms,
That long have open'd on the vacant wind,
Thee, my Orestes. Let me, let me clasp thee.
As down Parnassus flows the eternal fountain
From rock to rock along the golden vale
Clear and abundant, so a flood of joy
Streams from my heart in copious waves, and spreads
An ample sea of happiness around me.
Orestes, O my brother!
Orest. Lovely nymph,
I neither trust thee nor thy soothing speeches.
Diana asks severer votaries,
Nor will she see her sanctuary profan'd.
A truce to thy embraces! Wouldst thou give
Thy fond affections to a worthy youth,
With love and safety crown my friend. He roves
Among yon rocks: seek him; abandon me.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

POPULAR PORTRAITS WITH PEN AND PENCIL.

GENERAL JOSEPH WALKER, OF LOUISIANA.

In the history of men and of nations, it is not unfrequently our part to follow from remote and humble obscurity, to high and distinguished place and honors, the personages who stand out in relief, and, by the splendor of their genius, illustrate, elevate, and render distinguished, as it were, the very epochs in which they have lived. In no country, and least of all in a republican one, can the mere fetters and restraints imposed by the circumstances of birth, poverty, and even want, exercise in every instance a controlling influence, repressing the ardour of genius, and effectually cramping or crushing its resources.

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In a republic only, however, can the citizen of blameless reputation, integrity and modest worth, performing through the course of a long life with diffidence and fidelity the duties of his position, whatever it may be, in relation to his fellow-men, with scrupulousness, exactness, and an humble purpose, and without any of the advantages of family or fortune, learning or genius, rise to the first place among his compeers by their hearty suffrages and support. If it be true, that such men and such instances are rare, it is not the less honorable to human nature that they do sometimes exist, and that their influence is never otherwise than of the most benignant character. These men move not in a pathway blazing with lustre at each advance, but it is a less tortuous one; and, although not leading in the end to the magnificence of state or empire, it has never, and can never lead to their degradation or ruin. The nations of the world have not seldom in sackcloth and in ashes mourned over the birth and career of the dazzling and brilliant spirits, who have, meteor-like, shot athwart their times, exciting the admiration and huzzahs of wondering crowds. Aristides the Just was more honorable to Athens, and excited a more salutary influence than Pericles: the magnificent and honest old Phocion, who scorned, from the bottom of his heart, the popular arts of demagogues, whilst manfully performing his duty, might have saved the state, while all the phillipic thunderbolts of Demosthenes were being dealt out in vain. It was this feeling which made Cicero, upon one occasion, when extolling ambition to the skies, and declaring that there was really "nothing worthy of being ardently desired but praise and glory, and that in their pursuit all pains of body and perils of death and exile were to be utterly despised," add, immediately afterwards, "Indeed I may go further, and say, that *nature without learning is better calculated to inspire the love and admiration of our fellow men than learning without virtue.*" *

Among the most widely esteemed and respected citizens of Louisiana, with all classes and with all parties, is the subject of this memoir. Gen. Joseph Walker's whole early history, public career, and services, it is our desire in some manner, however inadequate, to pourtray, that modest merit may have an appropriate tribute, and another instance be furnished for the emulation of a rising generation, of eminent virtue acknowledged and rewarded.

Gen. Walker may be regarded as one of the oldest *native born* citizens of Louisiana, of a mixed Anglo Saxon and French Creole extraction. He was born in New-Orleans, in the year 1784, when the Spanish rule was paramount, and when the old "father of waters" traced his way through a wilderness, making no obeisance to the scattering village on his banks, where now has reared itself a magnificent and densely populous emporium. His father, Peter Walker, emigrated at an early age to the United States from England, landing at Philadelphia, a short time before the revolution, where he pursued his occupation as a watchmaker, until, perhaps, the spirit of western enterprise, then dawning upon the country, and a faint glimmering of what the future promised, proving too much to be resisted, he removed his permanent residence to New-Orleans, after a short absence in Jamaica. In that city he soon married a Creole lady of French extraction, the daughter of Pierre Revoile and Marie Catherine

* Oration in defence of Archias.

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Laroche, identifying himself thus and thenceforward with the destinies of the rising province, until the period of his decease, which occurred in 1804, by accidentally drowning in the Mississippi, in company with Mr. St. James Beauvais of Point Coupeé.

Young Walker, the subject of our memoir, now found himself, as we have heard him express it, just entering upon manhood—poor, comparatively friendless, and imperatively urged to daily and unremitting toil at farming, earning a meagre support, and with his small savings, expended in books, adding to his stock of limited education, which was but a common possession at that early period of our history, even with those more favored than himself.

That he performed his part well in the circumstances of his position, may be inferred conclusively from the fact, that we find him as far back as 1820, returned by a very strong vote of his fellow-citizens of Rapides, a member to the State Legislature. To this post he has been frequently re-elected since, to the great satisfaction of his constituents and of the state at large. In 1840, he took a seat in the Senate of Louisiana, filling the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Wuinns, then a candidate for Congress.

In 1844, when the state was agitated from one extreme to the other, in regard to the revisions of the old constitution of 1812, and perhaps the establishment of a new one, Gen. Walker was nominated by his fellow-citizens of Rapides, Catahoula and Avoyelles, for a seat in the convention, then about to assemble, and was elected by a very large majority over his opponent, O. N. Ogden, Esq., the whig champion, supported with all the strength of that party, upon the ground of his opposition to an elective judiciary, which Gen. Walker was known strenuously to advocate. The whigs, in this instance, relied very much and confidently upon the admitted opposition of many democrats to this principle, and the supposed hostility of the Creoles to it in any of its forms. So mistaken, however, were they in the result, that their candidate was beaten with even a larger majority in Avoyelles than in Catahoula or Rapides.

No other proof need be exacted or given of the commanding position ever occupied by General Walker in all of the public bodies in which he has served than this, that he was elected to the speaker's chair of the House, in 1837, succeeding Mr. Labranche, sent as chargé to Texas, by Mr. Van Buren, and also to the presidency of the State Convention, in 1844, receiving in both instances *unanimous* votes of thanks for his faithful, honorable and assiduous performance of duties, *offered by Whig members*, and in the last instance by the Hon. Mr. Conrad.

An election to the presidency of the Convention of 1844, was the highest possible tribute that could have been paid by the representatives of the people of Louisiana to the merits, integrity and abilities of any citizen, the more especially when it is considered that the opponent in this instance was the Hon. John R. Grymes, of New-Orleans, one of the most distinguished barristers of his age, and identified with Louisiana from his earliest professional life; and that this Convention contemplated *radical* changes in the whole structure and organization of the state government. In all the able, protracted and deeply exciting debates of this distinguished body for nearly three-fourths of a year, all the rivalries of contending interests, the hostilities of parties and of sections, to have preserved a spirit of moderation, of judgment, equity and firmness, wisely

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determining the multitude of points which were arising, and to have commanded at last an *unanimous* tribute of approval, was in the power of but few men, and is one of the crowning honors of General Walker's public life.

At the first election under the new constitution adopted by the Convention, Gen. Walker almost equally divided with the Hon. Isaac Johnson the suffrages of the democratic party, for the gubernatorial chair. His high claims were, however, by an amicable adjustment, postponed, in the full understanding that they would be recognized and met in the next ensuing term. So fully was this understood, and with such wide favor was it received throughout all the state, that, when the Democratic Convention assembled in May last, at Baton Rouge, and the name of Gen. Walker was announced as a candidate, the whole body rose from their seats with one accord, and with loud and continuous cheering, ratified *unanimously* the nomination. The committee, in notifying him of the result, use the following language:

New-Orleans, May 8, 1849.

HON. JOSEPH WALKER:

Sir,—The pleasing duty has been assigned to us of informing you of your nomination by the Democratic Convention, held at Baton Rouge, on Monday, the 7th of May, as the candidate of the democracy of Louisiana for Governor in the election of November next. The confidence thus manifested by the representatives of the democratic party, in your patriotism, capacity and sound principles, must be the more gratifying to your feelings, as it was the unanimous and spontaneous expression of the preference of one of the most numerously attended conventions ever held in this state, and was accompanied by circumstances indicative of a deep and warm enthusiasm and harmony, which give us the strongest assurance of your success in the contest in which we are embarked.

As the standard-bearer of the great principles of progress in our young and growing state, the democracy will follow you with their warmest hopes and their best exertions for your glorious triumph. Confiding in your devotion to the principles embodied in the resolutions adopted by the Convention, and in your ability to carry them into effective operation, your fellow-citizens hope to see your election to, and administration of the Executive trusts, conducive to the honor and welfare of the state, and to the integrity and advancement of the democratic party. With the assurances of their high regard, we have the honor to be your obedient servants,

ALEXANDER WALKER, CHARLES DUTILLET,
CASSIMER LACOSTE, OSCAR ARROYO,
JOHN M. BELL.

To which the General very promptly responded:

New-Orleans, 9th May, 1849.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of this date, informing me that I have been nominated by the Convention of the democratic party of the state, for the office of Governor, at the election in November next.

Whilst I accept with great diffidence this token of partiality on the part of my fellow-citizens, I cannot but express my conviction, that I owe my present nomination more to the kind feelings of my political friends, than to any merit I possess. I had hoped that some one else of our political friends, more com-

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petent and more deserving, would have been selected as the standard-bearer of the democratic party in the approaching canvass; but since it appears to be their will and pleasure that I shall be their candidate, I cheerfully acquiesce, and pledge myself to use my best efforts to secure my election. And should a majority of the voters of the state of Louisiana manifest their confidence in me, by casting their votes in my favor on the day of election, I shall not fail to appreciate this mark of their confidence, and will endeavor, according to the best of my abilities, to discharge the high and responsible duties of chief magistrate of the state, as to meet the just expectations of my fellow-citizens.

The honor of being thus selected by the representatives of the democratic party of my native state, for the highest office in the gift of the people of any state, an honor, too, unsolicited by me—could not fail to awaken in the bosom of so humble an individual as I must acknowledge to be, emotions, the character of which I have no language adequate to express.

I deem it, gentlemen, unnecessary to trouble you at this time with my opinions upon the important political questions that divide the two great political parties of our country, because I have so often expressed them, that I must presume they are sufficiently known throughout the state I am a democrat from principle, not from interest; I have been one ever since I became old enough to judge of such matters for myself, and my experience goes far to confirm me in my early impressions.

In conclusion, allow me, gentlemen, to express my gratitude to you, for the flattering manner in which you have been pleased to communicate the decision of the Convention, and I pray you to accept the assurance of my high regard and esteem. JOSEPH WALKER.

To Messrs. Alex. Walker, Casimer, Lacoste.
Chas. Dutillet, O. Arroyo, and J. M. Bell,

General Walker has ever been a staunch Jeffersonian of the highest republican school; and in an unpublished letter which we have seen, declares, "I have been, ever since I was old enough to form an opinion, a follower of Mr. Jefferson, and in favor of the true democratic principles, when democrats were few and far between in this state. My confidence in the capacity of the people to govern themselves has never been shaken, and more especially in their capacity of selecting their own officers without recourse to executive power. I have feared the growth of *patronage* as a great evil under our system," &c.*

General Walker has been for the last four years State Treasurer, having been elected to two terms, in the first instance over the Hon. Wm. Debuys, and in the last, the Hon. G. W. McWhorter, supported by the whigs, who had upon joint ballot a majority of two or three votes in the Legislature!

He has been through life a warm friend, at times seriously embarrassing himself for the accommodation of others, as a father, tender and affectionate, and discharging with fidelity the duties of that relationship. Although in but moderate circumstances, his widowed daughters, with their large families, have ever found a refuge within his homestead, and a kind protector and friend in their deprivation. His cotton plantation is situated in the parish of Rapides, a few miles distant from Alexandria.

In stature, Gen. Walker is tall and dignified; in address, easy and affable; in manner, courteous, coming up in every particular in his intercourse with his fellows to the true standard of an amiable gentleman, respecting the rights and feelings of every one, and serving with kindly offices whenever an occasion offers. It may be doubted, upon the whole,

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whether any man in Louisiana has more warm friends and supporters, or could carry with equal strength a seat in the gubernatorial chair of the state, which there is little doubt of his occupying for the four years that are to come.

* In reply to an accusation in one of the partisan presses, Gen. Walker answered a short time ago, "I never said to any man living I was not a democrat in 1824. I was originally a Crawford man, but when he was dropped, and I was compelled to choose between Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams, I felt rather inclined to support the latter, but I had no opportunity of doing so, as I was not in the Legislature at the time. Why upbraid me with being an Adams man 25 years ago, when even Mr. Jefferson preferred him to every other candidate? Did not Mr. Jefferson first take him into his confidence when he gave in his adhesion to the republican party during his administration? Did not Mr. Madison retain him in his confidence? Did not Mr. Monroe make him Secretary of State? Did not all this afford good reason to believe that Mr. Adams was attached to the republican party?"

CALIFORNIAN GOLD.

A SONG FOR THE OCCASION.

It long has been a fashion, when the sun goes down to rest,
To stand and gaze with rapture upon the golden west;
But now the admiration surpasses that of old,
The yellow hue is taken for the gleam of real gold.

Where, from the Rocky mountains, bright streams like silver bands
Toward the broad Pacific glide over golden sands,
Is found that El Dorado, so vainly sought of old;
Is found the land of Ophir, the precious land of gold.

And then the yellow tinting, upon the sunset sky,
Is but a bright reflection from where the "placers" lie.
No wonder that the cry is, from the timid and the bold,
Away to San Francisco! Ho, for the land of gold!

In the vale of Sacramento soft the robes of verdure lie,
And the brightest flowers are blooming to please the stranger's eye;
But the stranger's eye is dazzled, he cares not to behold
The smile that nature weareth—his only cry is "gold!"

Gold! gold! it was the watchword, when the Spaniard first unfurled
The flag of conquest over the new-found western world;
When a Cortez or Pizarro, red-handed, wily, bold,
Seized Montezuma's treasures—pounced on Peruvian gold.

'Twas a golden dream that westward turned many a venturous prow;
'Tis with golden dreams that westward are thousands thronging now;
And though pure hearts were gathered, and strong hands brought of old
To build our western empire, it's corner-stone was gold.

Thus to California's vallies, gold, with its phantom glare,
Lures thousands but to show what their real treasures are.
The soil, the streams and harbors, whose wealth remains untold,
Together with the climate, will eclipse the yellow gold.

Albany, June 1st, 1849.

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FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

In New-York, money has remained exceedingly plenty during the month, under the influx of mercantile deposits swelling at the banks, through the prompt payments of the country dealers. The passing away of the cholera was marked by the revival of great activity in the fall business. The number of dealers in the city became very large, and their purchases so active as to produce a rise in the prices of the considerable importations which have taken place for the fall trade. The importations of dry goods at the port of New-York, since July, have been as follows, comparing the aggregate with the corresponding season of last year:

IMPORTS OF DRY GOODS, PORT OF NEW-YORK:

	Wool.	Cotton.	Silk.	Flax.	Mis.	Total.
Aug. 10,	255,423	164,440	562,823	77,909	48,315	1,108,910
" 17,	1,020,645	311,555	1,087,371	265,764	127,442	2,822,807
" 24,	765,487	297,548	555,368	178,565	80,538	1,877,473
" 31,	748,803	263,229	513,756	156,277	73,376	1,755,443
Sept. 7,	457,360	207,954	445,464	89,088	67,446	1,267,322
" 14,	389,626	137,497	259,103	164,391	56,827	1,002,444
Total,	3,637,314	1,377,233	3,423,885	931,994	453,944	9,834,399
" 1848,	1,615,345	1,647,086	2,535,509	502,823	360,349	6,661,112
Increase,	2,021,069	—	888,376	429,171	93,595	3,173,287
Decrease,	—	269,853	—	—	—	—

There has been an increase in most articles, with the exception of cottons, reaching in the aggregate 33⅓ per cent., and these have found prompt sale at improving prices, under the effective demand from the interior, and cannot now be replaced at the same prices from abroad, by reason of the generally increased consumption which has taken place, as well in India as in Western Europe and England. The subsiding of political disquiet, although at the expense of popular rights, has been attended by that renewed activity of European business, which abundant food and cheap money generally ensures; and while very considerable exportations of farm produce have taken place, cotton has continued to advance in price in the face of a most prolific crop, in regard to quantity, although inferior in many respects in quality. This prosperous condition of the export trade has enabled the importers to pay for their large importations of goods without raising the prices of bills to *par*; sterling sells 8½ *a* 9¾ per cent., according to quality. It is most remarkable, that under larger importations than have taken place since 1836, bringing into the custom-house of New-York over $3,600,000 duties for the month of August, that the prices rise, are promptly paid for, and money continues cheaper than usual in the city; being loaned "at call at 3 *a* 4 per cent. per annum; while so far from exporting specie bills are declining in the face of a cessation of the export of bills. Every department of business is active, and prices advancing, particularly for the raw materials, cotton and wool, under the purchases of manufacturers. It is very evident that a continued relaxation of commercial restrictions, in western Europe, operating through improved facilities of communication, causes so great an increase in the consumption of raw materials, as in usual years to exceed the supply. The enlarged consumption of food causes many farmers, in countries favorable to its growth, to give less attention to the culture of raw materials, and cotton rapidly supplants flax and even wool. The cotton year having reached a close, it appears the crop results as follows:

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UNITED STATES COTTON CROP.

	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.
New-Orleans,	929,126	1,037,144	705,979	1,190,733	1,093,797
Mobile,	517,196	421,966	323,462	436,336	518,706
Florida,	188,893	241,184	127,852	153,776	200,186
Texas,	—	27,008	8,317	39,612	88,827
Georgia,	295,440	194,811	242,789	254,825	891,372
S. Carolina,	428,361	251,405	350,300	261,752	458,117
N. Carolina,	12,487	10,637	6,061	1,518	10,041
Virginia,	25,200	16,282	18,991	8,952	17,550
Total,	2,394,503	2,100,537	1,778,651	2,347,634	2,728,606

The disposition of the crop has been as follows :

EXPORTS, UNITED STATES CONSUMPTION, AND STOCKS REMAINING ON HAND.

	Ex. to G't Britain.	France.	North of Europe.	Other ports.	Total export.	U. S. Cons.	St'k on h'd Aug. 31.
1843,	1,409.711	346,179	117,224	76,493	2,010,137	825,129	94,486
1844,	1,202,498	282,685	62.053	75,254	1,629,490	346,744	159,772
1845,	1,489,806	359,357	134,501	150,592	2,083,756	387,006	94,126
1846,	1,102,399	359.703	86,692	118,028	1,666.792	422,597	107,122
1847,	830.909	241,486	75,692	97,138	1,241,222	427,967	214,837
1848,	1,324,265	279,172	120,348	184,476	1,858,261	531,772	171,468
1849,	1,537,901	868,259	165,458	156,226	2,227,844	518,039	154,753

After a crop of 332,000 bales larger than ever before, the stock in all the ports has diminished 17,000 bales. The quantity consumed at the South, taken to mills directly from the plantation, and therefore not included in the receipts, is put down at 110,000 bales against 75,000 last year. That is to say, southern manufactures have taken 35,000 bales more than last year, and northerners 13,000 bales less; making 22,000 bales more consumed in the Union. This western and southern consumption is computed as follows :

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON SOUTH AND WEST OF VIRGINIA.

	1849.	1848.
North Carolina	bales, 20,000	15.000
South Carolina	15,000	6,000
Georgia	20,500	6,000
Alabama	7,700	5,000
Tennessee	12,000	5,000
Kentucky	5.000	5.000
Ohio	9,000	12,500
Pittsburgh, Wheeling, &c	12,500	12,500
Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, &c	9,000	7,000
Total, to September 1	bales, 110,000	74,000

Four circumstances have conspired to improve the prices of domestic manufactures—viz : a rise in the raw material; the long summer drought; the influence of cholera among operatives ; and, lastly, an active and healthy demand, based upon the healthy export trade of the Union. That the interests of the vast mass of consumers lies exclusively in the profitable sale of their produce, is well known. When to the large home market an important foreign demand is added, the value of the aggregate sales is enhanced, and the prosperity of the producers becomes manifest in an active demand for wrought fabrics. This affects those few articles which, being better manufactured abroad through natural and artificial advantages, return home as the proceeds of produce sold, as well as the immense body of home-made goods, and both the importing and manufacturing interest are now participating in the prosperity created mainly by the favorable export trade. Many manufacturers are taking advantage of the abundance of money to hold stocks for a rise—an operation which will be ascribed to

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want of a high tariff when inevitable disaster overtakes such folly, notwithstanding the present disposition of cotton and woollen fabrics to advance. The generally prosperous condition of the foreign markets, resulting from the pacific aspect of affairs politically, abundant harvest, and cheap money, has produced on the continent, as well as in England, a rise of wages as well as raw material, and induced caution among holders of goods here in regard to foreign sales.

The prosperity of the great valley of the Mississippi, as manifest in the receipts of produce at New-Orleans, *via* the western waters, and the exports thence, is in some degree indicated in the following table:

RECEIPTS AND VALUE OF CERTAIN ARTICLES OF PRODUCE AT NEW-ORLEANS, YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31.

	1847.		1848.		1849.	
	Packages.	Value.	Packages.	Value	Packages.	Value.
Bacon,.....	476,613	$2,935,349	444,798	$2,098,788	301,043	$2,989,385
Bagging,.....	60,982	640,311	77,682	1,009,866	72,941	1,167,056
Bale rope,....	56,202	337,206	74,325	743,150	93,322	1,119,864
Butter, ...	54,348	256,920	45,213	226,065	57,972	289,860
Beef,.....	102,968	667,049	106,360	493,418	100,890	1,050,437
Corn, ...	3,006,086	5,454,653	1,593,048	1,497,758	2,000,849	1,923,464
Flour,.....	1,617,675	8,897,213	706,958	3,534,790	1,018,177	4,559,296
Lard,.....	392,153	3,793,075	519,692	4,583,510	489,747	4,922,713
Lead, ...	650,129	1,787,854	606,966	1,699,504	508,557	1,525,671
Potatoes,.....	142,888	285,776	151,861	303,782	146,116	365,290
Pork,.....	311,622	4,004,120	376,681	4,598,815	587,321	6,336,748
" lbs.,.....	8,450,700	507 042	13,564,430	406,932	10,273,680	285,263
Tallow,.....	6,658	133,160	4,357	78,426	10,622	223,062
Whiskey,.....	126,553	1,265,530	135,333	947,331	125,029	875,203
Wheat,.....	833,649	1,917,392	149,181	269,659	238,911	477,822
Total Western,.		$33,082,550		$24,321,794		$28,111,149
Cotton.....	740,669	32,589,436	1,213,605	35,200,345	1,142,332	30,844 314
Molasses,.....	6,000,000	1,440,000	12,000,000	1,920,000	14,300,000	2,288,000
Sugar,.....	140,000	9,800,000	240,000	9,600,000	220,000	8,800,000
Tobacco,.....	60,519	3,694,468	62,390	3,430,544	54,683	3,938,280
Other articles,..	—	9,516,802	—	5,306,468	—	8,007,949
Total,.....		$90,033,256		$79,779,151		$81,989,692

Although the receipts of western produce from the Mississippi and its tributaries have been less than in the year 1847, when the famine prices for food in England stimulated the business of the remotest sections, the value of that produce has this year exceeded that of the last by $4,000,000. This sum represents so much additional purchasing power on the part of those who produce for the New-Orleans market. The low estimate of the cotton average this year, arising from the fact that the *quality* was much below that of last year, gives a lower cash figure; but it is to be considered that the deliveries of cotton at New-Orleans are only 40 per cent. of the crop this year, while last year they were 50 per cent. There has been a less crop of sugar, but tobacco, molasses, and miscellaneous articles exceed, by more than $4,000,000, the value of last year. The aggregate value arrived at New-Orleans is larger than in any previous year, with the exception of the famine year. The aggregate official exports from New-Orleans for the fiscal years, ending June 30, were as follows:

EXPORTS, PORT OF NEW-ORLEANS.

	Foreign.				
	In American vessels.	Foreign vessels.	Total foreign.	Coastwise.	Total.
1848,....	$27,641.569....	$11,707,153....	$39,348,722....	$27,833,601....	$67,182,323
1849,....	22,489,521....	14,600,297....	37,089,818....	28,383,773....	65,393,571

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This decline in exports in American vessels occurred in the September quarter last year, during the disturbances of Europe. In the June quarter they had increased $2,600,000 over the corresponding quarter last year. Under a restored consumption of cotton in India, Europe, and England, stimulated and promoted by the free-trade policy of England, well-grounded suspicions arise that the production is now far less than the effective demand. In proof of this, a computation of the growth and consumption of United States cottons for the last fifteen years, including the present, results as follows:

Fifteen crops United States cotton, 1834 to 1848, bales . .	28,422,000
Consumption Europe and America, bales	28,279,000
Excess production	143,000

The excess for fifteen years is less than *three weeks'* consumption at the average of 1848! For the last four years in which the Zoll-Verein customs have been modified, the English duties on cotton removed and on food modified, and the reduction on the United States duties, the production of cotton has been 8,929,000 bales, and the consumption 9,680,000. Excess consumption 751,000 bales, or 25 per cent. of the crop of 1848. That the crop of next year will be several hundred thousand bales less than last, under the combined influence of early frosts, summer rains, Red river flood, and ball-worm ravages, is highly probable. But all estimate at this early season is hazardous. If the progress of consumption has been such in a year of political difficulties like the last, that the manufacturers have taken more than the largest crop ever before known, what must be the effect of diminished supply when the elements of that large consumption become more active, in face of political quiet for the coming year? The favorable accounts of the harvests abroad are such as to diminish the prospects of considerable exports; but the trade having been once opened, must continue to increase, and become an important element in farming prosperity.

POLITICAL MISCELLANY.

SYRACUSE CONVENTION.

It is well known that the "crooked and indirect ways" by which Mr. Van Buren arrived at power, failed him in the attempted retention of it, and made his name abhorrent to the mass of the northern democracy which rejected him in 1840. His malice operating through a reckless and unscrupulous son, succeeded in placing in power the present government, which is, seemingly, in alliance with foreign despots against every thing democratic. The democratic officers and policy have been swept from power in city, state, and federal government. From the massacre of 25 citizens in New-York, at the order of a whig mayor, to the political immolation of every democrat in the country, we see the results of Mr. Van Buren's treason. It is worthy of remark, that the pretext for this treason was, the exclusion of slavery from territories by authority of Congress. The Democratic principle is, that Congress has *no power* in the matter. Mr. Van Buren, who a few years since was the slaveholder's organ, deserted that interest and defeated the democratic party, in order to establish the whig principle that Congress has power to prevent slavery in the territories, and therefore *to establish it there* if a slaveholding majority is obtained. If Mr. Van Buren had succeeded in engrafting this principle upon the democratic party, what would have prevented him from returning to his first love, and contending that Congress should use it power for the establishment of slavery in the territories, a power now denied to it by the democratic party?

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In order to redeem the country from such treacherous thraldom, the democracy of New-York, knowing that the scales were falling from the eyes of the deluded followers of the Kinderhook dynasty, held at Rome a convention, in order to afford an opportunity to real democrats to throw off the Van Buren badge of free-soilism, and return to patriotism and honor. The younger Van Buren succeeded, after repeated insults offered amid ribald abuse to the long-honored and estimable men who composed that convention, in defeating their views of union.

The strongest disgust of this conduct was manifested by many present, particularly by that able democrat, Mr. Brown, of Orange, who denounced the insolent tergiversations of Mr. Van Buren in just terms, and abandoned the assembly.

On their adjournment the democrats addressed the state democracy, giving a clear history of the federal trick by which the Van Burens defeated the party in 1848. We make room for the following portion of the address:

We aimed not to depart from this great and liberal rule of action. We have presented it to the other organization, not only as the basis of all the past action of the democratic party, but in the terms and the forms adopted heretofore by that organization. It has been rejected by them. They demanded, as the condition of union, the distinct adoption of an extreme abstract position, unknown in the past action of the democratic party, unnecessary in any view of its future action, not demanded by any great public exigency, not required even if not objected to, to prevent the extension of slavery, but widely objected to at the north and at the south, as productive only of intestine evil and sectional agitation, and pernicious in its fruits upon the unity of the democracy and the integrity of the Union—and yet insisted upon as a test of democracy—as the touchstone of faith—as an "uncompromising" avowal, which all must make or subscribe to, whatever may be their convictions of its necessity, its propriety, or its constitutionality, or of the rights of the people of the territories, or the powers of Congress. A more illiberal or despotic dictum could not well be proclaimed. It is in the very spirit of despotism. It insists, not only that the democratic party shall present this new, and until two years since, unknown test, but that all, whatever they may think or believe, shall avow it; and that if all this be not conceded—if the test be not accepted—alienation from the democratic party, hostility to its candidates and organization, and combinations with whigs and abolitionists to defeat its tickets and subvert its landmarks and organization, will ensue.

Since the foundations of the democratic party were laid by Mr. Jefferson, the slavery question has never been regarded, in any form, as a part of its creed, or as a test of its faith. * * * * *

Although started at an earlier period in our history by the eastern federalists, the slavery agitation, as a party movement, may be said to have had its origin in the Hartford Convention. One of the avowed objects of that treasonable assemblage was to effect "a more radical reform in the national compact, to secure the attachment and support of all the people, by placing all on the basis of fair representation." The slave population, and the fact of its forming in part the basis of federal representation, was the principal ground on which the structure of sectional prejudices was attempted to be erected. The first amendment proposed by that assemblage to the Constitution of the United States, was for the apportionment of representatives in the several states, according to their respective numbers of free persons, excluding slaves; and, in order to check the advancing population and rising power of the west, (chiefly carved out of the original territory of the south,) they proposed a second amendment, "that no new state should be admitted into the Union by Congress, without the concurrence of two-thirds." The movement at Hartford was sectional and geographical—addressed to the eastern and northern states—and designed, by appeals to local and sectional interests and prejudices, to control the government, or to sever the Union. The south was democratic—Mr. Madison was democratic—the administration, from the accession of Mr. Jefferson to that moment, had been in democratic hands. Hatred of the democracy, and the desire of power, stimulated the federalists to constant efforts to recover it. A sectional issue, under the plea of unfair representation, and a natural repugnance to slavery, was regarded by the Essex junto and the assailants of the war and of the democratic party, as the most cunning and the most effective form of embarrassment to the one and of resistance to the other. Pre-eminent were the democracy of New-York, under the leadership of the patriot Tompkins, in sustaining the national democratic party and its administration, and in crushing this the germ of a sectional organization and of disunion.

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In the history of the country, the next effort in a like spirit was a more distinct agitation of the Missouri question. Six years had not changed the nature of federalism, its aims, its means, or the political aspects of the country. The national democratic party was still in the ascendant. A southern democrat still occupied the executive chair. The desire of power was not less an absorbing stimulant with the federal party. Again, the slavery question and a sectional issue seemed to offer, at whatever hazard to the tranquillity of the country and the integrity of the Union, the readiest mode of attaining its object. So long as the democratic party, standing upon its broad principles, under the ægis of the constitution, maintained its national cohesion, they had nothing to hope. To separate it into fragments, by geographical lines, and by a contest between sections, was again the labor of the eastern and northern federalists. They were smitten, in the spirit of the more modern Buffalo creed, with a sudden and remarkably earnest desire to "restrict and localize slavery." In perfect accordance, in sentiment, declaration and effort, with the northern abolitionists, they revived the agitation, began at Hartford, and destined to continue a party adjunct in the undying desire to overthrow the democratic party. Every reader of American history is familiar with the progress and result of that embittered sectional war. The democracy of New-York, constant, as amidst the perils of the war and the treason of the Hartford Convention, to the principles and organization of the national democratic party, successfully maintained both, and triumphed over this second labor of the federal politicians.

The great name of Jefferson has been invoked, recently, by those who seek to renew the agitation of the slavery question. How that illustrious patriot and statesman regarded it, is well known, and to none better than to the democracy of this state.

"This momentous question," (the Missouri agitation,) said he, "like a fire-bell in the night, has awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived, and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper. Of one thing I am certain, that as the passage of slaves from one state to another, would not make a slave of a single human being, who would not be so without it, so their diffusion over a greater surface would make them individually happier, and proportionally facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation, by dividing the burthen of a great number of coadjutors. An abstinence too, from this act of power, would remove the jealousy excited by the undertaking of Congress to regulate the condition of the different descriptions of men composing a state. This certainly is the exclusive right of every state, which nothing in the Constitution has taken from them, and given to the general government. Could Congress, for example, say that the non-freemen of Connecticut shall be freemen, or that they shall not emigrate into another state?" And again—"The Hartford Convention, the victory of Orleans, the peace of Ghent, prostrated the name of federalism. Its votaries abandoned it through shame and mortification; and now call themselves republicans. But the name alone is changed, the principles are the same: for, in truth, the parties of whig and tory, are those of nature." "On the eclipse of federalism with us, although not its extinction, its leaders got up the Missouri question, under the false front of lessening the measure of slavery, but with the real view of producing a geographical division of parties which might ensure them the next President. The people of the north went blindfold into the snare, followed their leaders for awhile with a zeal truly moral and laudable, until they became sensible that they had been used merely as tools for electioneering purposes; and that trick of hypocrisy then fell as quickly as it had been got up."

Another sexennial period elapsed, and the same geographical and sectional war was renewed, by the same party, and for the same object. The democratic party was still in the ascendant; and under the last of the southern democratic presidents, the hero and sage of the Hermitage, the whole brood of federal measures—the bank, a protective tariff, and a gigantic scheme of government internal improvements—had been swept away. But the restless desire of power remained; and as the fortresses of federalism fell, one after another, they again entrenched themselves behind their favorite geographical issue. They resorted, once more, to the old means, which at Hartford and in the Missouri agitation had proved impotent to divide, dissever and defeat the democratic party. Suddenly, again, slavery was the great moral and social evil that must be expelled from the country. The labor of suppression began with the District of Columbia, and the country was fiercely agitated, and Congress inundated with appeals for its suppression there. The federal party, which had resolved henceforth to call themselves whigs, with the abolitionists of both sexes, were furious to suppress slavery in the District of Columbia. Never, in the history of this republic, has this baneful

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question assumed an aspect of fiercer desperation. It was met and resisted in the most unqualified terms of reprobation by the united democracy of the Union. Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Wright at once declared the most unhesitating hostility to the abolition of slavery in the district. Mr. Van Buren, as President of the Senate, gave his casting vote in favor of the bill, authorizing the southern postmasters to open the mail-bags, and suppress the incendiary abolition publications. At the Democratic National Convention, in 1835, by which Mr. Van Buren was nominated, in an address prepared by a committee, of which Mr. Wright was one, and which Mr. Van Buren approved, the whole scheme of slavery agitation was condemned, in terms the strongest and most forcible of which our language is capable. It spoke of the attempt to create sectional parties, as "the most mischievous and wicked that has ever been made against the peace and happiness of the country." It said, "true republicans could never lend their aid in creating geographical parties in the east, west, north or south." It quoted the warning adjurations of Washington and Madison, against those "detestable efforts to alienate one portion of the country from the rest, and to enfeeble the sacred ties which link together the various parts." And it concluded with the earnest declaration, that against "this dangerous spirit of sectionalism and division—those unhallowed attempts to weaken the bonds of our glorious confederacy—it becomes the duty of every wise man, of every honest man, and of every true American, to watch with sleepless vigilance." A meeting was held in the city of Albany, in which A. C. Flagg, John A. Dix, and John Van Buren were prominent: over which William L. Marcy, then the executive of the state, presided; and at which General Dix reported the resolutions. These were a most emphatic condemnation of the slavery agitation. They declared that "the union of the states, which, under Providence had conferred the richest blessings on the people, was the result of compromise and conciliation; that we can only hope to maintain it by abstaining from all interference with the laws, domestic policy, and peculiar interests of every other state; and that all such interference, which tends to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, deserves to be frowned upon with indignation by all who cherish the principles of our revolutionary fathers, and who desire to preserve the Constitution, by the exercise of that spirit of amity which actuated its framers." General Dix, in his speech on that occasion, not only affirmed, "as a fundamental condition of our social existence, that the question of slavery in a slave-holding state shall not be disturbed by the people or government of any other state; and that the general government has no control over it;" but he held that "there was a political obligation, rising out of the compromise of interests, in which the foundations of the Union were laid, to abstain from every species of interference which may tend to disturb the domestic quietude, or put in jeopardy the rights of property, which the constitution was designed to secure." Mr. Van Buren declared, in reply to an application from North Carolina, that, if elected to the presidency, he "must go into the presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of any attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave states." He urged the people of the north and south to "visit, with their severest displeasure, any attempt to connect the subject with party politics;" and he expressed the hope, that "the efforts of those who may persist in the work of agitation may be overcome by reason, or rendered inoperative by constitutional remedies." In his inaugural address, he renewed these declarations, in language equally explicit. Repeating his declaration of inflexible and uncompromising opposition to any attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave states, he made the strongest avowal, in relation to any prospective action of Congress, known in our public history. He said, "No bill conflicting with these views can ever receive my constitutional sanction." He said also, that "the last, perhaps the greatest, of the prominent sources of discord and disaster, supposed to lurk in our political condition, was the institution of domestic slavery;" that "if the agitation of this subject was intended to reach the stability of our institutions, enough had occurred to show that it had signally failed;" and that although "such attempts at dangerous agitation might periodically return, yet, with each, the object would be understood." The democratic members of Congress, of both houses, held a meeting, and, through their chairman, John M. Niles, reprobated all efforts at slavery agitation or sectional interference. And, finally, during the same session, (1838,) the democratic majority, under the sanction and guidance of Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Wright, felt it their duty to arrest the "periodical return of this attempt at dangerous agitation." It had assumed the form of petitions to Congress, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in territories, and for the abolition of the internal slave-trade, so called. The entire whig and abolition strength, in and out of Congress, was engaged with great zeal in this fresh labor of party agitation. To meet and defeat it, the cele-

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brated resolutions of Mr. Atherton were introduced. They were adopted with the entire concurrence of Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Wright and Col. Benton, of nearly all the democratic members of Congress, of the entire democratic national and state administrations, and of the democratic press of all parts of the Union. They were resisted by the united northern federal or whig vote, attacked with violence by the abolitionists, and denounced by the whig press. So universal was the concurrence among democrats, in the general positions of these resolutions, in relation to the slavery agitation, and the interference of Congress in its abolition in the District of Columbia and the territories, that because Judge Beardsley (while he concurred in their general scope) objected to the last resolution, as touching upon the right of petition, he was denounced by the politicians who are the leaders in the present slavery agitation in this state, as "unsound!" These resolutions were as follows:

"1. Resolved, That this government is a government of limited powers, and that, by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the subject of slavery in the several states of this confederacy.

"2. Resolved, That petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one State to another, are a part of a plan of operations set on foot to affect the institution of slavery in the several states, and thus indirectly destroy that institution within their limits.

"3. Resolved, That Congress has no right to do that, indirectly, which it cannot do directly; and that the agitation of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia or the territories, as a means and with a view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several states, is against the true spirit and meaning of the Constitution, an infringement of the rights of the States affected, and a breach of the public faith, upon which they entered into the confederation.

"4. Resolved, That the Constitution rests on the broad principles of equality among the members of this confederacy, and that Congress, in the exercise of its acknowledged powers, has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one of the States and another, with a view of abolishing the one and promoting the other.

"5. Resolved, therefore, That all attempts on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, or the territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from state to state, or to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the confederacy and another, with the views aforesaid, are in violation of the Constitution, destructive of the fundamental principles on which the union of these states rests, and beyond the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper, touching or relating, in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery as aforesaid, or to the abolition thereof, shall, on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid upon the table, without being debated, printed, or referred."

These proceedings, so unequivocal in their import—and so significant of the democratic sentiment of the country—had been preceded by the parting admonitions of Jackson. This valedictory to the American people, over whom he had presided, with equal wisdom and patriotism, was filled with this topic. Alluding to the farewell address of Washington, he said:

"He has cautioned us, in the strongest terms, against the formation of parties on geographical discriminations, as one of the means which might disturb the union, and to which designing men would be likely to resort." Amid the general prosperity and splendid success which has followed the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the dangers of which he warned us, are becoming every day more evident, and the signs of evil are sufficiently apparent, to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the patriot. We behold systematic efforts publicly made to sow the seeds of discord between different parts of the United States, and to place party divisions directly upon geographical distinctions; to excite the South against the North, and the North against the South, and to force into the controversy the most delicate and exciting topics, upon which it is impossible that a large portion of the Union can ever speak, without strong emotion. "Rest assured that the men found busy in this work of discord, are not worthy of your confidence, and deserve your strongest reprobation."

Thus, during the unbroken course of the democratic party of the Union, through the entire series of republican Presidents, the agitation of the slavery question, its introduction as a party test or issue, and the attempts to create geographical parties, have been regarded and resisted, as an antagonist principle of that party, and as an element of disunion.

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But they did not choose to rest the question alone, even upon this high concurrent action and expression of democratic statesmen and legislators nearly coequal with the foundation of the government. They embodied the democratic sentiment on the subject in the highest political assemblage known to their organization. At the National Convention, held at Baltimore, in 1840, at which Mr. Van Buren was nominated for a re-election, the democracy of the Union placed themselves distinctly on record, upon this, and all the questions that divide the democracy and the federalism or whiggism of the country. They resolved:

"That Congress has no power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists and others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, and to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an irresistible tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions."

This resolution, drawn up, as we believe, by Silas Wright, was unanimously adopted by the National Convention—was, four years afterwards, reported by Benjamin F. Butler, and re-affirmed by the National Democracy of 1844; and again adopted and reiterated by the Democratic National Convention of 1848.

If there is one feature for which the national democratic party is distinguished beyond another, it is that of antagonism to the slavery agitation in every form. From the first to the last, they have stood before the world in this high attitude of patriotism, and have successfully maintained the democratic cause and principles. From the beginning, also, or at least from the advent and fall of the Hartford Convention, the slavery question and sectional division and partyism have been an element, an adjunct of federalism and abolitionism. "Periodically," these combined adversaries of the democracy have renewed these attempts at "dangerous agitation," as an auxiliary to their unabated desire to divide and overthrow the democratic party. But, until the last election, the scheme of division, hostile to the best interests of the country, and threatening evil far beyond the strife of parties or the hopes of individual aspirants, resulted in the discomfiture of its authors.

At that election, a new auxiliary entered the field of division. In all the northern States, individuals who had previously acted with the democratic party, some of them prominently so, and who had enjoyed its confidence, and upon whom its favor had been lavished, separated from it, and assumed precisely the antagonist ground upon which federalism and abolitionism had previously assailed it in vain. In this State the division began in 1847. In that year this body of partisans insisted that the issue which the national democratic party had uniformly rejected, as a party element, should be adopted—should form a part of the party expression and declaration—and, because the Democratic State Convention of that year declined to engraft this new dictum into the democratic creed, but preferred, as in all past time, that, as a disturbing element, it should be allowed to remain an individual sentiment, and not a party axiom, a body of partisans, who have since assumed a "free soil" organization, styling themselves, in some quarters, the "free democracy," and known by various appellatives, refused to support the democratic nomination, made in conformity to the uniform democratic usage, and avowing the well-known principles of the democratic party—and withholding their votes, contributed directly to the success of the whig party, and to the election of the present whig State officers. They threw the State, in all its departments, into the hands of the old, active and uniform antagonists of the democratic party. At the last election, this defection, assuming a bolder front, and a more distinct antagonism, separated from the national democratic party, and assembling at Buffalo, and inviting and receiving the co-operation of partisans of all faiths and creeds, adopted a new "platform," embracing federal and abolition doctrines, and, standing upon it during the campaign, brought out separate third party tickets, comprising, as candidates, whigs, abolitionists, and seceding democrats, and thus threw the government and administration of the Nation, as they had previously done that of the State, into the hands of the whig party. With a peculiar consistency, they professed to regard the principles of hostility to the extension of slavery, and its distinct party avowal, as the only question involved in the contest; so much so, that they professed to separate from the democratic party upon this single position, and upon this issue to resist and defeat the democratic candidate for the Presidency, and to effect, as they well knew, if their efforts were at all potential, the election of the whig presidential candidate. Thus aiming to defeat a democrat, distinguished as such in the highest civil stations, during more than forty years public service; a citizen of a free

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State, and opposed to slavery extension: and to elect the whig nominee, standing as such in known hostility to the principles and organization of the democratic party—a citizen of a slave State, an extensive slave owner, and with such interests and associations, not doubted to favor the institution and extension of slavery.

By order of the Democratic State Convention:

Committee.	WM. L. MARCY,	J. R. FLANDERS,
	L. B. SHEPARD,	WM. PORTER, Jr.,
	CHARLES GANUN,	S. G. HATHAWAY,
	A. C. NIVEN,	T. M. HOWELL.
	T. A. OSBORNE.	

This appeal was powerful, and exposes in a clear light the frauds and tergiversations of the Van Buren cabal.

On the 6th of September, the Democratic State Convention met at Syracuse for the nomination of State officers, and the following ticket was presented:

For Judge of Court of Appeals.—Hiram Denio, of Oneida county.
Comptroller.—John A. Lott, Kings county.
Secretary of State.—Jesse C. Dana, Jefferson county.
Attorney General.—L. S. Chatfield, Otsego county.
Treasurer.—Darius A. Ogden, Yates county.
State Engineer.—John D. Fay, Monroe county.
Canal Commissioner.—Frederick Follett, Genesee county.
State Prison Inspector.—Darius Clark, St. Lawrence county.

These nominations were accepted and the following resolutions passed:

"*Resolved.* That the Democratic State Committee be authorized to withdraw any of the nominees presented by this Convention, except those for Comptroller, Attorney-General, Canal Commissioner and State Prison Inspector, provided the Utica Convention ratify those names, and complete the ticket by nominating well-known and acknowleged Democrats as candidates for Judge of the Court of Appeals, Secretary of State, Treasurer, and State Engineer, *and shall impose no principle or test upon said candidates inconsistent with the resolutions adopted by the Democratic Convention held in the Presbyterian Church at Rome:* and that the ticket thus nominated receive the united support of both divisions of the Democratic party.

"*Resolved,* That we are opposed to the extension of Slavery to the free territories of the United States; but we do not regard the Slavery question, in any form of its agitation, or any opinion in relation thereto, as a test of political faith, or as a rule of party action.

"*Resolved,* That the power of Congress over Slavery in the territories, and the particular modes of legislation thereon, are, among Democrats, controverted questions; and that we concede to every one, in relation thereto, the undisputed right of opinion, not regarding any particular mode of constitutional construction on this question a part of the Democratic creed, or as essential to fellowship with our Democratic brethren in this State, or in any section of the Union."

The first resolution was justly and warmly opposed by the New-York delegation, because it is known that no confidence whatever can be placed in the Van Buren leaders. They have avowed whig principles, and their organs are daily reiterating the worn-out slang of the Federal press. The clause, however, providing that the nominees should be well known democrats, and declaring that no test should be exacted saved, the resolution, and the whole were passed by the following vote:

Ayes—Messrs. Degraw, Shaw, Pruyn, Seymour, Moulton, White, Bowen, Porter, Hutchinson, Bennett, Warden, Mitchell, Monell, Howell, Disbrow, Peters, Bloomfield, Goodwin, Fox, Butts, Camp, Smith, Dodge, Follett, Northrop, Benton, Carver, Skinner, Cole, Church, Barnes, Morse, Hough, Huson, Christie, Mott, Cramer, Walworth, Dodge, Woodward, Bristol, Wing, Sandford, Gery, Ward.—47.

Noes—Messrs. Dodge, Cutting, Western, Murphy, Matsell, Tittle, Crasto, Steward, West, Schell, Sweet, Sheppard, Ranson, Robinson, Beardsley, Caryl, Wendell, Thompson, Moore, Hyde, Spencer, Woodruff, A. J. Thompson, Suffern, Searing, Stanton, White, Smith, Birdsall, Harrison, Jackson, Halsey, Hasbrook, Raplee.—34.

The Van Buren faction met at Utica, on the 12th, and accepted the resolutions of the Democratic Convention, nominated the four officers allotted to them, and the ticket now stands—

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DEMOCRATIC.	KINDERHOOK.
For Comptroller,	*Judge of the Court of Appeals,*
JOHN A. LOTT.	FREEBORN C. JEWETT.
For Attorney General,	*For Secretary of State.*
LEVI S. CHATFIELD.	HENRY J. RANDALL.
For Canal Commissioner,	*For State Engineer,*
FREDERICK FOLLETT.	ALEX. CAMPBELL.
For State Prison Inspector,	*For Treasurer.*
DARIUS CLARK.	BENJAMIN WELCH.

That the people of the State will rally to the support of those recognised as sound Democrats there is no doubt, and they will also remember that when Mr. Van Buren's agents appeared at Baltimore, on the pretence of being delegates from the New-York democracy, it was required of them to know if they would support the nominee of the Convention if they were admitted as members. The insolent contempt and affected indignation with which they rejected this "test," although it ill concealed their meditated fraud, is a severe commentary upon the "test" they now seek to impose upon the candidates of the people. The absurd folly of questioning a candidate for office in the free State of New-York, as to his opinion upon how the free people of California ought or ought not to vote upon their own affairs, is too manifest for serious consideration. Religious, or scientific, or any other abstract notions, might as well be made the test of qualification for a political office. It may be regarded as derogatory to the Democracy, that they condescended to confer at all with *pseudo* democrats, who propose to fetter the opinion of candidates for office upon matters foreign to the State Government. The Democracy will, doubtless, act upon the Democratic principles of Jefferson and Jackson, and abandon the schemes concocted between John Van Buren and their old enemy, Henry Clay, while managing the masque balls at Saratoga. Thanks to the progress of the age, politics are no longer a *masqued ball*, to be controlled even by managers as adroit as Messrs. Van Buren and Clay.

M. Poussin.—It is a lamentable fact that the administration of the federal government has, for the last six months, been managed more in accordance with the passions and prejudices of the individuals composing it, than in the pursuance of any settled and well recognised principles of governmental policy. Among all the objections that are urged against the English form of government, it must be admitted that her ministers are, for the most part, enlightened statesmen; and no matter which party may be in power, the government is, in the long run, conducted upon broad principles, in accordance with the progress of the age. On the other hand, while congratulating ourselves upon the general excellence of our own institutions, we have to regret that the highest offices in the nation are sometimes filled by narrow-minded and incapable men, whose vulgar passions and political prejudices make the great interests of the nation and of humanity subservient to petty personal schemes. That the public interest was sacrificed to the hot haste with which experienced public officers were supplanted by ignorant and inefficient men, was to be expected, notwithstanding that the "second Washington" had pledged himself that there should be no indiscriminate removals. This was a minor evil, however, compared with the narrow views taken of our foreign relations, and the eagerness with which the interests of American citizens and of struggling republicans abroad, have been sacrificed to a desire to meddle with individual rights, and to conciliate the oppressive governments of Europe, as manifest in the prohibition of the sale of American built vessels to the governments of Europe, under a forced construction of treaty obligations; also in the prohibition of the undoubted right of American citizens to take service with the people of Cuba; and more recently an interruption of our diplomatic relations with France, without any sufficient cause that appears upon the surface. In the case of Rey, our soil was invaded by Spanish officials, our flag insulted, and our national sovereignty set at naught in the arrest, by order of the Spanish governor of Cuba, of an individual in New-Orleans. All this was atoned for satisfactorily to the government, simply by the return of the man. Hence it follows, that any citizen of the United States may be kidnapped by a foreign despot, torn from his family, transported beyond seas and imprisoned, threatened with death and

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torture; and if he condescends to return the man, our government is satisfied, and the citizen may thank God that he has escaped so. The government acts, it would seem, only when the man is dead. The Irish justice, when appealed to for protection by one whose life had been threatened, replied, "only you let him kill you, that's all I want, and then I'll fix him." This appears to be the wisdom in the case of Rey. The Spanish minister received as much respect as before. Quite another tone has been assumed towards the only republican envoy sent to us from Europe. M. Poussin, it is well known, was a sub-editor of the *National*, when the revolution of February, 1848, placed the clique owning and editing that journal in power in France. As his share in the new order of things, the sub-editor became the envoy of France to the United States. That he is a gentleman of ordinary abilities, but deeply imbued with republicanism as "he understands it," there is no doubt; and the fact of his retaining office under the present foresworn President of France, is evidence that his political principles take their hue from the color of his environment. For some reason, not before the public, a strong personal prejudice appears to have sprung up between this person and the cabinet officers with whom he held official intercourse. Now it appears that both minister and secretary are innocent of all experience in diplomatic intercourse. M. Poussin cannot divest himself of that vulgar conviction of his national importance, which exhibited in the Chinese, furnishes an endless source of amusement to the rest of the world; consequently all his communications to this government smack of this narrow-minded arrogance. However, the passages in his letters which ought to have been read with a smile and passed with contempt, were eagerly seized upon by the Secretary, as cause of offence. The points in dispute were two. It appears that the U. S. authorities in Mexico sold a lot of tobacco to a Mr. Domercq, June 20, 1847, and that on the 16th of Oct. in the same year, the same tobacco was resold to M. Port, at $24, and the mistake being discovered, it was restored to Mr. Domercq. M. Port then alleged that he had sold it for $33, and claimed damages. On trial, it appeared that M. Port's claims were founded in fraud, and were dismissed. The matter was referred to the government, and the claim was urged by M. Poussin in a style such as we have indicated as natural to him. His letter of April, 1849, closed as follows:

"The Government of the United States must be convinced that it is more honorable to acquit fairly a debt contracted during war, under the pressure of necessity, than to avoid its payment by endeavoring to brand the character of an honest man."

He was sent for, and told that this letter could not be received, and he struck out this quoted passage. Soon after, the French ship Eugenie went ashore upon the bank of Riso, and was saved by Commander Carpender, of the U. S. steamship Iris, who preferred a claim for salvage, and detained the vessel 30 hours to adjust it. The claim being refused, was relinquished, and the vessel proceeded. The refusal to pay the salvage claimed, was based upon the legal point that no salvage was due except in case of total wreck; and although the Eugenie would have been a total wreck but for Capt. Carpender's timely assistance, yet his promptness and efficiency cut him off from the reward which greater tardiness might have insured. For this M. Poussin requested the punishment and dismissal of Capt. Carpender. The conclusion of the correspondence on the part of the minister was as follows:

TRANSLATION OF A NOTE FROM THE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF FRANCE.

LEGATION OF FRANCE,
WASHINGTON, May 30, 1849.

SIR:—I received on the 28th of May the note which you did me the honor to address to me on the same day, in answer to mine calling upon the government of the United States to disavow the conduct of Commander Carpender, of the American steamship Iris, towards the French ship Eugenie, of Havre, which had run upon the bank of Riso, near the anchorage of Anton Lizardo. The explanations given by Commander Carpender are not of a nature, Mr. Secretary of State, such as to dispel the discontent which his proceedings caused to my government. He considered, as he says, and still considers, that the case was one of salvage; that the rights acquired by him as the saver of the vessel saved, empowered him to keep possession of her until his extravagant pretensions were fully satisfied. But his opinions have little interest in our eyes when we have occasion to condemn his conduct. I called on the Cabinet at Washington, Mr. Secretary of State, in the name of the French government, to address a severe reproof to that officer of the American navy, in order that the error which he has committed in a point involving the dignity of your national marine might not be repeated hereafter. From your answer, Mr. Secretary of State, I am unfortunately induced to believe that your government subscribed to the strange doctrines professed by Commander Carpen-

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der, of the steamer Iris; and I have only to protest, in the name of my government, against these doctrines. I have the honor to be.

With distinguished consideration,
Your most obedient servant, &c.,
GUILLAUME TELL POUSSIN.

HON. J. M. CLAYTON, Secretary of State.

This whole matter was then laid before the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexis de Tocqueville, author of "Democracy in America," and he probably not being aware of the state of things which gave rise to the singular tone of the notes passing between those funny diplomats, assumed the tone of the emperor of the world, and brother of the sun, and "blowed up" both of them in style as follows:

"These sentiments of reciprocal confidence being of a nature to avert and prevent, in the discussions of private interests, those susceptibilities and misunderstandings which cannot fail to complicate them, we have seen with as much astonishment as regret the turn which the communications exchanged between our Envoy and Mr. Clayton have taken. Even before I had received the letter which you have written me to call my attention to them, M. Poussin had transmitted copies of them to me. I had been painfully impressed *to find in that correspondence, a tone of acerbity and harshness* very little conformable to the friendly relations between the two countries; but I ought to say, without entering into useless recriminations, *without seeking for the side whence the first injuries proceeded, it had appeared to me that this observation* was not alone applicable to the letters written by the Minister of France."

Although this epistle, under ordinary circumstances, would indicate the most insufferable arrogance, and might in earlier times have been construed into an assumption of suzerainty over the United States, is in fact ridiculous. Mr. Clayton and M. Poussin had with true school-boy tactics been "making mouths at each other," and on the first opportunity, Mr. Clayton "told his marm." The basis of the whole was so absurd that *marm* DeTocqueville, doubtless, with a hearty laugh, told them both to "behave." Unfortunately, however, for the Minister, we have no President; there is an old soldier that votes with the cabinet, and almost always in the minority, so that Mr. Clayton was empowered to send him the following note:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 14, 1849.

"SIR,—The President has devolved upon me the duty of announcing to you, that the government of the United States will hold no further correspondence with you, as the Minister of France, and that the necessity which has impelled him to take this step, at the present moment, has been made known to your government.—In communicating the President's determination in regard to yourself personally, I avail myself of the occasion to add, that due attention will be cheerfully given to any communication from the government of France, affecting the interests of our respective republics, which may reach this department through any other channel. Your own government will be able to explain to you the reasons which have influenced the American Executive in delaying the present communication until this period. The President has instructed me further to say, that every proper facility for quitting the United States, will be promptly given at any moment when you may be pleased to signify a desire to return to France."

I am, sir, very respectfully,
Your most ob't servant,
JOHN M. CLAYTON.

"MR. WILLIAM TELL POUSSIN, &c."

It is only a short time since that Spain ordered the British minister, Sir H. Bulwer, to leave Madrid for an insolent interference in the affairs of that government. The minister of France is sent home from the United States, because he is not agreeable, socially, to certain persons at Washington; while the Spanish minister, whose government authorizes its officers to invade the United States, and kidnap its citizens, is treated with the highest respect. The legality of the repudiation of M. Poussin, is based on the following passage in Kent's Commentaries on the Law of Nations, cap. 11:

"If ambassadors should be so regardless of the object of their privilege as to insult, or openly attack the laws or government of a nation to whom they are sent, their functions may be suspended by a refusal to treat with them, or application can be made to their own sovereign for their recall, or they may be dismissed and required to depart within a reasonable time. We have had instances within our own times. of all these modes of dealing with ministers who have given offence, *and it is not to be denied, that every Government has a perfect right to judge for itself whether the language or conduct of a foreign minister be admissible.*"

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THE AMERICAN ART-UNION.

This great institution is now in the eleventh year of its operation, and it has reached a degree of prosperity unparalleled in the history of similar undertakings Its income, from $5,000 has reached $80,000. The number of members, from 937 to 16,475. Its distribution, from seven Works of Art, costing about $2,000, to 929, costing more than $60,000.

The Institution has distributed about 2.000 Works of Art, painted by 231 different Artists, residing in fifty towns, in sixteen States and Territories from Maine to Louisiana, in Rome, Florence, Dusseldorf, Paris and London.

Paintings have been purchased from 145 New-York Artists; 27 Pennsylvania; 10 Massachusetts; 7 Ohio; 5 New-Jersey; 4 District of Columbia Artists; and smaller numbers from Artists in Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri and Michigan.

Engravings, etchings and outlines, to the number of more than 150,000 copies, have been distributed throughout the Union.

The Art Union has more than 500 agencies, embracing every State in the Union and the neighboring nations, and now offers to citizens and strangers, free access to its large galleries filled with paintings.

The great success of this undertaking is, mainly, to be attributed to the exertions of a few gentlemen, like Gen. Prosper M. Wetmore, who, although deeply engaged in business, and arduous duties of a public and private nature, have, nevertheless, devoted such time and talents to this object, as have wrought out the results indicated. The exhibition gallery in Broadway, has long been known to the public; and during the past year the adjoining estate has been purchased, and a new gallery of splendid dimensions opened parallel to the first, and the two now present the most magnificent collection upon this continent. A festival in honor of the dedication of this additional gallery was held on the 17th. While the company were absorbed in the contemplation of the most select paintings of the Union, the President, Gen. Prosper M. Wetmore, invited the company to pass through the side curtain, and patake of a generous collation there spread.

At the request of the President, the Rev. Dr. Bethune prefaced the repast with an invocation for the Divine blessing, the company standing the while uncovered in respectful silence. Some two hundred gentlemen were present.

The President arose and said:—Gentlemen, you will fill your glasses for the first toast. We are happy, in the presence of this goodly meeting, to inform you that we are honored on this occasion with the company of the representative of one of the first among the great nations of the earth—the representative of a nation whose whole history is a history of achievements in science and in arts, and of glory in arms—a nation which has recently taken her stand among the great families of the republics of the earth. Her representative here is known to us. He is alike distinguished for his services to our country and to his own. I give you, gentlemen—

"The republic of France, and her representative to the United States, Major Poussin."

M. Poussin, although actually dismissed by our government on the preceding Tuesday, was not then aware of the fact. There was no applause given to the French republic. There were murmurs of Rome and Hungary during General Wetmore's introduction, and we were glad to hear them, although the minister himself was received with becoming respect; and

Major Poussin, under some embarrassment, proceeded to express his thanks for the honor conferred upon him and the republic of France; and as the theme of his remarks, he exhorted the young and rising artists of America to study the old masters of Europe. It was from the study of their great works that the arts in France had risen to their present state of perfection. He concluded by a sentiment complimentary to France and the United States, as being united in their devotion to the fine arts. The remarks about old masters and French excellence, were in very bad taste and coldly received.

The President said, while he would give the old masters the first rank, we should not forget our artists at home; and after speaking of the benefits conferred by this institution in the encouragement and creation of painters, he proposed

"The American School of Arts.—Let us remember, while we admire its productions, that the artist cannot live on praise alone." (Cheers.)

Mr. Doughty, as the oldest artist present, was called out, and after some appropriate remarks, proposed the following sentiment—

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"The American Art Union—May its interests and prosperity be dear to every lover of art on this vast continent, and may its success be commensurate only with its wishes."

The President next addressed, in a complimentary speech, the meeting, in behalf of the fine arts in the great and growing West, and directed his remarks especially to the Cincinnati Art Union, and Dr. Magoon, as its representative here.

The Rev. Dr. Magoon rose to reply. He spoke of the fine progress of the Cincinnati Art Union, and said that a Western man was a New Englander enlarged—a Yankee made bigger—and that every thing over the mountains was on the expansive and go-a-head system. He finally gave:

"The Western Art Union—We will emulate you as far as possible, and beat you if we can." (Laughter and applause.)

The President next called attention to the Philadelphia Art Union, and to its able and distinguished representative among us, Mr. McMichael.

Mr. McMichael briefly expressed his sense of the honor, and asked leave to pass over the subject to Dr. Bethune.

President Wetmore.—We take you at your word, sir; I have desired to get the Doctor out, but was puzzled how to reach him.

The Rev. Dr. Bethune came forward and delivered a very happy and appropriate address—He proposed in conclusion:

"The Revolutionary War—A good study for the American artist." (Applause, loud and strong.)

Gov. Bradish was next called forward, and after some general remarks on the advantages of a cultivation of the arts—of the success of the society, he submitted:—

"Art and Artists—A just appreciation of the one, and a liberal encouragement of the other, have in all countries, and in all ages, indicated a high civilization."

The President next remarked upon the indispensable agencies of the press in the propogation and advancement of all good things, accompanying his panegyric with a corresponding toast, complimentary of the press.

Mr. James Brooks was called out to respond. He concluded with an appropriate sentiment.

Volunteer toasts being called for, the Pioneer London Art Union was proposed, and received with applause.

Mr. Hoffin was called upon to reply, and did so in an able exposition of the progress of the fine arts in England, the effect of which might be seen even in the rough engravings of the *London Punch*.

Mr. Morgan L. Smith, of Texas, was called for, but he had modestly disappeared.

Mr. H. J. Raymond, one of the committee of management, was toasted, and received with three times three. He disclaimed having done any thing extraordinary to the advancement of the institution, and was at a loss to account for the refusal of the resignation he had proposed, of so very little service had he been to the committee.

Other speakers followed, and at a late hour the meeting dissolved, the whole company delighted with the entertainment.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

1.—The Anglo-Saxon. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, Paternoster Row. Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

This is the title of a new and elegantly printed Quarterly, published in London, three numbers of which have just reached us. Its editors are Martin F. Tupper, Esq. and the Rev. L. Brereton. The design and scope of this publication are entirely new—to create and diffuse a more fraternal feeling among the great Anglo-Saxon family, scattered throughout the world. It recognises no distinctions, except those of race. It is the organ of the Anglo-Saxons—of the British Empire, the United States, and the world.

A new feeling seems to have recently sprung up in England towards this country, and it is one of justice and good will. That our native land, its institutions and people, have been the objects of much scurrilous abuse and wilful misrepresentations on the part of some of the British writers, there can be no question. But this class never represented the feelings of the great mass of the British people, any more than the perpetrators of the bloody cruelties of the prison ships of the revolution represented the humanity of the British nation. But numerous and scurrilous as may have been the attacks made upon us by British writers, it must be confessed that, as a people,

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we are rather inclined to be "thinned-skinned," and have by our own extreme sensitiveness and fluttering given an accidental importance to works, which, like Mrs. Trollope's, would otherwise never have been raised into notice, or which would have sunk at once into oblivion. But the day of such writers is past: they have given place to such men as Lyell and Murray. It is even probable we may in future be delivered from the infliction of so stupid a book as Mr. Charles Dickens's "Notes." At least it is to be hoped so.

The tone of the Anglo-Saxon is one of great friendliness towards this country—indeed we should half suspect the sincerity of its "sweet caresses" did we not believe the author of Proverbial Philosophy to be too honest a man to utter any thing but the real sentiments of his heart.

A nobler object could not engage the attention of a British or American scholar, than the investigation of the origin and progress of the Anglo-Saxon race, whose advancement has been marked by the noblest institutions and achievements that have distinguished any of the modern nations.

In the third number of the Anglo-Saxon, we perceive that the *Thousandth Anniversary* of the birth of Alfred the Great is to be celebrated this fall, at Wantage, in the county of Berkshire. It will be a great Anglo-Saxon festival, to which will gather for an exulting greeting, vast numbers of the Anglo-Saxon family, from Alfred's own descendant, Queen Victoria, to the humblest peasant that turns up the soil of his native island. It will be a grand occasion; and as the invitation has been sent to this country for the Anglo-Saxons to join in the festival, we hope it will be responded to, and that as large a number as possible of our citizens will take this occasion to visit the Father Land, to mingle their sympathies with our brethren beyond the sea. In a subsequent number we shall notice more particularly the literary contents of the Anglo-Saxon. We understand that it will hereafter be issued simultaneously in New-York and London; a distinguished writer, of this city, having been requested by the association in London, to act as American editor.

2.—Liberty's Triumph. A Poem. By Robert W. Landis. John Wiley, 161 Broadway.

This is a handsome volume of some 544 pages, being a poetical account of the "model revolution of the world," in imitation of which Europe has, during 70 years, been convulsed with abortive throes. We believe this is the first measured history of "the times that tried men's souls," and it has, therefore, at least, the merit of novelty. The author informs us, in his introduction, that it has been the labor of a life; that it is

"A work not hasty wrought; but at the price
Of life's most dearest hours from its young dawn,
'Till frosted locks announce the moment near
When from its warfare stern I can retire."

3.—Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome. Being notes of conversations held with certain Jesuits on the Subject of Religion, in the city of Rome. By the Rev. Mr. Robert Seymour, M. A. Harper Brothers.

The ferment which of late years has existed in the Church of England has been productive of many valuable and interesting works, as well from seceding clergymen objecting to unauthorized formalities, as from those who have been drawn back to what they consider the orthodoxy of Rome. The present volume is one of great interest. The Rev. gentleman throws together, in a very readable shape, notes of conversations held with leading members of the Society of Jesus upon the points of difference that exist between the Anglican and Romish churches. His apprehensions of the tenor of the conversation are stated clearly and concisely, and convey much information upon matters of faith not generally known or understood. The whole, however, has the air of a design to counteract the growing *respect* for Rome, and to damp the growing sympathy, and to re-assure the wavering. The injudicious conduct of the Romish leaders is the greatest enemy the Church now possesses, and is the surest bulwark the Anglican church has against her proselytes. The book will be read with interest by all.

4.—Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series: Q. Curtii Rufi de gestis Alexandri Magni. Lea & Blanchard.

This series of the Latin classics is sufficiently well-known and appreciated by the public. It is singularly calculated to advance the learner in the analyzation of Latin sentences.

5.—Ollendorf's New Method of Learning to Read, Write and Speak the French Language; or First Lessons in French. By G. W. Greene, instructor. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

This is an excellent pocket edition of a very useful book to the learner of French.

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Engraved expressly for the Democratic Review by E. Lozey.

A G Brown

MEMBER OF CONGRESS — MISSISSIPPI

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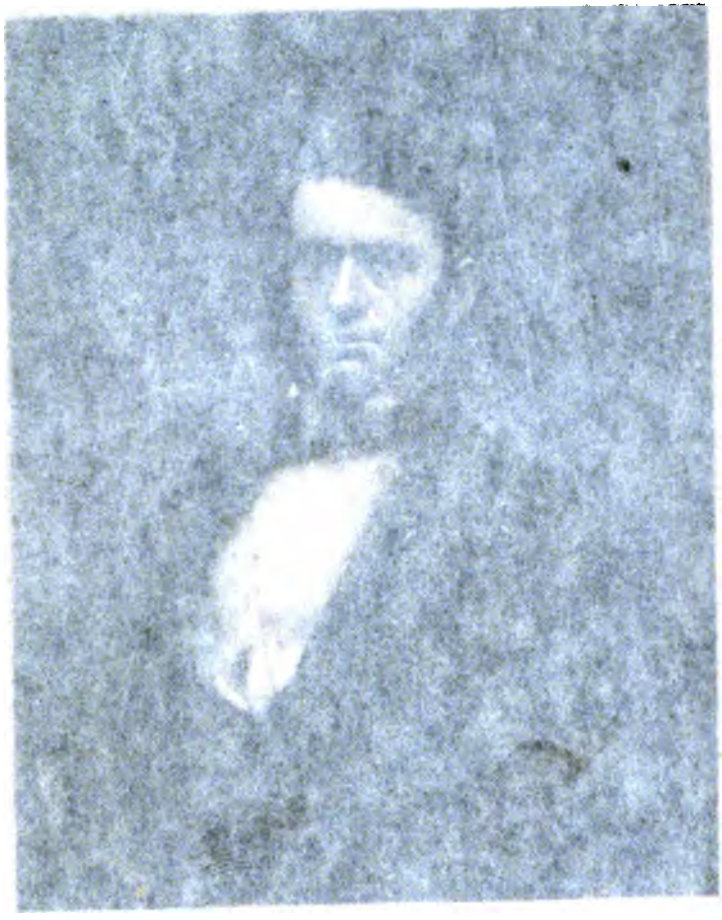

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THE

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AND

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CAPITAL AND LABOR.

It has, of late years, become unmistakeably manifest, that in what are called civilized countries, the real progress of the human race is confined almost entirely to a small portion of the population. In precisely those countries which boast most of their refinement, and display the greatest wealth and power, exists the greatest ignorance and misery, and these affect the largest portion of the people. This arises from the aggressive nature of accumulated capital, the power of which is fearfully great, and against which production has no protection. The prodigious power of compound interest is well known, and when demonstrated by Dr. Price, at the close of the last century, was seized upon by Mr. Pitt, as the instrument which was to overcome the National Debt. It was shown, that a penny, put at compound interest at the birth of the Saviour, would, in 1775, have equalled in value a mass of gold 1,800 times the weight of the globe. The vast lever of geometrical progression, which had so long and so severely pressed upon debtors, he determined to employ against creditors, and would have succeeded, but for the subsequent enormous expenditure incurred for war purposes. Sinking funds, on the principle of compound interest, are now established in many of the states, and the extinguishment of debt by their operation is mathematically demonstrated. Realized capital in the hands of individuals is always at compound interest, and carefully employed, with all the skill and perseverance of its shrewd possessors, is continually eating into the national production at the expense of the producer. Thus, in the United States, if we estimate that there are $300,000,000 at interest, at 6 per cent., the product will be $18,000,000. This sum represents what is paid by producers of wealth to owners of capital. If one-half of this is reinvested, then labor pays $270,000 interest for the use of what it had produced the year before. Production cannot keep pace with this enormous progress of capital; and the pressure upon industry increases annually with the increase of wealth.

Hence, although the greater the amount of realized capital in a country,

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the more wealthy it is supposed to be, yet it follows that the greater the aggregate of this wealth, the more oppressive does it become to the mass of producers. Thus, in the United States are 20,000,000 of people, of whom 5,000,000 are producers. If each of these owned a house, and supported himself and family by his labor, the aggregate wealth might be estimated at, say, $5,000,000,000. This would none of it, however, draw a revenue; it would all be employed directly in reproduction—that is to say, in the support and maintenance of the producer; and his revenue would consist only of the surplus of his production above the wants of his family. As each would, in such a case, possess his own capital, few would incline to borrow that of others, and as few would be able to lend at a rent. This is mostly the case with the settlers on the new lands of the west. When, however, the lands and tenements are not the property of those who labor, but many of them are owned by one person, then a part of the proceeds of the labor of each occupier is given him for rent, and frequently this portion is so large as to leave scarcely sufficient in the hands of the producer for his own support. The recipient of these rents, however, has the means of a large expenditure, and he maintains with it a number of servants and horses, who produce nothing, and he contributes, also, to the support of actors and other unproductive professions; and these consume the wealth produced by the tenant laborers Sometimes the proprietor of the lands is a manufacturer, and employs his means, not in the maintenance of unproductive dependants, but in supporting laborers, who produce more than an equivalent for his outlay—that is, he advances them a certain portion of wealth, on the condition that they produce for him a larger portion. He thus extracts from manufacturing laborers, in the shape of profits, a share of their production, as he does from the tenants a portion of theirs, in the shape of rent. Again, he may borrow of a third party capital to apply to these operations, for which he agrees to pay interest. The laborers have then to reproduce the capital, in addition to their own maintenance, together with a profit to the employer, and 6 per cent. to his creditor, both these latter producing nothing; if the interest and profit are not forthcoming, the maintenance of the laborer is first diminished as a means of swelling the profit. If these economise, and save their profits, their means of employing more labor increases, and, consequently, their own revenues swell in amount. The wealth in the employers' hands, and in the nation in the aggregate, is thus enhanced; but labor is only kept alive: its condition is not ameliorated, nor its prospects improved. If a man with $50,000 capital starts a cotton mill, and employs 500 persons, these produce as much wealth as supports themselves, pays the interest of the capital, and yields, say 25 per cent: profit to the owner. This product, in four years, suffices to build another mill, thereby doubling the profits of the owner, while labor remains as before. One of the largest mill-owners of Lancashire remarked, in relation to the growth of the factories, that "the mills built each other." The effect of this operation in England was to draw people from other employments, mostly the production of food, and cause them to produce goods which are, for the most part, sent out of the country, and sold for other wealth, which returns not to the producer, but to the coffers of the mill-owner, and is frequently expended on unproductive classes. There is, however, a very large and increasing class of persons, in all countries, who possess

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considerable amounts of wealth, on which the productive labor of the country pays a rent; and this rent is spent, not in employing labor, but unproductively. The effect of this is to dissipate the national wealth. If, then, all the land is owned by a certain number of persons, a considerable further number are possessed of stock and other property which draws largely upon the annual national production, and this revenue, not spent upon those who reproduce it, but upon mere consumers, a state of things arises, when the producers of the wealth have a right to complain, and to question the right of any class to draw upon the actual annual production, and to contribute nothing towards that production. The anti-rent agitation in New-York is allied to this principle, and much of the land in the western states is held in a questionable manner. Thus, when it was undertaken to organize the north-west territory, a law of Congress existed, authorizing persons to select large tracts of land, and hold them upon the payment of a small sum down. The lands were then worth absolutely nothing; but it was known that as soon as emigrants came in and applied labor to the soil, the value of the tracts would rise rapidly. The rise of value thus brought about by the labor of others, enabled holders to sell small slips to meet instalments on the purchase due to Congress, and finally immense tracts remained in possession of speculators, who had done nothing towards production but forestal laborers in the lands. These persons now draw large revenues from the labor of the tenants, and these latter have most assuredly cause of complaint. Some of the largest fortunes in New-York and other Atlantic cities have been created in the same manner; that is, the property by heritage has been held by non-producers, who obstinately retain possession, and raise the rent annually upon producers according to the exigencies of the latter, as manifest in their competition for possession. The land itself, in the hands of the owner, would be valueless but for the exertions of producers around him, who give it value, and from whom he exacts a rent proportioned to their success. By what just right did the queen of England confer upon Trinity church large tracts, upon Manhattan island, to hold in perpetuity? That land has swollen enormously in value through the labor of the increasing population upon the island, and these occupants are taxed annually to an exorbitant extent to pay a rent upon capital created by their own labor. In the countries of Europe where land is scarce in proportion to the population, as compared with the United States, this evil is of far greater magnitude; and when the owners of the land and of stock expend their rents upon unproductive laborers, the mass of productive operators encounter great difficulties in having neither land nor capital.

If the sums paid for rent and interest, and expended by the recipients in an unproductive manner, were retained by their producers, they would be employed in the further prosecution of productive industry; and while labor would thus find employment, the national wealth would not only be enhanced in the aggregate, but be far better distributed. The capitals of Europe and Great Britain everywhere present the manifestations of wealth drawn from the producers by taxes, interest and rents, and expended upon all classes of unproductive persons—the civil officers of government, the army and navy, the clergy, the actors, as well as the nobles and private gentry, with their followers and retainers, while the vast majority of the producers are in abject poverty. This results from the fact that the proceeds of the labor of the many is by various means, mostly through

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the aid of laws, confiscated to the service of the few. It is, no doubt, the case frequently, that a frugal and skilful workman will, by saving his small gains, accumulate a fund which will enable him, in time, to employ others less provident and skilful than himself. As soon as he is able to do this his gains increase, because each of those whom he employs will produce more for him than the amount of capital he outlays for wages and materials, but in so doing he dissipates no part of the aggregate wealth; that is to say, all capital is consumed, but under his guidance no capital will be consumed unless in the production of a larger amount. On the other hand, the capital consumed by the landlord and stockholder, is completely dissipated and abstracted from the aggregate of the national wealth. Ireland presents a remarkable example of the destitution to which a people, naturally industrious and inhabiting a most fertile soil, may be reduced, by the constant absorption of the proceeds of their labor in the shape of rent, which is expended in unproductive employments. It is the policy of the English to ascribe the evils that afflict Ireland to the idleness of her people. This charge is made on the same principle on which persons were formerly imprisoned for debt. The man who owed money was locked up in a close cell until he earned the money to pay. The whole of Ireland's capital is dissipated in unproductive employments, and then the destitute laborers are charged with idleness! In the last fifty years, at least 1,500,000 of Irish have settled in the United States; and the exemplary industry of them and their descendants, making at least 3,000,000, gives the lie to their former oppressors. It is manifestly the case, that if the large sums extracted annually from Ireland had remained in the hands of the producers, the native industry would have been developed, and the aggregate wealth of the nation would have equalled that of any other. The public mind of Europe has begun dimly to discern the cause of the evil, and busy minds are groping in the dark, seeking the path which the ray of truth is not yet sufficiently strong to illumine.

In the United States, from the first settlement of the country, the associative principle, in its practical and correct sense, has been strongly developed, and is each year progressive, producing new and more effective combinations and more satisfactory results. It has however to contend with the growing evil of swelling capital and more exorbitant rents. The very prosperity which the associative principle, under our free institutions, developes, enhances the rent of lands and swells the number of non-producing consumers, as well as their demands upon the proceeds of labor. This manifests itself in the increasing poverty of the lower class of citizens and in the splendor of the rich. A few years since a colonist, with £500 capital, was thought rich, while few persons really destitute could be found. Fortunes of $1,000,000 are now not rare, and some reach $20,000,000, while thousands of starving beggars throng the streets and crowd the public charities. In France many theories of reform have been projected as a remedy for existing abuses; but all these are the emanations of feeble and inexperienced minds, brought up under the licentious immorality and irreligion that, distinguishing with infamy the court of Louis XV., descended through all ranks, until, at the revolution of 1793, republicanism was smothered amid the demoralization of the people. Against this demoralization republicanism has vainly struggled to the present time, and has again been defeated, because identified with infidelity, bad faith, and licentiousness of all kinds. Republicanism can

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exist only amid a virtuous people. History shows that demoralization universally preceded the loss of liberty. How then, in our day, can barefaced infidelity, the wildest licentiousness, and the most infamous treachery, be supposed to contain the germs of the republican virtues?

Two sound principles have, however, been enunciated amid the filth and follies of the French reformers. These have been so closely interwoven with the absurd and wicked dogmas of all branches of the socialists, as to have been regarded with peculiar horror even by those who have human progress most at heart. So infamous are the men, and so exaggerated and bombastic their blasphemous language, that the plainest and soundest principles, enunciated by them, have an aspect that inspires horror, and repulses the inquirer by the hideousness that surrounds them. The declaration of the French socialists of the *droit au travail*, or "right to labor," that is, of an obligation on society to find work and wages for all persons willing and able to work, who cannot procure employment for themselves, was of this nature. The right of all to labor for sustenance is the most manifest of moral truths, and yet the revolting immorality of the socialists, and the hideous licentiousness with which they connected this indisputable right, caused it to perish for the moment. The system of "riding" bills, or passing an obnoxious measure by connecting it with one of imperative necessity, is well known to most of our legislators, and this seems to have been the tactics of the socialists. They put forward an obvious principle which, when seized and dragged forward by public opinion, is followed by a long train of impious and disgusting propositions.

It follows from our previous propositions that if capital, through the agency of rents, interest, and taxes, is diverted unjustly from the maintenance of productive labor, and made to pamper the luxury of a few in unproductive employments, that labor has a right to complain, and to insist that it shall be restored to its legitimate purpose of supporting labor. So just and obvious is this "right to labor," that, after ages of experiment, it finally forced itself upon the British government in the reign of Elizabeth, and for two centuries and a half the statutes of England have recognised the "right to labor," and of the obligation of the government to find employ or sustenance for all who apply. Under this system, $45,000,000 are expended annually in 15,000 parishes, in support of poor and in wages for those who can work. The provisional government of France in February, 1848, simply copied this poor law principle which had existed 250 years in England, and recognised it as a principle. Yet it roused the indignation and contempt of almost all classes in all countries, simply from the extraordinary and dangerous results that the socialists sought to draw from it, and the clause was defeated in the Constituent Assembly, 596 to 187. A long course of bad government in France had reduced vast numbers to beggary. Similar causes had produced similar results in Ireland. In England, as we have said, the operation of the "right to labor," at an expense of $45,000,000, covered up the evil. The English government, however, employed 740,000 Irish upon public works, at an expense of $40,000,000 in time of famine, and the provisional government of France, in time of revolution, employed 200,000 in a similar manner, at an expense of $25,000,000. These were temporary examples of that system which has for centuries prevailed in England.* It may be interesting here to sketch the progress of the English poor laws.

* The poor laws went into operation in Ireland first in 1840, and in 1846, before the famine, the number of paupers reached 243,000, and the expense per annum £435,000.

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In the earlier stages of English society the religious houses were the chief means by which the poor were relieved, and the pretence of affording relief was that most urged upon the wealthy to induce them to endow the religious houses with their funds, and these ultimately reached a magnitude which wrought out their destruction. This simple mode of relief was closely associated with religious feeling, but greatly promoted a wandering and vagrant life. This became a great evil of itself; and when the religious houses were suppressed at the era of Henry VIII., it became necessary to suppress this growing vagrancy, and to that end the system of *compulsory charity* was introduced by law, 1536, the motive being the desire of repressing vagrancy. It recites a preceding act, and adds, that no provision is made for the support of the impotent, nor for setting and keeping in work the said valiant beggars; and then enacts, that the head officers of every city, shire, town, and parish, to which such poor creatures or sturdy vagabonds shall repair in obedience to that act, shall most charitably receive the same, and shall keep the same poor people, by way of voluntary and charitable alms, within the respective cities, shires, towns, hundreds, hamlets, and parishes, by their discretion, so that none of them of very necessity shall be compelled to beg openly, and shall compel the said sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars to be kept to continual labor in such wise as they may get their own living by the continual labor of their own hands, on pain that every *parish* making default shall forfeit 20*s*. a month. It then directs the head officers of corporate towns, and the church-wardens and two others of every parish, who are to remain in office only one year, to collect voluntary alms for the purpose of relieving the impotent poor, and that such as be lusty be kept to continual labor. Every preacher, parson, vicar and curate, as well in their sermons, collections, bidding of the beads, as in the time of confession, and making of wills, is to exhort, move, stir, and provoke people to be liberal for the relief of the impotent, and setting and keeping to work the said sturdy vagabonds.

The punishment by this act for continuing to beg was whipping for the first offence, cropping the ears for the second, and on the third conviction, *death* as a felon was inflicted. It appears that the severity of this act prevented its execution: such, at least, is the reason assigned for its repeal by the 1 Edw. 6. c. 3. (1547,) which recites, that partly by foolish pity and mercy of them which should have seen the said goodly laws executed, and partly from the perverse nature and long-accustomed idleness of the persons given to loitering, the said goodly statutes have had small effect, and idle and vagabond persons, being unprofitable members, or rather enemies of the commonwealth, have been suffered to remain and increase, and yet so do: and, as a milder punishment, enacts, that an able-bodied person who does not apply himself to some honest labor, or offer to serve even for meat and drink, if nothing more is to be obtained, shall be taken for a vagabond, branded on the shoulder with the letter V, and adjudged a slave for two years to any person who shall demand him, to be fed on bread and water and refuse meat, and caused to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise. If he run away within that period, he is to be branded on the cheek with the letter S, and adjudged a slave for life; if he run away again, he is to suffer death as a felon. If no man demand such loiterer, he is to be sent to the place where he says he was born, there to be kept in chains or otherwise, at the highways or common work,

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or from man to man, as the slave of the corporation or inhabitants of the city, town, or village in which he was born; and the said city, town, or village shall see the said slave set to work, and not live idly, upon pain, for every three working days, that the slave live idly by their default; that a city forfeit £5, a borough 40*s*., and a town or village 20*s*., half to the king and half to the informer. If it appear that he was not born in the place of which he described himself as a native, he was to be branded on the face, and be a slave for life.

The statute also orders the curate of each parish, every Sunday after reading the Gospel, to exhort his parishioners to remember the duty of Christian charity in relieving them which be their brethren in Christ, *born in the same parish*, and needing their help.

These severe laws continued, with very little effect, in operation down to the time of Elizabeth, and the principle they embodied was, that a tax should be enforced *for the prevention of vagrancy*. In 1601, the famous 43 Elizabeth was enacted, and it embodied the present system, recognising the "right to labor." This act has been succeeded by numberless laws regulating its details; and although in 1834 many of them were repealed, there still remain 118 statutes regulating relief to the poor. The confining of the poor to certain localities or parishes where they belonged, and compelling the people of those parishes to support the impotent, and find work or wages for the able-bodied, as their right, were the great objects attained by the law; but many abuses from time to time crept in. Thus, the paupers would seek to be settled in the richest parishes where they would find the best free quarters; and in 1662, the following law was passed:—

"Whereas, by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore *do endeavor to settle themselves* in those parishes where there is the best stock; the largest commons or wastes to build cottages; and the most woods for them to burn and destroy; and when they have consumed it, then to another parish: and at last become rogues and vagabonds, to the great discouragement of parishes to provide stocks, where it is liable to be devoured by strangers:"

And it proceeds to enact provisions for *the removal of persons so coming to settle* within forty days after their arrival, unless they have taken a tenement of the yearly value of £10.

The evil of vagrancy was becoming checked, and a new one engendered by these laws, viz: *permanent pauperism*. Well-settled paupers were not disposed to move, and when manufacturing industry developed itself in many counties, laborers were restrained by the poor laws from going to seek it, and as early as 1697 an attempt to remedy it was made by a law. It recites, that,

"Forasmuch as many poor persons chargeable to the place where they did live, merely for want of work, would in any other place, where sufficient employment is to be had, maintain themselves and families without being burthensome to any parish; but not being able to give such security" (against their becoming chargeable) "as will or may be expected or required, they are for the most part confined to live in their own parishes, and not permitted to inhabit elsewhere, though their labor is wanted in many other places, where the increase of manufactures would employ more hands."

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This evil, though an attempt was made to remedy it in this statute, by making the parish from which the party went, liable to maintain him, if necessary, where he might reside, and numerous other attempts had been made with the same object, remained in full operation until thepassing of the Poor Law Amendment Act; and is only now in course of reduction by aid afforded under that act to the migration of laborers to places where their labor is wanted, and where the increase of manufactures would employ more hands.

In 1723 a new principle was introduced, by enabling parishes to provide a workhouse, where the pauper *could receive wages for work, which, if he refused, he was not entitled to relief.* The administration of the law was placed in the hands of guardians, elected annually by the rate payers. An able English writer remarks:

"These principles seem to have taken a strong hold on the public mind, and at length to have led to a very general belief, that by a combination of several parishes, and a concentration of their poor in one large building, the paupers might, if systematically employed, be not only better and more economically kept, but might even be made *profitable.* This visionary scheme was elaborately propounded by a member of parliament named Gilbert, who seems to have procured a great number of adherents. He at length brought in the act, 22 Geo. 3, c. 83 (1782,) known as 'Gilbert's Act,' which, although it does not openly profess the speculative views of its promoters, carries much internal evidence of the design in which it originated, and departs so widely from the sound principles of the statute of Eliz., and of the 9 Geo. 1, c. 7., that instead of rendering the workhouse a means of employing able-bodied paupers, and thereby deterring them from habits of pauperism by rendering their state less eligible than one of independence, it reverses the principle, and in fact provides, that the able-bodied shall not be required to enter the house, and proceeds to the absurd extent of *throwing on the guardian* the duty of finding work near their own house for such applicants as profess to be able and willing to labor, but are unable to get employment, and of *making up any supposed deficiency of wages out of the poor rates;* thus rendering this class of persons wholly independent of any motive to procure or keep work by their good character or conduct, and free from all restraint in the mode in which they receive relief, which they are enabled to demand and receive, as if it were the produce of their independent industry."

The policy embodied in Gilbert's Act was further carried out in "East's Act," 1815. This was somewhat modified in 1819, by an act which enables parishes to take land for the purpose of employing the poor in its cultivation. This provision recognises the principles of the older and sounder legislation, in as far as it admits the necessity of setting the poor to work; but, as applied in this act, it in fact amounts to nothing more than an attempt to render the poor independent of the skill and character by which they can alone secure private employment; for the act compels the parish to stand in the situation of a private paymaster; while it has no liberty to choose the laborers it employs, and is moreover, destitute of the means, as it is partly of the motives, to exact a fair return for the wages it pays. The provision adverted to, is that which requires the church wardens and overseers to pay to such poor persons as they may employ, *reasonable wages* for their work; and gives to their laborers "such and the like remedies for the recovery of their wages as other laborers in husbandry have."

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The abuses growing out of these laws attracted attention, and an investigating committee was appointed in 1832. The evidence collected by the commissioners from every district of England and Wales, seemed to show, that wherever the expenditure had most increased, there also the *morals and industry of the laborer* had proportionally degenerated; because, in such places, subsistence from the poor rates was more easily obtained than by labor—that under such influences his prudence and thrift were discarded; because they could, with the utmost success, only secure for him, by present sacrifice of enjoyment, the same future advantages of which the parish held out a prospect, without the necessity of any sacrifice, save that of independence; that his sobriety and temperance were thus left without encouragement; and, on the other hand, exposed to the temptations of comparative idleness, and the facilities for the indulgence in idleness and intemperance which always accompany the growth of pauperism; his respectability of demeanor was now useless, as respectability of character ceased to be relied on as a means of securing employment, itself no longer an object of desire; that in the same proportion as he become independent of regular industry, did he also become independent or regardless of the comforts of his home, which are indispensable to the laborer after a day of toil, but are rarely sought or valued as a change after a day spent in idleness or dissipation. It was also observed, that as the habit of pauperism increased, the standard of subsistence of the laborers in the district was lowered, *the relief never being sufficient in itself to maintain the pauper independent of all work;* and yet, by rendering him partially so, constantly tempting him to forego that further portion of comfort which was attainable only on the comparative hard terms of earning by the sweat of his brow. The standard of *the pauper's subsistence being once lowered, that of the industrious laborers, amongst whom they lived, and who occasionally felt the effects of their competition, fell also. Where the system prevailed of allowing relief in aid of wages, there the operation was immediate, as all the laborers were at once pauperised, being equally exposed to the effects of a system which left all industry, beyond a certain point, without its reward, and therefore without object.* While these influences were destroying the industry and morality of the able-bodied laborers, the *bastardy law* was holding out encouragement to female unchastity, in the way of a money allowance for each bastard, which, by its amount, of itself elevated her condition in proportion to the number of her spurious offspring, *rendering a mother of several bastards better off than she would have been as a mother of as many lawful children, and securing her a dower which usually tempted some man to marry her;* while the same law, by subjecting the supposed father to punishment, often subjected him, at the woman's discretion, to the alternative of marriage or a gaol—the former of which was generally chosen as the least present evil. Under these influences female chastity had in many districts so far ceased to be valued as a virtue, that not only the woman herself, but her parents and her husband, seemed where the law had its full effect, to have become indifferent to it.

The report of the committee resulted in the poor law amendment act of 1834, which provides "that no person in England or Wales shall be absolutely destitute of the means of subsistence," essentially recognising "the right to labor." A different system pertains now to Scotland.

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In the old United States of English origin, the spirit of the English poor laws have been sustained; as an instance, the Pennsylvania law, passed in 1836, contains the following passage:

"If such poor person be able to work, but cannot find employment, it shall be the duty of the overseers to provide work for him, according to his ability, and for this purpose they shall procure suitable places, and a sufficient stock of materials."

Enough has been here said, to show that the "right to labor" is no new discovery of the socialists, nor its application, in a common sense light, to be dreaded. It was the principle of this identical poor law of Elizabeth that the provisional government understood as the "right to labor." M. De Lamartine tells us, that as a member of the provisional government*—

"He wished that the state, the providence of the strong and the weak, should in certain extreme cases, determined by the administration, furnish aid in the shape of work, to laborers who found it impossible to obtain bread for their families He called for a poor-tax. He would thus have this ultimatum—work and bread."

Under its influence the English government maintains 1,500,000 paupers, at an expense of $45,000,000 per annum.† The swelling numbers of the paupers and the increasing pressure of their support are now becoming serious evils; and the remedy is now to be found in removing the cause, which are the indirect taxes, all the ramifications of the protective systems, and the special privileges which capital enjoys. While £8,000,000 per annum is drawn from labor to support the poor, £30,000,000 per annum is drawn to support the stock-holders, £20,000,000 to support the government officials, £3,000,000 to support the hierarchy, and more than the aggregate of all these sums feeds the luxury of a pampered landed gentry. The idea of the repudiation of the debt and the reduction of the military, are already making headway in the popular mind. But still another has been broached, which is of deeper import and more sweeping results. We have seen that relief to the poor was first granted as charity to remove excuse for crime. It was then made compulsory upon labor to support paupers. This support was then acknowledged as the *right* of the pauper, and the admission and application of this right to live on the labor of others produced, from the love of ease natural to all men, great idleness. Now, the leading motive to industry at large, is to "earn an independency," that is to say, a property, the income of which will support the owner without further exertion. He seeks to become merely a consumer and to cease to be a producer or worker. Now in both these cases, that is, on the part of the pauper and on that of the capitalist, it is the aggregate productions of the industrious that support them. The first has "a

* History of the French Revolution of 1848. By M. De Lamartine. Phillips, Sampson & Co, Boston.

† In 1842 an assistant poor-law commissioner placed the number of paupers at 1,072,978. In that year the Atlas newspaper advertised a premium of £100 for the best article on the causes of the prevailing distress. Of 158 articles offered, that of Mr. Samuel Laing took the prize. In that essay the number of persons supported by charity, public and private, was given at 3,000,000, or one-sixth of the population.

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right," admitted, to support, and the second has "a right" to interest and rent on the money or house he loans to the use of the producer. Where a considerable portion of the land and houses are owned by one class, and another possesses government drafts upon the industry of the nation, which stocks simply are, where innumerable corporations are privileged to lend paper money or credits, at an interest, to the merchant, chargeable ultimately upon the producer, these accumulated rents and charges, in addition to the claims of labor and poverty, weigh so heavily upon industry, as to discourage the worker, and tend to make him contented with what he can realize from his "right to labor." Now it has been earnestly sought to remove many of these charges upon labor, and the mode most perseveringly pursued at the present moment is monetary reform, so called. This engages the "anti-gold law league" of England, and is the basis of multifarious schemes of paper issues, through which we will endeavor to follow the leading principle.

It is a sound and fundamental principle of political economy, that labor is the only source of wealth—the sub-division of labor increases the amount of its products. The extent to which the sub-division of labor can be carried, is limited by the extent of the market. The existence of free and unrestricted competition between man and man is both natural and beneficial to society. The results of labor are the natural property of the laborer. Security of property is an essential condition to the accumulation of property. Accumulation of capital is indispensable to all commercial undertakings. Men exchange one thing for another, because that which a man wants is of more value to him than that which he is willing to pay for it. Hence the result of every equitable exchange is a gain to both parties; and therefore, boundless freedom of exchange is a desideratum for all men and nations.

This requisite freedom of exchange is destroyed by the supposed absence of a proper medium. All men want comforts and necessaries, while at least one-half of those in civilized communities are destitute of them; and yet a common reason assigned for commercial convulsions is "over production;" the manufacture of *too many of those* things which every body wants and too few possess. It is obvious, that if labor could be as freely exchanged to the full amount of its value for that which it wants, there could by no possibility be over-production on the one side, or destitution on the other. The difficulty in the way of this exchange is, that gold and silver, and their representative paper, are the only mediums of exchange, and these are seldom to be had. The difficulty of converting labor and its products into money is always great; and the money which supplies trade is always taxed an interest of 6 *a* 7 *a* 8 *a* 10 per cent. per annum, when it enters into its channels. To obviate this difficulty, and to permit every possessor of property to convert it into legal money at sight, without interest, many plans have been projected. The most elaborate, and, perhaps, the earliest of these, was that published by Mr. John Gray, of Edinburgh, in 1831—reproduced in 1842, and repeated in 1848 in a series of lectures pronounced before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, March, 1848. In that plan gold and silver are treated simply as all other commodities, and not in anywise considered as money, which is to consist simply of the paper issues of a Standard Bank. The unit of this money to be based upon 10s. per week for labor in the factories: that is to say, a standard pound to represent two weeks' labor, the money to be

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a legal tender, and receivable for all public dues. The Standard Bank prepared with this paper money, is to issue it without interest to whomsoever applies, conforming to the rules. These are specially, that he is a wholesale dealer, and has in store goods. The bank then advances to him in paper money, without interest, the whole amount of his goods at *their selling prices*. As he sells the goods he must replace in the bank the money he receives for them. This is all the plan in its main principle. Possessors of houses, gold and silver, and all descriptions of property, are admissible to bank. The result is, that every dollar of paper money will represent a corresponding amount of goods. It will be merely a certificate of the existence of those goods, and will go out of existence when they are consumed. This paper is measurably convertible into specie, inasmuch as it can procure specie from the bank. It is receivable for all public dues, and may be circulated as a medium of exchange. It will be remembered, that when the Bank of England failed in 1797, the merchants of London, in convention, agreed to take its notes as usual, and this public confidence kept the irredeemable paper afloat for 20 years. The first consequence drawn from this plan is, that there would be no interest; because as now no money is lent without security, that security would suffice to obtain the money from the standard bank *without* interest. In the next there would never be a *stagnation in the demand for* goods or labor, because as every man would readily command money for the property he possesses, and the money could be of no possible value to keep, he would promptly apply it to the purchase of that which he wants, and the production of industry would always govern the demand: that is to say, the more goods there were produced, the more would be the demand for others. Labor would always be available, because it could always realize the object of the laborer.

This plan, as we have stated, was projected in Edinburgh in 1831, and has been adopted by many French reformers, of whom the most bold and impudent, Proudhon, seized upon it as his own, although it had been given to the world eight years before he published his first book, and fifteen before he announced it as his own plan. The views of that person are thus described by V. Considerant, the leader of the Fourierists:—

"Proudhon would leave every one's property untouched. What he wants, and all he wants, is that *idle* capital should cease to produce; in other words, that he who cultivates the earth should have ALL the product of the earth,—and so on.

"No more debt to capital, under any form whatever. No more rent. No more toll on circulation paid to this despot under the title of interest or discount. Complete enfranchisement of personal labor, without any other direct change in the state of society. Such, in two words, if I understand it, is the entire system of Proudhon.

"The interest of money which was formerly more than a hundred per cent., has fallen to 5, to 4, to 3. It must, then, according to Proudhon, and as the St. Simonians had already very learnedly explained, keep sliding down until it gets to zero.

"It amounts to just this: that money no longer produces anything by itself; that capital is good for nothing but to be exchanged for products and consumed; that the idle man can only live by eating to the end of his possessions, and, when he shall have finished, by going to work; that capital, in short, can receive nothing in the workshop of production: society preserves its aspect, its forms, its separation of interests, its incoherence. Each by himself, each for himself; to each his rights, except to capital lent.

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"Proudhon pretends that we can come to this in two ways; '1. By a financial centralization, through a national bank, the capital of which, being furnished by all the citizens, and forming a common property, should be productive for each person in the ratio of his negociations,—consequently should be productive for nobody; 2. By the creation of a mutual bank, operating without the intervention of money:' two means which, at bottom, are one and the same thing, *namely, credit founded upon a general association of values.* In all this there is nothing new, except the extraordinary consequences which the author draws from it."

M. Considerant further remarks:—

"Now, I can easily comprehend the gratuitous exchange (so to say) of products against products, and the general, mutual and very cheap credit which might be realized through Fourier's system of 'communal counting-houses,' or 'commercial agencies.' These agencies, receiving the products, forwarding them and selling them on account of the producers, in this way organize veridical and direct commerce, at the same time that, by means of *warrants* or *receipts* which represent the invariable part of the value of those products, they organize mutual credit. I find this much superior to the mere bank of exchange. But, I confess, I have not yet been able to comprehend how, in the one case or the other, things should so soon lose *their value that a man might have lands for nothing, houses for nothing, everything for nothing, as the citizen Proudhon affirms.* I fancy that the proposition is not an easy one to prove; otherwise Prudhon, who is not embarrassed by a trifling difficulty, would before now have made it clear to us."

The difficulty which M. Considerant encountered is, doubtless, common to Proudhon himself, who stole the outline of the plan without understanding its principles, and dressed it up in his startling and blasphemous language; the trick of which is to surprise people, and thereby gain a reputation for *thought*, of which he has never given any indications.

Mr. Proudhon did not separate interest of money from rent of capital; he supposed them identical, and therefore concluded that if money could be borrowed without interest, houses could be had for nothing. Now, according to the plan, if a man owns realized property in the shape of a house, and wants money, he goes to the standard bank and procures it without interest. As long as his house remains there it is security for the money. In the present state of things he would execute a mortgage, and obtain the money at interest. The house is capital; the money is not capital; it only represents it. If a man has no house he must pay rent to the owner of one that he may dwell in it. Thus, the standard bank, which Proudhon calls an "exchange bank," would do away with mortgages, bonds, and promissory notes, but it would not deprive a house of its value as capital. This sketch of the views of Mr. Proudhon contains all of his productions that ever approximated to any practical utility, and this is not his own. It is the essence of what he means by his bombastic announcement: "Property is robbery." M. Considerant remarks justly of Proudhon:—

"His mind seeks and always finds the form which is the most paradoxical and hostile and repulsive of all others. An idea which you would accept, or treat as any uncontrovertible opinion, he arranges, merely by his way of formulizing it, in such a manner as to make you explode like a bomb. His books, his newspaper articles, his famous discourses, furnish at every line the proof of this literary

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be circulated as money, and made receivable for all public dues; each individual who receives the notes, to endorse and redeem them in specie on presentation. Inasmuch as that all the United States stocks are redeemable in a few years, this, of course, involves the renewal of the debt from time to time, to prolong the system. That is to say—the debt is now $60,000,000; the present issues of bank notes reach $100,000,000, and to make the proposed currency national and uniform, would require an equal amount of stock. All the United States stocks now draw $3,600,000 per annum interest, which is paid by industry, in a tax upon consumable articles to capital. It is now proposed that capital shall issue duplicates of this debt, in the shape of paper money, to be paid out for the products of industry, at a further tax upon labor of $3,600,000. The owners of $60,000,000 stock are thus to draw $7,200,000 per annum from industry, because California gold, coined into half-eagles, won't answer for money. Such are the schemes of capital. The direct effect of an issue of paper credits is to transfer wealth from producers to speculators; thus, if this scheme were put into operation, an amount, say $40,000,000 of paper, not worth one cent, would be issued to dealers, who agree to pay the lenders $2,400,000 per annum. These borrowers pay the notes out to farmers and laborers, and receive therefor $40,000,000 worth of real wealth, the actual production of labor, which grasps only a shadow in exchange. The actual operation is, that labor lends the real capital to borrowers, and is itself obliged to pay the interest. The main difference between the plan of Mr. Clingman and that of the New-York law is, that the former proposes the issues to be the obligations of the United States, endorsed by the issuer, while the latter merely causes the state officer to register the notes, without incurring responsibility. Mr. Clingman in short proposes for the United States to issue paper money on the security of its own stock, but in such a manner that the *borrower* receives the interest.

While labor is prevented from a free exchange of its products, or is continued to be charged with the enormous imposts which capital lays upon it, the mere "right to labor" is of little value. All labor now is for the benefit of the capitalist, and the mere right to continue to labor is but a poor satisfaction to the destitute. The true right which should be enforced is the right of the producer to all the products of his own labor. This can be insured only by some arrangement by which the laborer may promptly dispose of his own surplus wealth and procure that of which he stands in need, and at the same time destroy that machinery by which a constantly increasing proportion of the whole people is living at free-quarters upon the labors of the remainder and worse provided portion. We doubt not, that could such a state of affairs be arrived at, there would be enough for all, without the necessity, for which some reformers contend, of placing a restraint upon the capacity of numbers to increase. Not a few of those who admit the right to labor, and that every one of the living brotherhood of mankind has a moral claim to a place at the table provided by the common exertions of the race, deny that any one has a right to invite additional strangers thereto without the consent of the rest, and urge that, if they do, what is consumed by those strangers should be deducted from their own share. We apprehend that the earth's surface will produce enough for all who may be born upon it. The only problem being to insure to every one proper food and clothing before any one is allowed to eat the bread of idleness.

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BAPTISTE REDIVIVUS.

I was making my toilette rapidly, on Thursday morning, for a visit to Girardin, the famous journalist, when some one rapped at my door and came in. What was my astonishment, on looking round, to see the roguish face of my old servant, Baptiste, whose twinkling eye was directed upon me with an expression hard to describe. His hat was in his hand, and he saw that my gaze was rising from his face to his uncovered head. "Ah, *mon maitre*," he exclaimed, "you see me a good deal changed in two short years; my head is white, and my limbs a good deal less active; but I have had some hard trials since then. I have passed part of the time in prison, and have been dreadfully wounded in several street fights."

"Well, it has turned out a good deal better than I expected, Baptiste," I answered, not a little touched at his altered appearance, "for I would have wagered, readily, that you were shot last June, if you had not been knocked on the head already, in the previous February."

"Why, that might have happened, sir; for in spite of dodging, one is sometimes brought up with a round turn; but I missed the affair in June, by being thrown in prison last April, and a more shameful outrage was never committed."

"I should like to be the judge of that, for your own evidence is rather apt to be interested. How came you in the clutches of the law? But, tell me, first, what were you about during the revolution of February. Had you anything to do with that?"

"*Je le crois bien*," he replied, with a grim smile, "and if you had seen me at work that day at the *Palais Royal*, you would have been good testimony that I deserved the cross of honor. After I got fairly at it, I don't recollect much, until I found myself the foremost man in the Tuilleries, when the first thing I did, was to put up a placard inscribed '*mort aux valures;*' and I gave notice to all round, that I would run through every man I caught stealing."

"Nothing could be in better taste, Baptiste, though, from what I have seen of the French populace, there is no people in the world who, with so much provocation, behave so well in the hour of victory. On that very occasion their conduct was sublime. Appointing guards from their own body to watch over the Palace and its treasures, the rest of them made a holocaust of the Bourbon throne, by taking it in procession to the former scene of its disgraceful power, the *Place de la Bastile*, and there condemning it to the flames. It was a great act that—as dramatic as it was impressive. Did you see all that?"

"There was not much done that day that I did'nt have a finger in; and I was tired enough at night to sleep soundly; only I was fighting in my dreams all the while, with some infernal *garde municipale*, or other, who came back to torment me without their heads, for that is the way I left most of 'em; but, *en toute*."

"You are a savage devil enough, I have no doubt, Maitre Baptiste,

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when your blood is once up, but I forgive you such massacre when I think of the cause."

"Yes, sir, I forgive myself for the same reason; and the proof that nothing else inspired me is, that I sought no other reward than my conscience."

"But how did it happen that, only two months after that, you should be imprisoned by the authorities you created yourself. What brought you so soon in collision with a government of your own manufacture?"

"Why, sir, in less than that, I saw clearly enough that the Provisional Government were either fools or knaves; and from my experience of politicians, I inclined to the latter opinion. What did Lamartine do, with all his fine speeches? Before the revolution there was no counting the reforms he demanded of Louis Philippe; and when he had it all in his power to give them, what did we get?—plenty of poetry about the tricolored flag, and a polite request to pay 45 centimes more of taxation, that the old king would not dared to have required."

"There's no denying, Baptiste, that the Provisional Government was either mad, or worse; for instead of setting honestly to work to take off taxes, they turned right round and put more on. The people must have seen at once that they were duped."

"Oh, we understood it, sir, perfectly. The moment Lamartine, Marrast, and the rest got office, and a chance to pay off their debts, what did they do, but sell us and all our hopes to the bankers and capitalists. They helped themselves to all the honors and emoluments, and then handed us the empty platter to lick. When we asked them to keep their word, and give us relief, they cried 'order, order,' and when we murmured and threatened, they shouted, 'treason, treason!'"

"You make out a strong case against these loud-talking republicans; and the contrast between their promises before, and their performances after, is broad enough to be amusing, were the subject not too grave to laugh at. But there is one thing which you French people ought to see clearly by this time—that if you expect reform from the upper classes, no matter whether they call themselves republicans, or royalists, you will be mistaken. If you expect them to dismiss the army; to disperse that vast legion of useless employeés who feed like locusts on the vitals of the land; or break down the system of centralization and give more independence to the provinces, you will be mistaken, I say again."

"We know that now, sir, to our cost, and you may depend on it, that if we get hold of the government again, and sooner or later, it is sure to happen, we will do our own business ourselves, and put no more faith in charlatans and rogues.

"You use very strong language, Baptiste; but people smarting under deep wrongs are not apt to pick their terms. But I must say a word for some of the provisionals. Louis Blanc, for instance, I know him well, and I believe, notwithstanding his wild theories, that he is honest, and means well by the people. Ledru Rollin, too, who has been so much abused by the aristocratic presses, is the only man who set to work in earnest to establish the republic on a democratic basis."

"That is *bien vrais, Monsieur;* and if Ledru Rollin had only been let alone, we should have had justice. But the moment it was seen what he was about, the royalists got up, and shouted him down. No, the Provisional men had not pluck enough for their task. It may be, they are not

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such rogues, all of them, as we think sometimes they are; but they dared not take the monopolists by the throat, and choke them into a surrender of their unrighteous spoils."

"Why, Baptiste, you ought to go to the Assembly—you are quite an orator."

"That is just what I am trying to do, sir. I have an immense number of friends amongst the people, and they all urge to me try my luck. I might as well go there as another."

"Good luck to you, Baptiste. I will come and hear your maiden speech; but if you will take a friend's advice, you had better try and get a more profitable, if not quite so respectable a place."

"I quite agree with you, *Monsieur*, and that is why I am so enchanted to see you in Paris again. I have been hard at work for sometime past, but as fast as I climb up, I come down again for want of a little help."

"I don't know what good I can do you, Baptiste. But you have not told me how you got into prison, with all your chatter."

"*Pardon*, I forgot all about it. Why, the moment I saw how the game was going, I made up my mind, as did a good many others besides, that the sooner we got rid of the whole batch—"

"You mean the Provisional Government?"

"Exactly, sir—the better for us. *Ou revient toujours, a les premices amours;* so I determined to leave no stone unturned to get the Prince Louis back to France. I little thought, *mon maitre*, when I followed you to Ham four years ago, that the day would come so soon, when I should have a chance to show my devotion to the Prince."

"Well, let me hear what famous things you did."

"I tried to do a great deal more than I accomplished. Last April I endeavored to take advantage of the demonstration then got up, and turn it in favor of the Prince. I headed, at least, ten thousand men, who were all well disposed, and echoed boldly my cry of '*Vive Napoleon.*' But they were too much for us, *les gredins*, and we had to run. The worst of it was, that I was caught, and at the very moment I was a going to plaster up a proclamation, declaring Prince Louis First Consul."

"*Maladroit*, why did'nt you tear up the proclamation at once?"

"I did better; I chewed it up, and swallowed it in spite of them."

"Very well, and so you escaped with a few months imprisonment. Your apparent misfortune was the luckiest thing possible, for you would have certainly taken part in the affair of June last, and likely have been shot. What have you been about since?"

"I worked like a fanatic for the election of the Prince, and not only spent what little money I had, but made away with every article of property that belonged to me in the world, even my father's old silver watch. I printed and distributed more than thirty thousand bulletins, and I doubt if any one man, high or low, did more for his cause than myself."

"So old, and really sincere a partisan, Baptiste, deserves some reward, and I am sure the Prince is much too generous to have overlooked you after his triumph."

"*Voila, juste l' affaire.* Therein you can render me a great service. The Prince told me, when I saw him at the *Hotel du Rhin*, before his election, that, if he succeeded, he would make me an officer of his private police; and, since he has gone to the *Elysei*, I have never been able, by hook or crook, to lay eyes on him. There is no possibility of getting

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near him, and no letter ever reaches him. What! with his secretaries, his aides-de-camps, and his valets, you may pray to Peter and Paul in vain."

"I mistake your character, *mon Ancien Serviteur*, if you stop there. I shall be curious to see how the matter ends.—Have you managed to get hold of nobody?"

"Oh, yes; I have seen secretaries, and I don't know who all. I have written to the Ministers and the Chancellerie, but all to no purpose. They all put me off, and pack me about my business. But I won't give it up, and I will go on till I see the Prince. If he refuses me, then there is the end of it. But I count on a good word from you, my excellent master," continued the sly rogue, in his most insinuating tone.

"Then you reckon without your host, my boy; for, though I wish you well, still it is no business of mine. What right have I to interfere? and it would be a great impertinence in me to speak to the Prince on such a matter, even if the occasion offered."

"Thank you, sir," said the coquen, just as if I had declared the utmost zeal in his behalf. "Notwithstanding all you say, I know perfectly well, that if a chance occurs, you will give me a lift. You have no servant yet," he asked, changing the subject.

"No, I have not," I replied, hesitating.

"It makes no difference in the world, sir, about terms; I am too happy to serve you on any conditions. I will be at your orders tomorrow morning, at nine o'clock. Good morning, *mon bon Maitre*." And, before I could say yes, or no, to his presumptuous proposition, he was off, and I found myself hampered with this meddlesome, though amusing rogue, without my consent being called into question. It is astonishing what impudence will effect in this world of ours; and, though it is often obliged to give up what it takes by assault, yet quite as often it does not. If Baptiste only added to his audacity a little more consistency of purpose, he would die a Marshal of France, I have no doubt.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HORACE.—ODE XXXVIII.

THE POET TO HIS YOUNG SLAVE.

I HATE, my child, these Persian luxuries;
I hate these garlands, with their linden ties;
Forbear to seek them in what spot yet glows
In tardy bloom some ling'ring rose.

Then simple myrtle, nought beside, I pray,
Well it becomes thine office, well it may
My brow adorn, as drinking, I recline
Beneath this thick and shady vine.

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THE MOSQUITO KING AND THE BRITISH QUEEN.

The foreign policy of the United States may be well defined to be, the policy of having no policy at all. In the infancy of the Republic, while still it was weak and sore from the travail of its war birth, and too diminutive to wield or wear the arms and armor of a full grown power, its guardians adopted for it the prudent maxim, concerning the international doings of the world at large—to see and know nothing, say and do nothing, but to attend exclusively to its own business—which business plainly was to grow as rapidly as possible.

Of this wise policy, the external fruits have been, that we have received very little harm from the monarchical nations—who, truth to tell, have generally well treated the modest and rising young republic that has so quietly deported itself—while the internal results are, the building up of a nation of some size and considerable strength, and the successfully carrying out of the system on which it was started.

Far removed as we have been from the scene of European transactions, it has not been difficult, with a little selfishness, to act up to our plan; like the prudent Brutus, when he also was biding his time, we have handsomely played the fool; and like him too, have in some degree earned the name of "brute," as, with barely a shudder and a shrug we have allowed to pass by us the cry of murder and the sniff of blood, borne faintly on the wearied east wind all the way from Spain, from Greece, from Poland, Rome, or Hungary, and then have turned, with renewed diligence, to the work of "minding our own business." None will deny that we have most stoically endured all these calamities of other people; nor will it be denied either, that we have "minded our own business" to some purpose.

In this long practice, on system, of ignorance concerning foreign affairs, we have become quite expert at knowing nothing; indeed, have attained a pitch of ignorance that is a little shameful, and for which we must sometimes blush, as now we do when suddenly the question is asked—what and where is Mosquitia, and who are the Mosquitos?

Besides Brutus, there was another classic hero and sage who assumed a temporary idiocy from prudential motives. Ulysses, preferring the comforts of a home, with his good wife Penelope, to a chivalric crusade for the rescue of his old flame, Helen, ploughed the barren shore and sowed it with fruitless salt. But Ulysses was compelled to be sane when they threw his own child in the plough-share's way.

It is *our* child that now lies right before us, and on the shore too; we must come to our senses and look about us!

The sudden up-springing within our territorial limits of a large community which must for a good while yet produce nothing but the abundant gold of ready payment, has created a commerce that will not long be allowed to find its slow way in a thousand bottoms, by the tedious six or eight months' voyage around Cape Horn, when by a short cut it might make the trip in four or six weeks, and has precipitated the question of intersecting the American isthmus. The vast and speedy returns which are promised, have stimulated the keen calculation and efficient action

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of private enterprise, and so ensured the selection of the most practicable and profitable route. Certain American citizens, whose judgment, energy, and pecuniary responsibility need no better voucher than the designation of "CORNELIUS VANDERBILT and OTHERS," having carefully considered the various routes, are known to have chosen that which follows the river St. Juan and crosses Nicaragua lake, and to have obtained from the government of the state of Nicaragua, a grant of way for a ship canal or railroad, or both, from the noble port of St. Juan on the Atlantic to the noble port of Realejo on the Pacific, with valuable rights and privileges to assist in their operations. But while the American public, knowing the characters of the projectors, are confidently looking to see the opening of this new path to commerce at once begun, vigorously prosecuted and speedily ended, suddenly there arises a lion in the path—that is to say, a sort of a lion.

It is Mr. Barclay, the British consul at New-York, who publishes a warning notice to the grantees not to attempt their work, inasmuch as it would bisect the territory of his majesty the king of the Mosquitos; and that her Britannic Majesty is prepared to protect against all trespassers the soil of the kingdom of Mosquitia.

How is this?—Mosquitia, where?—King, who?—Mosquitos, what?—Where?—who?—what?—how?

Precisely so; these questions must all be considered and answered, and the answer given in writing—and that, too, without delay; for, until it is done, an immeasurably important work must remain at a stand still. With the assurance of protection from our government the projectors will at once break ground, in valorous disregard of the pretensions and power of his Indian majesty, *however protected;* but without it nothing will be done. In California affairs, a year counts as an age. Interests that will not admit of delay, the interests of the nation and of its commerce, saying nothing of the rights of the grantees, demand a speedy decision of this newly sprung Musquito question, and for that purpose all possible light is called for. From the best materials at hand, something of the requisite information will here be attempted to be given.

From the consul's proclamation; from a well-written article in the Philadelphia North American, purporting to come from one long a resident at the scene, and no doubt an Englishman—and from a longer paper, copied with approval, by the New-York Albion, from the Dublin University Magazine, and written by Major Luke Smith O'Connor, a friend of the Consul Walker the principal actor in the Musquito affair, and possessed of valuable data, are chiefly obtained the grounds and supporting arguments of the Mosquitian claim, together with many admissions of important use in controverting it. From such few documents on the subject as exist in this country, and from the testimony of intelligent persons, natives of, or long residents in Nicaragua, are derived the few data needed on the other hand.

The British Mosquitian claim is briefly this:—"The whole range, from Cape Honduras, near Truxillo, on the north, to King Buppan, opposite the island Escudo de Veragua (in New-Grenada) on the south, in length, and from the ocean to the central ridge of mountains in breadth;" embracing more than half of so-called Central America, and measuring forty thousand square miles, or nearly as much as England proper, of rich and beautiful country, has, from time immemorial, and with small

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exceptions, continued under the sovereignty of the Mosquito king. The Mosquitos, numbering twenty thousand, are an intelligent and warlike people, who, by their exceeding prowess, "remain still unconquered, still free and unshackled, by the galling yoke of European power," having held at bay, and even crowded back to the mountains, the Spaniards and the Spanish race, even from the days of the conquest of Mexico down to the liberation of Central America—that this Spanish race, in consequence of their inability (though numbering half a million) to wrest any portion of this desirable country from these twenty thousand Mosquitos, have become justly despised by the latter, and received from them the contemptuous epithet of "little breeches," and now are compelled to the humiliation of passively witnessing and envying "the advancement and prosperity" of Mosquitia. It has of late become the benevolent will and pleasure of her Britannic Majesty to take these heroic Mosquitos under her protection, (lest, perhaps, in their growing prosperity and advancement they should prove unable to protect themselves,) and especially to watch over and protect their important sea-port of St. Juan, which, though the Mosquitos have as yet no need for it, is vastly convenient for her Majesty's subjects. Finally, as the State of Nicaragua has no sovereignty within the wide limits of Mosquitia, the grant to Messrs. Vanderbilt and others is inoperative within the largest portion of the territory it purports to cover.

The British writers describe the Mosquitos as being "well made, moderately tall, strong and active, with agreeable figures, high foreheads, noses inclined to aqueline, teeth good, eyes black, hair long and straight, in temper docile and grateful, and thirsty for information"—"excellent seamen in their way," being expert at paddling canoes, and "attached to the 'grey eyed' people, (the English,) of whose justice they entertain the most exalted opinion." In vindication of their claims to the name of a warlike nation, it is mentioned, that in former times they aided the English at the storming of Omoa, at the attack on Truxillo, and at the defence of Balize—that once upon a time, a great while ago, they invaded Yucatan, and took Backalar, a "stong fortress"—and finally, that fifty of them, jointly with the blood-hounds, served for six months in hunting out and killing the revolted negroes at the close of the Maroon war: the recounting of which deeds, if it does not make the soul thrill as at the recital of Greek heroism, at least causes the flesh to creep, as it revives the memory of the *aid* rendered to the same "grey eyes" against ourselves, by the Indians of our own border territories.

Those who controvert these claims, asseverate that they are untrue in every important particular, and that Mosquitia, and Mosquitian sovereignty, are but figments of diplomatic imagination stimulated by commercial interest.

Waiving, for the present, any inquiries into the ancient condition of these Indians, let us look for a moment at Mosquitia as she now is, and has been since the inception of British protection, in order that we may know what sort of material Great Britain has to work with in her enterprising undertaking of protecting into existence on the American shore, a monarchy for us to recognise and treat with.

The territory actually occupied by the Mosquitos, is a strip of coast a very few miles wide, and reaching from Cape Gracias á Dios down to a river sixty miles north of St. Juan. Trusting to the terror of their name,

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and to the scare-crow effect of the Mosquito flag to preserve the remainder of their extensive and desirable territory from the intrusive tread of the "little breeches," the lords of all that soil restrict themselves to this narrow strip of coast, except when, in the season of turtle striking, they are found struggling "anywhere all along shore." They do not resort to the interior to cut their vast mahogany forest, as that would be unworthy of a warlike race, and besides, would be too hard work; nor do they occupy their valuable port of St. Juan, probably because a large number of the Spanish race have long resided there, whom they extremely dislike to mix with. In their fondness for the shore, and their disregard of arable country, they resemble the crabs, and seem to need as little territory to flourish upon as that crustaceous people. Indeed, when we consider their moderate numbers—counting in the whole only four hundred and eighty (480) souls—we must wonder how they ever came to assume the sovereignty over, and the trouble of fiercely defending for centuries, an area of forty thousand square miles, and feel disposed to liken them to the dog in the manger, unless we consider that it may have all been providentially ordered, for the purpose of keeping the land for the benefit of those same "grey eyes" that are now cast so longingly upon it, with a considerable squinting towards its ultimate absorption into the British Empire.

Our admiration for this "interesting people" must increase, when it is considered how simple have been the weapons with which they have protected their country—their implements of war being merely the spear and the bow and arrow; nor have they any forts or batteries, walled cities, or ships of war: yet, we should not despise them for this, when it is borne in mind that they have the Spartans for their exemplars; and furthermore, that besides yielding a crop of heroes, fully adequate for its defence, the soil of Mosquitia produces prolifically a very tall grass in which to hide when an enemy pursues.

Besides raising a few yams, they do not cultivate the soil; and except the barter of turtles for rum and a few iron and cloth substitutes for their old garments and utensils of skin, stone and wood, they are without foreign or domestic commerce; hence, they build no wharves or store-houses: they erect no manufactories, nor do they construct any roads or bridges, or apply steam to any purpose whatever.

Although their king is learning the catechism of the Church of England, yet the rest of the nation show no disposition to go abroad after strange gods, but confine themselves to deities of native productions, such as cows, serpents, birds, and other beasts and reptiles with which their country abounds, and to whose efficient patronage is doubtless owing its ancient glory and modern greatness and exemption from intrusion. Not having tasked their memories with catechisms, nor their minds with any particular system of belief, they are without any established church or priesthood; hence no temples of worship.

Their laws are beautifully simple, an illustration of which is, that each Mosquito may have as many wives, not exceeding twelve, as he can furnish with a cow apiece: and that the penalty for adultery is the forfeiture of a cow, with which an injured husband may easily supply the place of a false wife, a custom from which probably we derive the idea of a pair of horns as the cuckhold's crest. How infinitely do they surpass in this respect the less enlightened nations who make so much fuss about conjugal rights! and how well does it show the mild charac-

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ter of the Mosquitos regarding their domestic relations, in charming contrast with their vindictive anger, when assailed in their foreign relations. From this simplicity of laws it came that lawyers are dispensed with, and with them, court-houses, jails, and whipping-posts. Their system of medicine being equally simple, no physicians are needed. And so, dispensing with the three "black coats," there is no use for colleges or schools. Not the least benefit from this economy in works of architecture and internal improvement, is that Mosquitia has no public debt—none except that national debt of gratitude, under which she must forever lie, to the magnanimous British nation that has sent ships and guns and men, so far across the ocean, out of pure love, to protect Mosquitia against all the world.

Spartans as they are in heroism, the Mosquitos outgoes the Spartans in domestic economy. A very rude hut, a canoe, a bow and arrow, a simple waist cloth, or a shirt, a pot, a bowl, a knife and spoon, a blanket, a bottle and a cow, comprise all the worldly wealth of a Mosquito.

To procure these, and to supply their few animal wants, requires but little of their time, leaving to them a large leisure, which they improve in the cultivation of the social virtues and domestic pleasures, in meditation, in reclining on the beach, and reciprocating the kindly office of searching in one another's heads, to exterminate such of their hereditary enemies as lurk there—and in slumber.

Happy people!

Although they are said to be "thirsty for knowledge," yet their thirst remains still quite unquenched. They retain the primitive simplicity of their forefathers, and strikingly manifest that simplicity in all their dealings with the English agents. Yet before the English are done with them, they will learn several things of which they have now no conception whatever.

The claim of personal beauty, high foreheads, and aquiline noses, which their friends make for them, must be set down to a defect in grey-eyed vision, or to the partiality of violent friendship. The Mosquitos are not handsome; on the contrary, they are confoundedly ugly, having features of every shape, and complexions of every hue, in blotches of brownish, greenish, blueish, yellowish, redish, and whitish tinge; nor are their forms any handsomer than their faces.

They are greatly troubled with psora, which they solace with frequent scratching, and thereby occupy a considerable portion of their spare time.

Considering all this, it would be difficult to account for the strong friendship which Great Britain has conceived for Mosquitia, unless we consider also how large and rich a dowry the latter possesses. The mode by which the Mosquitos became enamored of the grey eyes, is not however quite so difficult to conceive. The English in their foreign intercourse have two methods of making people love them; one is a love powder, composed in great part of saltpetre, and this was used with the Chinese; the other is an elixir of love, pleasant to the taste, and known by the general term of "rum;" and this has been largely administered to the Mosquitos, who are very "thirsty" for it, and will drink it in any and all procurable quantities. It is under the influence of this elixir that the Mosquito becomes ardently affectionate towards the "grey" eyes, proudly defiant towards the "little breeches," completely con-

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scious of the power and glory of his ancestors, and of the grandeur of modern Mosquitia, valorously loyal towards his king, and then staggers in his gait, falls on the sand, and sleeps profoundly.

From this little sketch of this "interesting people," some persons might infer that they were merely a handful of harmless, ignorant, naked, ugly, dirty, lazy, drunken, vermin-bitten, itch-smitten, contemptible savages, incapable of holding the simplest foreign relations, or of possessing national entity—even in the absence of any, the slenderest claim to sovereignty by a civilized race occupying contiguous territory—and incapable of being protected into sovereignty, or galvanized into nationality, by all the power and prestige of Great Britain herself.

It rather looks so, indeed.

If this account of their condition be true, or half true, the question is ended here, and without the trouble of considering how far the Spanish Americans have actually occupied the soil, or on whose banners victory has most usually perched in the talked of wars for its domination.

But is not this account true? and do not the admitted facts sustain it?

The stories of the former and latter day grandeur of Mosquitia, comes from British sources, being derived through the interested medium of the mahogany traders and those in their interest, who have had every thing to gain from establishing a British protected Mosquitia or territory where they had occasion to deal and to reside.

Waiving the *generalities* concerning Mosquitian might, majesty and dominion—Mosquitian beauty, intelligence and thirstiness for knowledge, we will very briefly give every *particular* fact in her history contained in the articles of both Major O'Connor and the writer in the North American, and without calling in one fact from the other side, leave it to be judged if their own testimony does not destroy the claims the British are now making.

And, preliminarily, let it be observed, that whatever the ancient Mosquitos may have been, before over a half century's close and continued intercourse with the English of Honduras and Blewfields, with its accompanying commerce and consumption of rum, to diminish, enervate, deprave and besot them, yet we have only to do with the state of their case since eighteen hundred and forty, as that is the earliest point to which the *present* British protection can be traced back. Considering the company they have so long kept, it is possible—probable—very probable—most probable, that the Mosquitos now are not the same Mosquitos as those of former days; for if it were desired to convert just such a race as the English claim the Mosquitos to have once been, into just such a handful of wretches as they are, on the other hand, claimed now to be, would not just such an intercourse have been, of all other conceivable modes, the very way to have done it? All experience, whether recorded in "the course of empire" or "the drunkard's progress," teaches this—nay, teaches that such a consequence must inevitably have followed such a cause.

The facts alleged by the British writers, that have been alluded to, are, briefly, but substantially stated, these:

In very early times the buccaneers fraternized with the Musquitos, who, living on the coast where they landed, it was as desirable for them to conciliate, as it afterwards became for the English, who succeeded the buccaneers in the Indians' affections.

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As early as the time of Charles the Second, or thereabouts, the Earl of Warwick landed on the Mosquito shore, and carried one of the savages he found there, to England. It is vaguely mentioned that at or about this time, the Mosquitos put themselves under British protection. In 1749, or thereabouts, the British built a fort at Black river, on the Mosquito coast, and garrisoned it with a hundred men. In the treaty of 1763, England relinquished "her military and federal right over Mosquitia," which treaty, however, the narrator says, she repented of at leisure. Yes, very leisurely; but now, late though it be, we must acknowledge, that in her proceedings at St. Juan, she is doing works "meet for repentance." In 1780, there then being war between England and Spain, a Spanish force visited the remaining English settlement at Black River and broke it up, "overwhelming the feeble force that could oppose them," and destroying erections and plantations. In 1782, learning that thirty men were in garrison at the same place, the Spanish marched upon it an army of two thousand eight hundred and fifty men, who took possession and left a garrison of eight hundred—at least, we find that force there five months afterwards, when the English in turn invaded Mosquitia, with "one hundred and fifty loyal men and eight hundred *settlers, negroes and creoles*," who ejected the Spaniards "neck and crop from every portion of Mosquitia, and restored the English settlers to their lands."—In the treaty of 1783 "it was agreed that Mosquitia should remain under the protection of the English, and partial aid was afforded to the *settlers* for the next two years." But in 1785 the several clauses of this treaty were discussed, "and owing," says Major O'Connor, "to the rotten policy of our ministry, or a polite deference to the assumed rights of Spain, in July, 1796, it was announced"—by treaty probably—"*that not only was the protection of her ancient ally withdrawn from Mosquitia*, but that the settlers, after lavishing time, money, industry and constitution, were to be abandoned—nay, furthermore, that they must evacuate the properties handed down from sire to son, or formed by their own prudence and perseverance, and quit, for distant climes, the land of their birth, their birth-right or adoption. This cruel and unnatural resolution, struck the settlers with indignation and dismay. *Spain was now armed with full authority to resume her usurpation of the Mosquito country, and would, no doubt, exercise a despotic power, and visit with retributive vengeance the opposition, losses and defeat she had sustained only a few months before.*" The most of the settlers retired. "A few, however, *preferred rather trusting to the mercy of the Spaniards* than undergo uncalled for banishment, and established themselves at Blewfields."

In 1825, Frederic, King of the Mosquitos, was crowned by the English at Balize. In 1840, he again visited Honduras, and put his mark to a will, "constituting the English superintendent there, and certain commissioners, a regency during the minority of his heir, and guardians to his children Princes George, William Clarence, and Alexander, and the Princesses Agnes and Victoria," and earnestly entreating that the British Queen, "would continue that protection to his heirs and nation which his forefathers had so long received, and which had preserved the peace and tranquillity of his dominions."

The Major goes on to add: "The patronage and protection so earnestly entreated by the deceased king, were feebly and fitfully bestowed on his son. The political position and commercial advancement of Mosquitia

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continued at a low ebb among other nations until 1844, *when a new light dispersed the shadow that hung over her.*" In the spring of that year Patrick Walker, Esq., was appointed British consul-general, and agent at "the Mosquito shore." He went to Blewfields and found the incipient king "without an establishment, suite, or attendants—a kind of Punch and Judy majesty, brought out on particular occasions only, but generally employed in offices degrading to the little personage in whose veins flowed the royal blood of free and unconquered sovereigns, traceable for full three centuries and more." He was taken to Balize, and crowned on the 28th of April, 1845; remained there two months, and then returned to Blewfields. He was at this time fifteen years old.

At the port of St. Juan, the people of Nicaragua had established themselves, "*imposing harbour dues, &c., on all vessels trading there.*" In the autumn of 1847, a Frenchman, whose son was imprisoned by the Nicaraguan authorities there, requested the aid of Consul Walker, at Blewfields, for his release. Walker "wrote a spirited letter." The commandant, meanwhile, released the prisoner, but in his reply, refused to recognize the Mosquito flag. In consequence, Consul Walker and the king came to St. Juan in October, 1847, in the British frigate Alarm, landed a boat's crew, who hauled down the Nicaraguan flag, and hoisted that of Mosquitia in its place. The frigate then fired a salute, and departed. In December, 1847, Walker returned in a war-steamer, and installed at St. Juan Major Hodgson as governor, Commander Little as port captain, and Captain Dixon as town-major, and then departing, left these three white Mosquitian officials to their fate, which was, as there were no forces to guard, nor Mosquitos to back their pretensions, to be immediately thrown into prison, while the Mosquitian flag again suffered desecration—a result, probably well foreseen. On the 16th of January, 1848, the British war-steamer Vixen appeared off St. Juan, and her commander demanded an apology, which was refused. The Vixen departed, to return, however, on the 12th of February, in company with the Alarm, bringing a company of soldiers. Two hundred and sixty men landed, stormed, and captured the fort of Serapiqui.

Here we have *all* the data of the Britsh Mosquitian connexion fairly stated from the British apologists themselves; and now, keeping in mind the claims of Mosquitia's immemorial and continued adverse sovereignty in connexion with these facts, conceded by those who make that claim—with these facts, too, embracing *all* the history of the connexion which they think proper to put forward, how do the positive and particular of the data sustain the vague and the general of the claim?

Now, then: In 1780, when the Spaniards invaded Mosquitia, and destroyed the English settlement at Black River, "overwhelming the feeble force that could oppose them," where were the Mosquitos? And in 1782, when they marched near three thousand troops upon the same settlement, traversing all parts of Mosquitia, where were the Mosquitos? And while, during five months that followed, eight hundred of these troops held possession of the post right in the heart of Mosquitia, where were the Mosquitos, and what were they about? And when this garrison was conquered by a force of 150 English soldiers, with 800 auxiliaries, consisting of "settlers, negroes, and creoles," where were those indomitable bow and arrow shooters? and why did not their names appear on the muster roll? And when, in 1796, upon the British

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government's abandoning all claim to the country, either as holder or protector, why did most of the settlers abandon their Mosquitian possessions?—why did they feel such dismay at the withdrawal of protection from home?—were they not on *Mosquitia's* "free and unconquered soil," secure in the plighted faith of those ancient and indomitable allies, with the broad blanket of Mosquitian protection for their safeguard? Why did those who went, go quaking at the thought of Spanish "retributive vengeance," while those who remained "trusted to the mercy of the Spaniards?" And when, long after, and after a lapse of half a century, during which (excepting the crowning of a bare-legged Indian at Balize) there had been, in compliance with the treaty, no British interference or protection, the Nicaraguan lamb thrust its nose into the stream where another beast wanted to drink, a descent was made on St. Juan by a boat's crew from the frigate Alarm, a flag raised, and a salute fired—when soon afterwards, the three Mosquitian officials there were thrown in prison, and their flag trampled in the dust—and when, later still, 280 men stormed Serapiqui, where *were* the Mosquitos, and why *did* their forces play no part in these glorious achievements, done under their flag, and all for their gain and glory? And when we find that on no one of these occasions did they avail themselves of the rich opportunity of showing their might, gratifying their "vindictive hatred" of the Spanish race, and earning fame into the bargain, may we not reasonably enquire concerning the precise location where so soundly slumbered, the while, the memories of Mosquitia's ancient renown, and particularly what the shades of the ancestral Mosquitos said on the subject?

As it will do no sort of good to "pause for a reply," let us go on and complete the history with a few facts *not* narrated in the English accounts.

> "All these things will I give thee, if thou," &c.
>
> *New Testament.*

It was after the coronation of the young king that they took him down the coast to show him the extent of his dominions, which were pointed out as reaching quite to New-Grenada. On their way back, they touched at St. Juan, and demanded of the authorities to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Indian lad. This was of course refused; and an old general who happened at that time to be chief officer of customs at the port, got together what few men he could to resist their landing. But in face of a threat to bombard the town, he desisted, and under cover of the moral influence of this threat, an hundred men were landed, who seized the old general, and carried him off with them. It is due to the fair name of a magnanimous nation to let it be known, that though acting as allies to savages, they did not, when they caught their prisoner, adopt the savage mode of warfare, and scalp or kill him, but contented themselves with the civilized plan of cheating him. He was confined in irons, and stinted to a pint of water and a hard biscuit each meal, until the iron had entered well into his soul, and his poor teeth been nearly broken out of his head, when they promised him life and liberty, on condition of his signing a document which they had drawn up, *in English.* He unhesitatingly signed it, and was then set on shore hundreds of miles from his home. The document turned out to be an acknowledgment of the independence of Mosquitia, executed by him—He was collector of customs—on behalf of the State of Nicaragua.

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And now, behold the independence of Mosquitia fully achieved, and formally acknowledged. It only remained for her decently and gracefully to take her seat among the nations of the earth, which she accordingly did.

The poor old half-starved collector, who had thus in his sore hunger sold his country's birth-right for something good to eat, found his way back to St. Juan, to inform the inhabitants of what he had done. Things then went on as has been detailed, down to the storming of Serapiqui, which was on the 12th of February, 1848. Following up their success, the British forces proceeded up the river, nearly two hundred miles, to Grenada, meeting with no opposition from the weak and unprepared state, and there had a conference with the government. The result was that a stipulation was signed, the substance of which was that while refusing to acknowledge any such power as Mosquitia, the Nicaraguan government consented that the British forces should temporarily hold St. Juan in deposit, until it could be ascertained by diplomatic negociation with the court of St. James, whether there was a Mosquitia, and if so, whether or not St. Juan belonged to her. The English then withdrew, with the exception of a force left in garrison at St. Juan.

In order to speedily extricate so important a port from this questionable custody, and in the confidence of being easily able to show the nothingness of Mosquitia and her claims, and in the hope of speedy redress from a generous power, Siguor Castel Leon was forthwith dispatched to London duly accredited, and provided with documents to prove to the conscience-keepers of England, *that* the realm of fancy called Mosquitia, was non-extant in reality; *that* the Mosquito Indians were merely a wretched remnant of degraded savages, less than five hundred in number, whose actual occupation of the soil had never extended beyond a narrow strip of poor coast, reaching at the very furthermost from Cape Gracias a Dios, on the north, to a river sixty miles, short of St. Juan, on the south, without practicable ports, low, marshy, and undesirable; *that* the Spanish Americans having never met with serious resistance of their dominion from these Indians, nor needed to occupy their lands, had not sent armies of conquest to chase them through their bogs and creeks; but while appropriating such portion of Central America as was useful to them, (with what respect or disrespect of Indian titles is not important,) had paid about as much regard to the five hundred or twenty thousand savages who built their huts, and caught turtle on the wild and profitless Mosquito shore, as her Majesty's government pays to the known or unknown tribes of Labrador, or as that of the United States does to the numerous tribes of the far north-west, whom it would disgrace to compare with the poor Mosquitos; *that* all the extensive country between the coast and the mountains, so far as it is needed or desirable, was and had long been peaceably occupied by the proper population of Central America, whether white, red, black, or mixed, all as completely ignorant of any claim of tribute, or sovereignity over them, on the part of His Mosquitian Majesty, George Augustus Frederic, as are the Turks of Jerusalem of the dominion of the two European monarchs, who take the title of kings of that city, but who had conducted themselves as good (or bad) citizens of the states, within whose limits they resided, bearing their due portions of the taxes, imposts, impositions, and other public burthens, and suffering their due

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share in the earthquakes and revolutions to which they are so frequently subjected, and so thoroughly accustomed; *that* the valuable port of St. Juan de Nicaragua, containing about five hundred inhabitants, had been held and occupied by the Nicaraguans from the first settlement of Central America without any one Mosquito residing within its walls, or claiming dominion there, until, in 1847, they were aroused to the knowledge that they had so long been trespassers on the free and unconquered Mosquitian soil, by the descent upon them of Mosquitia's ally, who then so suddenly assumed the benevolent duty of redressing wrongs to which the good natured Mosquitos had so long and patiently submitted. *That* the British Consul General to Mosquitia, for the first time appointed in 1844, had always resided at the little setttlement of Blewfields, a place occupied by the agents of the mahogany traders of Honduras only, during wood chopping season, and never at St. Juan; and finally *that* it was incredible that even twenty thousand Indians, (even taking the extravagant claim of British informants) could have held against the two millions of Central America, forty thousand square miles of beautiful country, reaching down to New-Grenada, wholly cutting off Nicaragua from the Atlantic sea-board, and forcing them westwardly two-thirds of the way to the Pacific.

Castel Leon, so fully prepared with proofs of his righteous cause, and as fully confident of a candid hearing from the great government of the "grey eyes," of whose justice we are told the Mosquitos have so lively a sense, was furthermore prepared to argue to Lord Palmerston, Secretary of Foreign Affairs—*that*, to set up against the well known claims of a civilized state the separate sovereignty of a border tribe of savages, even allowing them to be all that the English claim the Mosquitos to be, would establish a principle of international law, whose consequences could be more easily foreseen than encountered—giving life all over the globe to innumerable nationalities to be recognised and treated with, but incapable in their natures of acting the parts of nations; or of understanding and observing treaties; and breaking the well marked boundary lines on the map of the world into the uncertain waves of savage dominion: *that* it was the high duty of the mistress of the seas to respect the rights of the feeble states, and shield them from the agressionsof her wrong-doing agents, and that it was for her interest to act fairly in this case, lest she should get a bad name in the world; *that*, inasmuch as the only Atlantic port of the Nicaraguans was in an anomalous custody—in a sort of chancery, under stipulation, which, saving the rights of both parties, left the question of its ownership to the arbitrament and award of the British government, to be made on a full hearing of the case—it was highly proper to give a speedy hearing and decision; and, in case of his state being found in the right, that a prompt restoration be made of the territory so held in *custodia legis; or that*, in case England wanted St. Juan and was resolved to have it, that she had only honestly to say so—boldly to reach forth her hand and take what could not be withheld, and so give to the plundered nation the poor consolation of having it openly known and plainly understood that they lost their property by irresistible highway robbery, instead of leaving them in return only the stinging, the highly unpleasant sensation which always follows being cheated.

In fine, our Nicaragua diplomatist was loaded down with proofs, arguments and persuasions potent to convince the reason and touch the con-

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science of a hungry bull-dog, and coax the half-gnawed bone from between its paws; but he had to deal with an animal of quite another sort—one that is particularly fond of just such nice bits as this very bone of contention, and which is never known to relinquish its grasp or retreat from its prey, except in the face of very heavy artillery indeed, and such as is not found in Nicaraguan arsenals.

Thus commissioned and prepared, Signor Castel Leon arrived in London, and was admitted to an interview with Lord Palmerston. He opened the business, but was suddenly checked by her Majesty's minister laughing in his face, and telling him that *the question was already closed!* Yes, Castel Leon reports that the noble lord did actually laugh in his face. True, it was impolite, but then how could it be helped? Ministers are but men, and some jokes are to good for human nature to resist. Why, if Joe, the New-York market loafer, after being entrusted by a fresh countryman, just from the verdant banks of the Hudson, with a five dollar bill, to go and get it changed, should, an hour later, see the victim on the same spot, patiently waiting for his change, Joe would have laughed. And the famous Confidence Man, if he had been called on by some simpleton for the restoration of a watch deposited with him a week before, on trust and confidence to return it next day, would have laughed, too. But here was an apparently intelligent gentleman, fully accredited as a minister, fitted out and sent at much expense by the not wealthy state of Nicaragua, who had come all the way across the ocean on the sublimely simple errand of asking of the British Government the restoration of a valuable piece of territory of which it already had possession—obtained no matter how!

Signor Castel Leon is still at London.
The British are still at St. Juan.
Poor Castel Leon!
Poor little Nicaragua!
Great Britain!

A MADRIGAL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF FRANCIS I.

By yonder casement as I stood alone,
Early one day, to watch the morning's dawn,
Aurora's beauteous form I chanc'd to spy
  As, stretching forth her fingers tipp'd with light,
  To marshal Phœbus on his pathway bright,
With purple hues she tinged the eastern sky.
But looking back, I saw my lady fair,
Binding in simple knot her golden hair;
And then I cried, "ye deathless deities!
"Oh keep the sun-gilt azure of your skies,
"Your blazing orbs, your bright Elysian fields,
"Their beauty to terrestrial beauty yields!"

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FLOGGING IN THE NAVY.

PART IV.—SUBSTITUTES DETAILED.

OUR desire, in this Part, is not to dictate a code, but to draw attention to the subject of Naval Re-organization and Reform, in a definite and intelligible manner. Many of the articles we have inserted are of doubtful propriety to our own minds, and hence the whole matter invokes discussion rather than criticism.

The form of Col. O'Brien's "suggestions for the improvement of American Military Law," has been adhered to as closely as the differences between the land and sea-services would appear to justify. Even his language has been used in very many cases, but generally so much modified in order to adopt it to our purposes, that an acknowledgment cannot be made by the usual quotation marks, without disfiguring the text. He should not be held in any degree responsible, however, for the *spirit* of the articles to be presented. The method of the last section, which refers to crimes and their penalties, is that of the British army articles of war, and has been selected more for its conciseness than for any essential merit considered to be its due.

Many of Colonel O'Brien's "suggestions" have been for a long time in actual operation in the French army or elsewhere, and hence should not be regarded in the so much dreaded light of novel innovations. The rational discipline of the French military service dates from the downfall of monarchy, in 1789. The republican of this day may revert with a just pride to the characteristic qualities of humanity and justice, contained in such articles as the following, which are a part of an ordinance of 22d September, 1790. Contrasted with the relics of feudality which still disgrace our institutions in the government of the American navy, they relieve the Assembly of much of that odium which the arrogance of conservatism delights to cast upon a body that has done so much for human liberty.

"1. No *militaire* can be condemned to an afflictive, or infamous punishment, except by the judgment of a military or civil tribunal, according to the nature of his offence."

"5. Every violation of military law is a punishable offence; but every fault of this kind is not a crime: it becomes so only when accompanied by the grave circumstances announced in the law. Faults are punished by the penalties of discipline; crimes only can be punished by afflictive or infamous punishments."

"77. Care will be taken that the penalty awarded is not aggravated in its execution by any accessory, and that its severity be not added to by the arbitrary will of any man."*

Doubtless this liberal movement was regarded, at the time, by the adherents of ancient custom, as not only subversive of all military propriety,

* O'Brien's American Military Law, p. 390.

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but calculated to destroy the efficiency of the army. The successes of Domouriez, Moreau, Napoleon, and his illustrious marshals, have proved, what events always prove, the falsity of conservative predictions when opposed to enlightened progress.

In accordance with universal precedent, a distinct set of punishments is inserted for officers and privates. True republicanism would mete out the same punishment to both; and we venture to prophesy, at the risk of being accused of ultraism, that in the progress of democratic sentiment, "to this conclusion we will come at last;" for if an officer and private commit similar acts in violation of the same law, why should the one party be subjected to a more degrading punishment than the other? If privates attached the same value to their situations, that officers do to their commissions, there would be no difficulty whatever in punishing all alike.

Our suggestions are put in the form of sections and articles, which will generally be intelligible without comment.

Section I.—Punishments.

Art. 1. Officers are liable to be punished by—1st, admonition; 2d, reprimand; 3d, simple arrest; 4th, close arrest; 5th, fines; 6th, simple suspension; 7th, full suspension; 8th, reduction; 9th, discharge; 10th, dismissal; 11th, cashiering; 12th, death.

Art. 2. Petty officers and privates are liable to be punished by—1st, admonition; 2d, reprimand; 3d, simple arrest; 4th, close arrest; 5th, fines; 6th, reduction; 7th, imprisonment; 8th, discharge; 9th, dismissal; 10th, cashiering; 11th, death.

Slight faults of discipline may be punished by demerit marks, on a conduct roll, to serve as a basis of classification.

Art. 3. Cashiering severs the connexion of the culprit from the navy, and incapacitates him from future employment there.

Art. 4. Dismissal also severs the connexion of the culprit from the navy, but it does not carry with it a permanent future incapacity for the service. A private may re-enter three years after being dismissed, provided he can produce satisfactory testimonials of his good conduct during the intermediate period.

Art. 5. Discharge strikes the officer or private from the rolls of the navy, but, being usually inflicted in consequence of the misfortune of the individual (incapacity for instance) rather than his fault, it is never disgraceful. On the contrary, it is often honorable, as in the case of the expiration of the term of service.

Art. 6. The effect of imprisonment is to restore the culprit to duty in the capacity of a convict on board ship. He will be distinguished by wearing clothes without ornament. The privilege of "liberty" is withheld from him. He will, as far as practicable, be kept aloof from the crew, and employed under the immediate inspection of the officers. No one will be sentenced to imprisonment but for crimes of a disgraceful character, nor for a longer period than the cruise. A court of inquest is authorized to sentence a refractory prisoner to not more than twenty lashes, under the same regulations as with the minor punishments to other classes.

Art. 7. The effect of reduction upon an officer is to place him lower

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in the list of promotion by seniority. In cases of officers who even if put at the foot of the list of their grade, would not suffer the punishment awarded; such officers will remain at the foot of the list of seniority, until the requisite number of officers have been promoted, or appointed to their grade, and been placed above them on said list. Reduction, applied to a petty officer, or "picked man," reduces them to the grade and privileges of the crew generally; and applied to other privates, it reduces them to a lower grade.

Art. 8. Suspension has the effect of depriving the officer of the right to exercise the duties, or wear the uniform of his grade, as long as the suspension continues. Simple suspension takes from the officer one-third of his pay. Full suspension takes from him two-thirds of his pay, and also suspends him from promotion, so that he can neither be promoted to a higher grade, nor advanced in his grade a single step nearer the head of the list.

Art. 9. Fines can only be imposed for specific offences, and their amount must be made known before-hand.

Art. 10. Close arrest, for an officer, is confinement to his quarters, or to any place that may be named, or set aside for the purpose. A reasonable time may be allowed for exercise. When close arrest is in consequence of the sentence of a court-martial, it suspends an officer for the period for which it continues in force, and all the consequences of full suspension follow. Close arrest may, also, at the discretion of the commanding officer, be resorted to as a means of safe keeping for trial, if necessary; but no commanding officer can, on any pretence, aggravate the confinement of an accused person by adding to it any kind of punishment or privation not indispensable for his safe-keeping.

Close arrest, for privates, is confinement in any place that may be set aside for the purpose. Irons may be used if necessary for the security of the culprit, but not as an aggravation of the punishment, unless by the sentence of a general court-martial. Close arrest takes from privates twenty-five per cent. of their pay, when inflicted by a court of inquest, and fifty per cent. when inflicted by a court-martial. An offender, under sentence of imprisonment, placed in close arrest by sentence of a court of inquest, forfeits all pay during the continuance of such close arrest.

Art. 11. Simple arrest, for officers, is confinement to the ship. It excuses them from no other duty than such as requires their absence from the ship. For privates, simple arrest is being placed under the surveillance of the master at arms, and excuses from no duty. Liberty is withheld during the period of simple arrest.

Art. 12. Reprimands, for both officers and privates, are put in orders and read by the commander from the quarter deck, all hands being called when a private is reprimanded; but the officers only of equal or superior grade, when an officer is reprimanded.

Art. 13. Admonition may be given privately by the commander in presence of the messmates of the offender.

Art. 14. Slight faults of discipline, in which no wilful design of disobedience is supposed to exist, may be punished by marks of "demerit," on a numerical scale, varying from one to ten for each fault. These numbers are marked upon a conduct roll, to serve as a basis for the selection of "picked men." The demerit marks shall be imposed, and the conduct roll kept by the commander, who may delegate this power to officers

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in charge of a watch, or division, or any other detail of duty, but always subject to such commander's revision on appeal.

Art. 15. In case a private, who has been legally cashiered, shall wilfully re-enter the service, a court-martial is authorized, on full proof being submitted, to discharge him, and have placed on his right hip a small mark in India ink, that he may not again return.

Section II.—Duties and Powers of Commandants.

Art. 1. The power of a commanding officer of a station, squadron, or a ship, acting singly, extends to the infliction of admonition, reprimand, simple arrest for not longer than two weeks, and close arrest for not longer than one week. But close arrest, unless by sentence of a court, does not reduce the pay. The punishment of privates who are not "picked men," may be doubled as regards arrests. Commanders may likewise impose fines for offences hereafter to be specified.

Art. 2. A book of punishments is to be kept by every commander, and an abstract sent quarterly to the commander-in-chief to be transmitted to the Navy Department. No punishment shall be inflicted which is not reported; and in all reports of punishments, the name of the person who made the report which occasioned the punishment, will be stated.

Art. 3. One of the most essential duties of commanders of squadrons is supervision of the punishment inflicted in the ships composing his command. If punishments are too frequent, it is their duty to inquire into the cause of this state of things, and endeavor to remedy it. They should make commanders and other officers feel that a paternal solicitude, seasonable advice, their own example, and equitable exercise of their authority, are the means of preventing faults, and of establishing discipline on a more solid basis than punishments can do. They must prevent every deviation on any pretence from the laws of Congress; and it is their duty to call the attention of the Secretary of the Navy to the ship or ships wherein the faults are in fewest number, and of the slightest kind.

Art. 4. All punishments inflicted by commanders of ships may, at any time, be called for by the commander-in-chief. The latter may, within the limits of his legal power, increase or diminish, remit, or change them. In case of any change, he must explain to him who has inflicted the punishment, and what is deemed the error of his proceedings. He will take means to have the commander of the ship duly punished, if he finds any abuse of power on his part.

Art. 5. The discretionary punishments inflicted by the commandant must be proportioned, not only to the faults, but also to the habitual conduct of each man, to the time he has been in the service, and his acquaintance with the rules of discipline.

Art. 6. Any commandant, whether commanding a squadron or a single ship, may annex by order any minor punishment for any specific offence, provided such order is not contrary to law, and does not violate the orders of any of his superiors in command over him.

Art. 7. A commandant issuing any regulations of police, or discipline, to the station, squadron or ship, under his command, shall declare at the same time, the punishment to be awarded for a violation of them, in such manner, however, as not to violate the provisions of law.

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Art. 8. In cases where a commandant is of opinion that the punishments in his power to inflict, or in that of a court of inquest, are not sufficient to produce the desired effect on the accused, he will, after ordering the infliction of such punishment as it is in his power to award, report the whole case fully to the next higher commander. The latter may, if he thinks the case demands it, order a general court martial for its trial.

Art. 9. Any one punished, who deems the punishment unjust, or disproportionate to the offence, may appeal from the decision of the commandant. The latter will direct a court of inquest to try the case, agreeably to the requirements of law; and if the decision of the court of inquest is not satisfactory to the accused, he may, through the proper channel of communication, appeal to the next superior authority, and may thus carry the case to the President of the United States. But in all such cases he will undergo the punishment until relieved from it by the proper authority. If the result of his appeal is his entire acquittal, he will be freed from all ill effects or disgrace otherwise resulting from the punishment, unless on appeal, made to a still higher authority by his commanding officer, his punishment be confirmed. The appellant in either case may be punished, should the higher authority deem his appeal groundless and vexatious. Appeals must be made within ten hours after the reception of the award or decision appealed against.

Art. 10. When punishments by arrests are awarded, the day of their expiration will be designated. They cease at 9 A. M., on the day fixed for their duration. The person punished, on the expiration of punishment, must report in person to the commanding officer.

Art. 11. When from circumstances the minor punishments specified in the law cannot be resorted to, in other cases which may seem to demand it, other minor punishments may, when necessary, be resorted to on the following conditions:—1st, that they are of no greater severity than the punishments which the commandant is authorised to inflict; 2d, that they do not degrade the accused; 3d, that they have not been prohibited by superior authority; 4th, that their duration does not exceed the duration fixed by law, to the duration of similar punishments, when inflicted by the same authority; 5th, that they be reported to the next superior as soon as possible, in the regular channel of communication to the Navy Department; 6th, that they be instantly and entirely discontinued when disapproved; 7th, that if approved, they be only inflicted to the extent, and in the cases allowed for their infliction.

Art. 12. The Secretary of the Navy is authorised to prescribe a system of minor punishments for ships of war. But no part of such system shall be in opposition to the laws, or the plain intent thereof.

Art. 13. The punishments which a commandant is authorised to inflict may be imposed for any faults against discipline. Among these faults will be included, and punished as such according to their gravity, on the part of the superior, every injurious word, every act of abeyance towards a subordinate—every punishment unjustly inflicted. On the part of the inferior, every murmur, improper language, or want of obedience, no matter what may be the alledged cause of complaint, infraction of punishment, drunkenness, however slightly it may disturb the public tranquillity, irregularities, or improprieties of conduct, quarreling, failure, or want of punctuality at muster, violations of the internal rules and regulations, in fine, every fault against duty, arising from neg-

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ligence, laziness, or bad will. These faults will be always the more severely punished when they are reiterated, and especially when they are habitual, or accompanied by any disorderly or dishonorable conduct.

Art. 14. For the following offences the commander is authorised to impose a fine not exceeding the amount of pay for one day, to wit: irreverent behavior at divine worship, a profane oath or narration, indecent language or conduct, quarrelling, slight intoxication, want of personal cleanliness, sleeping on look out, tardiness, or absence from muster without sufficient cause, slight insubordination, want of obedience, not attended with aggravating circumstances. For a repetition of the offence, the penalty may be doubled. When an offender has been punished by order of the commander, or the sentence of a court of inquest, three times with fines, for the same offence, the case may be referred to a court martial, to be punished at their discretion, if, in the opinion of the commander-in-chief, the discipline of the service demands it.

Art. 15. No one will be subject to punishment, when, in fact, the acts or omissions alledged against him are not attributable to any fault on his part.

Art. 16. The punishment to be inflicted by order of the commandant shall not be designated, or begin to take effect until the forenoon after the day on which the offence was committed. During this period the offender may be relieved from duty, or, if necessary, confined.

Art. 17. When a subordinate feels himself aggrieved, or has any cause of complaint against a superior, or other, he will make the same known to his immediate commander; or if the cause of his complaint is against his immediate commander, he will make the same known to his next superior in station through the commander aforesaid. Any commanding officer failing to listen to, or to afford the just means of redress, or to convey such complaint to his superior, shall be liable to the punishment awarded to oppression. The complainant himself will be liable to the punishment of disrespect, or mutinous conduct, if he conducts his complaint in a manner calculated to impair the proper authority of his commanding officer. It shall be the duty of the commander-in-chief to send for the complainant, and hear from himself a statement of his grievances, to redress them if founded in justice, and protect him from the consequences of having made them.

Art. 18. Every commandant who shall refuse, or wilfully neglect to keep good order in his command, or redress abuses and wrongs committed by those under him, as far as he can lawfully do so, shall be dismissed; and every commander who shall conduct himself oppressively to those under his command, either by words or actions, or shall permit his subordinates to oppress in any manner those under them, shall, on conviction before a court martial, be cashiered or dismissed, at their discretion.

Remarks.--The position of the commander of a ship-of-war is one where due power must be conferred, but at the same time a proper responsibility should be imposed. The present law does neither the one nor the other. Unless a captain violates the law, he cannot punish an officer at all, for the ministers of Charles who concocted the English navy laws, which for two centuries have laid in pickle, and are now found as hard and indigestible as "salt junk" of equal age, in our act of 1800, did not intend

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that the pets of Nell Gwyn should be in the power of one man. The 30th article of the act for the better government of the navy of the United States, in imitation of the rules of discipline to be observed by British commanders in the 17th century, declare that the commander shall not punish a warrant or commissioned officer, otherwise than by suspension and confinement, which are simply preliminary steps towards a trial by a court martial. But officers as well as "men" may be guilty of indiscretions, not of sufficient magnitude to be brought before a tribunal of that kind. These the captain should have the means of correcting. A reprimand inserted in orders, read in the presence of other officers, and then reported to the Navy Department, would exercise such a check upon their general conduct, that courts martial would less frequently be called upon to take cognizance of serious offences. Commanders would then be less likely to violate the law by resorting to extemporary reprimands in moments of excitement, and those acting thus would be liable to punishment by a process more easily and surely arrived at than at present.

Protection is afforded to the subordinate in this section from the abuse of arbitrary power, in various ways—as by the commander being required to report all punishments; by the commander of the squadron having the power to interfere between his common subordinates; by the right of appeal clearly defined; by the delay in awarding the sentence, and finally by the character of and limit to the punishments. Yet, discipline is not to be jeoparded, as sufficient means of punishment are still left to the commander; besides which, authority is given him to substitute others under checks necessary for the subordinate's protection.

Let it not be supposed that laws which shielded the sailor from the abuse of arbitrary power, would impair the standing and authority of the captain, by the introduction into the service of a levelling system, or, as some are pleased to term it in horror, a *democracy!* The captain is not exposed to this risk from the privates. It is between the captain and his officers, where this levelling tendency is more apt to be perniciously felt. Nor is this even the result of social equality, but proceeds from the tyranny of opinion which numbers, united to superior intelligence, can exercise. Captains who conceal their weakness by the most tortoise-like exclusiveness, are more restive under that ward-room sentiment which makes and unmakes navy reputations, than those of a contrary character. We are of the opinion that the present want of a system often causes the captain, unless possessed of peculiar force of character, to be too far subservient to the prejudices, predilections, and wishes of his officers. It will not, we presume, be denied that the commander, in his efforts to befriend and protect his crew, has sometimes brought upon himself unjust imputations from his officers; or that, from a too facile disposition to listen to the complaints of the latter for fear of giving offence, he has rendered himself obnoxious to charges of oppression he otherwise would have avoided. The remedy for this will be found in a law which acknowledges what is now denied—the existence of rights in all classes, and that protects all in their enjoyment of those rights.

Section III.—Courts of Inquest.

Art. 1. Courts of inquest will consist of three members. The minor member will be president, who will appoint one of the other two re-

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corder; or a fourth person may be appointed recorder at the option of the court. The members of the court will be selected from among the most experienced officers, at least one of whom shall be a staff officer.

Art. 2. Any commanding officer may detail a court of inquest. If a commanding officer has not a sufficient number of suitable officers to sit on a court in any particular case, he will apply to a superior, if one is present to order a court.

Art. 3. There will be a court detailed monthly, and no change will be made in this detail during the month, unless rendered necessary by some members being prevented sitting on it from any cause, when his place will be supplied by the captain.

Art. 4. The powers of courts of inquest, in awarding punishment, include all those within the discretion of the commander of a ship, to inflict also simple suspension for officers, reduction for privates, and the imposition of fines not to exceed the amount of the offender's pay for one week. The effect of close arrest, when inflicted by a court of inquest, is to reduce the offender's pay for the duration of the arrest, twenty-five per cent., unless he is under sentence of imprisonment, when the sentence of close arrest carries with it the withdrawal of all pay. The duration of close arrest under sentence of a court of inquest is limited to twenty days, to other classes than those under sentence of imprisonment.

Art. 5. No one can sit on a court of inquest in which he is a party interested. The accused has the right to challenge any member. In deciding upon the validity of the challenge, the challenged party shall have no right to vote. In case the two remaining members disagree respecting the challenge, the opinion of the senior of the two will prevail, and a record of such being the case, be made. The challenge will be made to but one member at a time, and the causes of such challenge will be stated.

Art. 6. Courts of inquest are instituted, not only for the punishment of offences, but for the selection of those whose meritorious conduct shall have entitled them to reward. These shall be termed "picked men." Such selections shall be made monthly, and not less than ten per cent. of a ship's company shall be thus distinguished, unless it should appear upon examination that there were not that number on board, who had conducted themselves with sufficient propriety to merit such a distinction, in which case it will be reported to the commander-in-chief, by the commander of the ship. The former will immediately institute a full inquiry into the causes thereof, and report them to the Secretary of the Navy. No one will be made a "picked man," who is in debt to the government.

Art. 7. A picked man shall have the same privileges of "liberty" as the officers of the ship. He shall be distinguished by a badge, to be designated by the Secretary of the Navy. On being discharged, he shall be entitled to a leave of absence pay (ten per cent. less than full pay,) one-half of which he may draw monthly, as it falls due, and the residue when he reports for duty, within four months. Other privates, who may be recommended by the court of inquest to be continued on the seaman's register, shall, under like circumstances, be entitled to furlough pay, (one half the full pay,) on reporting for duty, if within four months. A private who is not a picked man shall be permitted to go on liberty at least twelve days of twenty-four hours each, in every year, at such times and places as the commandant may elect.

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Art. 8. It is competent for a court of inquest to remove the sentence of imprisonment, after an offender has served as a convict for one-half the period for which he was sentenced, provided he be recommended to the favorable consideration of the court by the commander, and it be shown on due investigation that his conduct has been, under the sentence of imprisonment, commendable.

Art. 9. All matters which a court of inquest are called to act upon, must be brought before it by the authority and with the sanction of the commander of the ship, or some higher authority.

Art. 10. The sentence of a court of inquest to give it validity, requires the commander's approval.

Art. 11. It is optional with the commander to punish within the limits of his authority, or to refer the case to a court of inquest.

Art. 12. Courts of inquest are likewise courts of appeal from the award of the commander. In cases of appeal, the appellant may be punished by the confirmation of that awarded by the commander, together with such punishment as may be within the power of the court to inflict for making a vexatious or improper appeal. If the captain's punishment shall not be ratified or reduced, the accused shall be restored without disadvantage; but if the commander is dissatisfied with the verdict, he will report the case with the evidence, and his opinions, to the next highest authority, who may confirm the decision of the court, or invalidate its proceedings; or, if in his opinion the case demands it, he may submit it to a general court martial; but this shall not be understood to interfere with the right of the accused to carry his appeal up to a higher authority, if he sees proper. A commander failing to submit an appeal to a court of inquest, shall be punished as for oppression.

Art. 13. If, in the investigation of a criminal matter before a court of inquest, it appears that the case is one which should be brought before a court martial, the court will stop further proceedings, and direct that a proper accusation be preferred before a court martial.

Art. 14. The accused will be allowed the assistance of a friend to advise him, if he desires it.

Art. 15. The awards of the court of inquest shall be included in the commander's quarterly return of punishments, and a fair copy of the court's record be sent to the Navy Department, through the commander-in-chief of the squadron, annually.

Remarks.—The articles of this section incomplete, as they professedly are, explain sufficiently the nature of the proposed ship's court, or court of inquest.

The punishment of faults against discipline may safely be left to the commander, when the right of appeal is allowed; but there are offences which it is best not to send up to a higher tribunal, that may be investigated with more propriety by an inferior court. "All violations of military law," says O'Brien, "may be divided into faults, offences, and crimes. And as not merely the punishment of crimes, but the very tribunal which has the power to inflict them, should be held in awe, it seems most proper to establish minor tribunals, for the trial of offences. We shall also gain the advantage of having the means of awarding military justice on the spot for violations of military law, which, next to faults, are of the most frequent occurrence."

A form of oath was purposely omitted, as we have some doubts of their

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policy. Full publicity will better ensure justice. Distinct provision is made in the constitution of the court, that one of the members at least, should be a staff-officer. There is a propriety in this from the age, experience and intelligence of these classes. But besides these considerations, there exists a peculiar call for it in the fact that so large a portion of the crew are under their personal and immediate superintendence. This is more particularly the case in steamers, where the engineers have charge of the most important department of the ship.* If inferior courts were established, and nothing said respecting their constitution, it would be against all former experience to place upon them any others as members than those of lineal rank, or as they are absurdly termed "sea officers," as though all other officers of the navy were not sea officers. The studious policy of the "service" has been to make the duties as well as the privileges of "sea officers" as exclusive as possible.

Section IV.—Courts Martial.

Art. 1. Courts martial may be convened by authority of the President of the United States, or of a commander-in-chief of a squadron, while acting out of the United States. They shall consist of steven, or of five members, or commissioned officers, and if practicable, of the department to which the accused belongs. The staff officers will preferably be taken from the same department of the staff as the accused.

Art. 2. Supernumerary members, not exceeding four, may be added to courts martial, who will be sworn as other members, and will be allowed to take part in all the proceedings, except that they will not, while supernumerary members, be entitled to vote. They will replace, according to seniority, any vacancies which may occur among the members, and will then become actual, and not supernumerary members.

Art. 3. An officer will be appointed to act as public prosecutor before the court, whose duty it will be to see that the prosecution is fairly conducted in behalf of the United States, without taking any undue advantage of the prisoner.

Art. 4. A judge advocate will also be appointed to the court, whose duties will be to object to any illegal or improper procedure, and to assist the court when called on by his legal advice. The judge advocate should be an officer of the navy, well versed in military law.† He should so far be counsel for the prisoner as to caution him on the effect of any disclosures, or admissions on his part. He must keep a record in which he may be assisted by another.

* Yet engineers have neither an assimilated rank, nor a uniform of military respectability. If a propriety existed for either, in the case of surgeons and pursers, there is certainly not less in the case of engineers. Have they been withheld because their duties are of a mechanical kind, and approximates a species of labor repulsive to aristocratic fastidiousness. The attention of the democratic representatives of the people are invoked in their behalf, for without such aid, we apprehend that this class will get neither a uniform nor a rank, until tidings are received from England, that her gracious Majesty has been pleased to confer this boon upon the steam engineer of the Royal Navy.

† The secretary to the commander-in-chief might, with propriety, be *ex officio* judge advocate. Under these circumstances, he should be appointed by the President, and be a man learned in the law. His appointment should terminate with the cause, and for that period the compensation should be larger than secretaries now receive.

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Art. 5. The accused will, in all cases, be permitted the assistance of a friend to advise him if he desires it.

Art. 6. The judge advocate will administer to the members the following oath:

"You do swear that you will faithfully perform all the duties required of you, as members of this court martial, without partiality, prejudice, favor or affection; and that in all questions submitted to you in relation to deciding matters of fact, you will well, truly and impartially, try and determine the matter according to evidence; and that you will duly administer justice according to the provisions and enactments of law."

Art. 7. The jurisdiction of a court martial extends to all cases where the crime requires severer punishment than that in the power of courts of inquest to inflict.

Art. 8. It is not competent for a court martial to inflict any other punishment than death, cashiering, dismissal, discharge, imprisonment for privates, reduction for officers, full suspension for officers, close arrest for not less than thirty days, and forfeiture of pay for not less than one month, unless in cases specifically provided for.

Art. 9. When a court martial, on investigating an accusation, is of the opinion that it is within the legal power of a court of inquest to award the punishment, it will direct the matter to be referred to said court, and will not award a sentence unless the accusations for such offences are joined with accusations for offences punishable by a court martial, said court, if it convicts the accused on any of the accusations, may proceed to a finding, and award a sentence on the other accusations if it chooses to entertain them. In all cases of accusations before any naval tribunal, the sentence will be given separately on each accusation that is proved, and if they are compatible, the accused will suffer them all in succession. If they are incompatible, the most severe punishment of them will be the one which the accused will be sentenced to undergo.

Art. 10. The accused is allowed to challenge any number of members of the court, but only one challenge can be entertained at one time. The member challenged will not be present when the vote is taken on said challenge.

Art. 11. No person to whom a sentence has been awarded by law, by a legal court, whether court martial, or court of inquest, or who has been acquitted by said court, can be tried again on the same accusation. And no trial can be had before a naval court for any offence which shall appear to have been committed more than two years before the date of the order, unless on account of the absence of the accused, or from some other manifest impediment, a trial has become impossible.

Art. 12. Vague, and indefinite accusations will not be entertained; and if in the course of judicial proceedings, it is found that accusations are so framed as to try greater offences under the name of inferior ones, the accusation will not be proceeded with, but a proper accusation will be preferred for trial before a proper tribunal. Accusations will be so framed, as far as practicable, as to charge the accused with certain facts, leaving the criminality of those facts to be determined by the court. But before proceeding to an investigation, it is the duty of the naval tribunal to determine if the facts of the accusation, if true, do amount to an offence cognizable by such tribunal; and if they do not constitute such an offence, the accusation must be referred to the tribunal having jurisdiction, or if the case requires it, be entirely dismissed.

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Art. 13. Where the sentence of a court martial, after been duly ratified, is to sever an officer from the navy, or to reduce his position upon the roll lower than he formerly stood, it will not be competent for the President of the United States to restore him, unless with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Art. 14. In case a person on his trial before a court, objects to the legality of the court, or to the legality of any of its proceedings, or after trial, to the legality of the sentence, such person being sentenced may appeal from the sentence on the ground of the illegality objected to. Said appeal, with any arguments thereon deemed pertinent, will be forwarded to the Attorney-General of the United States. If the Attorney-General can produce a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the very points raised, these points will be decided accordingly; and if thus decided against the prisoner, the sentence of the court will stand. If decided in favor of the prisoner, or if the Attorney-General cannot produce a decision on the very points raised, the whole record of the case, with the appeal and accompanying documents, will be referred to the Supreme Court for its final decision, either to confirm, or annul the whole proceedings of the court martial, or to order a new trial, and to give a decision on the points raised. Said decisions on the points raised, will be published to the Navy in the very words of the decision, with such limitations and exceptions as are made in the decision. The determinations thus made will be binding on courts martial, in all cases where they are truly applicable.

Remarks.—The fourteen articles contained in that section are thrown out as hints for supplying a small portion of deficiencies in our courts, as constituted by the Act of 1800. That law prescribes but little for their government and regulations, and most of that little is of doubtful propriety. Other articles might have been added, such as one requiring the attendance of civilians in courts martial, who may be summoned as witnesses. For this purpose, the judge advocate might call in the assistance of any United States judge to issue summons against a citizen wanted as a witness. For the want of this, a difficulty is now experienced in proving specifications, when the only witnesses are civilians whose attendance is voluntary, and not to be expected where their testimony will prejudice the case of one claiming their sympathy.

The minute attention to legal rights, contained in some of the articles, especially the 14th, copied almost verbatim from O'Brien, may excite the ridicule of those whose repugnance to "sea lawyers" is not less than Hallock tells us is felt for Yankee pedlars by Virginians, who "look upon them with as favorable eyes as Gabriel upon the devil in Paradise."

This is no reason, however, why the principle may not be a correct one.

The 1st article will excite animadversion in allowing accused persons of the staff to be tried by officers of the staff. No instance of a staff officer being a member of an American Naval Court Martial, has ever been brought to our knowledge, although by Art. 35 of the existing naval code, it might, at any time, have been done. Upon this wrong, a writer in the Southern Literary Messenger, for June, 1843, remarks:

"Among the instances of injustice complained of by the commissioned officers, composing the associate grades of the navy, there is not one more

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remarkable perhaps than the usage which excludes them from sitting as members of courts martial. There is no law against appointing them to perform this duty; and there is no good reason why they should not be represented, when one of their respective grades is tried. Why should a surgeon in the navy be denied the right of trial by his peers? It is conceded to medical officers of the army, and every citizen."

Had this able writer been less exclusive in his efforts to correct naval abuses, and instead of looking solely to the wrongs of his own class, taken the part of the oppressed of every grade, his pen would have been more powerful in breaking up the aristocratic and oppressive usages of the English navy, which have been fastened upon the American navy and upon the American legislation. Justice and propriety alike demand the abrogation of the present law of usage here complained of. There is no way so effectual as a special statute, and we know not why the provisions of Article 1 should not be adopted. We presume that it will not be denied that the staff officers of the navy, composed principally of the engineers, pursers, and medical officers, are as intelligent and as patriotic as those of the lineal ranks, or that they would as promptly punish crime and maintain the honor of the country.

Section V.—Special Mandates, &c.

Art. 1. It is earnestly recommended to all officers, and others in the navy, diligently to attend divine service, and at all times show a becoming respect to the forms of religion. Commandants will afford the chaplain, or whoever may be designated for the performance of sacred duties, all proper facilities for their faithful discharge.

Art. 2. A "naval fund" is hereby authorized to be created under the general superintendence and management of the Secretary of the Navy, for the intellectual and moral improvement of seamen, from the following sources: 1st. The proceeds of fines and forfeitures; 2d. The proceeds of the sales of *slush;* 3d. The half of all sums derived from freights upon money, jewels, &c.; 4th. Amounts due from intestates and from deserters. Private donations and bequests, whether of money or property, may likewise be received for its use. In pursuance of the object of this fund the Secretary of the Navy is authorized to purchase books, charts, or such other property as may be designed to enlighten the minds, and improve the conduct of men; and as far as the state of the funds shall admit, he may employ "instructors" on board ships in commission, and at the principal naval stations; but such instructors shall be of the religious denomination, or sect most acceptable to a majority of all persons attached to such ship or station. Said instructors shall mess in the ward-room, and be entitled to a ration and nine hundred dollars, when on duty, except in frigates and ships of the line, where they shall receive twelve hundred dollars and a ration.

The instructors to be thus appointed shall be competent to perform the duties of chaplain, and will be required to give instruction to all persons who may require their services in such studies, including book-keeping and navigation, as will best fit them for advancement in the vocation of the sailor. The grade of chaplains is hereby abolished, and the sum hitherto appropriated for their pay will be transferred to the naval fund until otherwise ordered by Congress, provided the amount so transferred does not exceed $25,000 per annum.

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Art. 3. No person in the navy who has not been specially engaged for the purpose, shall be compelled to do menial offices as a servant of, or for the private benefit of another. This prohibition is not intended to forbid proper duties as laborers, such as cleaning the ship, rowing of boats, &c.; nor is it intended to prevent an officer from employing a private, with the consent of the latter, to attend to his bedding, clothing, or perform for him other services at a proper compensation; but no one shall be excused from any public duty on account of any private agreement for his services.

Art. 4. For sending or accepting a challenge to duel; for being a second, promoter, carrier, or conveyor of such challenge: for upbraiding or reproaching another for refusing a challenge; for, when in command of a ship, or as officer of the deck, or in command of a boat, or under any other circumstances, knowingly, or willingly permitting any one to go forth to fight a duel, and not doing his utmost to prevent the same, the punishment will in all cases be dismissal. But this article gives no authority to take cognizance of the giving or receiving a challenge when one of the principals is not subject to military law.

Art. 5. The people, by the voice of Congress, and executive of the United States, hereby discharges all persons in the navy from any disgrace, or opinion of disadvantage, which might arise from their having refused to accept of a challenge, and declares that in so refusing they act in obedience to the laws, and do their duty as gallant sailors who subject themselves to discipline, and who know that their lives are pledged for the defence of the country.

Art. 6. A deserter to an enemy will be punished with death.

Art. 7. Desertion will be punished according to the circumstances of its aggravation, at the discretion of a court-martial. A deserter, unless severed from service by sentence of court, is bound to make good all time lost by desertion, as well as the time he may lose by the sentence of close arrest, when inflicted as a punishment for desertion. The court not only may forfeit his pay to the extent of their power in other cases, but charge him with all reasonable and lawful expenses of his capture.

Art. 8. A court of inquest can in no case take cognizance of the crime of desertion. A court-martial is to be the sole judge of the fact of desertion, which differs from absence without leave, in being an unauthorized abandonment of the service, and not a mere absence therefrom without any design, or purpose of abandonment. But in time of peace, unauthorized absence of more than — days, if in the United States, and — days if in a foreign port, will in all cases be tried as desertion.

These provisions are not to be so construed as to prevent an accusation of desertion for even the shortest illegal absence, when accompanied by circumstances showing a design to desert. A court-martial on a trial for desertion may acquit the accused of desertion, but declare that there appears to be ground for an accusation of absence without leave, which will be investigated by the proper tribunal.

Art. 9. A deserter will, in all future time, be liable to be tried and punished for desertion; and it is enjoined on all persons belonging to the navy, to use every effort to make such known, and cause them to be brought to trial.

Art. 10. In cases of revolt, resistance, or combined disobedience against superiors, those who have excited it, and those who are the chiefs and leaders of the revolt, will be punished with death. Those who take

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part, or join in it, will be punished at the discretion of a court-martial. Officers present, who have in any way connived at the mutiny, or who have not faithfully and honestly opposed by all means in their power, to the best of their ability, will be punished with death. If the combined disobedience consist in inert resistance, the sentence may be awarded against the chiefs of the revolt, at the discretion of a court-martial.

Art. 11. In case of a riotous, mutinous, or seditious assembly, the superiors will command it to disperse in the name of the law, and that each one withdraw. If they are not instantly obeyed, they will name or designate those who they deem to be the authors or chiefs of the assembly. If those designated do not at once return to their duty, they will from that moment be deemed chiefs of revolt, and punished accordingly.

Art. 12. If the assembly is not dissolved on the command given in the name of the law, or if violence be used, it is the duty of the superiors to employ such means in their power as they may deem necessary promptly to suppress it, without prejudice to the penalties declared by law. The superiors can never be disturbed, or disquieted on account of the means used to make the law prevail. Officers, or petty officers, joining or taking part in any mutiny, will be deemed chiefs of revolt, and punished accordingly.

Art. 13. By mutiny, the law means combined revolt or resistance against lawful military authority. Generally the law requires three, at least, to constitute the crime of mutiny; but even two combined may be guilty of the crime of mutiny, when said number constitutes not less than one-third of the command.

Art. 14. No naval tribunal can attach any criminalty to the disobedience of an unlawful order; but if the order be lawful, the mere opinion, or even conviction, in the mind of the accused, that the order was illegal, will not be deemed a mitigating, or even extenuating circumstance.

Art. 15. Prompt and unhesitating obedience being so essential in the navy, and disobedience being, in most cases, a serious crime, and as such, severely punished, it is enacted that no one, subject to the law of the navy, shall be punished by any civil or military tribunal, for an act done in obedience to an order of his superior officer in the navy, even though said order be illegal; unless it appear from the nature of the case, or from the circumstances attending it, that the accused, at the time of the obeying of the order, knew that he was acting illegally. But in all such cases of illegal orders, he who gave the order, and he who having the order brought under his notice, does not countermand it, having the power to do so, will severally and jointly be held answerable for all wrongful acts done in pursuance of such illegal orders, in like manner as if such acts had been done by themselves in person.

Art. 16. When a court-martial is of opinion that the accusation against an officer is true, but the offence arose from the incapacity of the accused, such court will recommend that he be discharged the naval service without disgrace, or have the privilege of resigning; and, in either case he shall, if he has served in the navy thirty years, receive furlough pay for life; if he has served over twenty years, he shall receive furlough pay for ten years, over ten and under twenty years, he shall receive furlough pay for five years; and if under ten, he shall receive furlough pay for two years.

Art. 17. Will be deemed incompetent, and discharged with the advantages allotted in the preceding article, any commandant, the station,

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squadron, or ship under whose command affords evidence, by its condition, of his incapacity for his post; or any officer whose ignorance, habits, temper, idiosyncrasy, or any peculiar mental character, disqualify him for the discharge of the duties of his station; or any person whose physical infirmities incapacitate him for a sea life, provided those infirmities or maladies arose from vicious indulgences, or faults of his own, or were contracted before entering the service, or were the consequences of hereditary or constitutional taint. Otherwise he will be honorably discharged (if declared incompetent) on half duty pay for life.

Art. 18. The Secretary of the Navy will cause this act to be published in map form, and direct that a copy in frame, or on rollers, be kept suspended in some public place at each United States rendezvous of seamen, and at such other places as will bring it under the observation of seafaring men. He shall likewise direct that one be suspended on board every ship of war belonging to the navy, in a part of the ship where it may at any time be read by the crew, and that such articles as refer to faults, offences, crimes, and the punishment thereof, shall be read once in every three months on board every ship in the navy and at every naval station.

Art. 19. The Secretary of the Navy will have published, annually, a "Seaman's Register," to contain the names of all privates in the navy, designating their rate, length of service, (dating from the passage of this act,) actual duty, place of birth, and present residences, also such as are picked men.

Remarks.—The experiment of affording the means of instruction to seamen ought not to meet with opposition, if it can be made without cost. Article second aims at this object. The transfer from the treasury to the Naval Fund, to the full extent of the limit named, $25,000, would be 1,800 less than chaplains now receive, as employed according to the last register. This transfer would not necessarily deprive them of their present means of support. Many of this grade, now in a position where they can do no good, and where Congress has not the constitutional right to put them, have every qualification for usefulness, and would doubtless enter on a proper field of labor with renewed zeal.

The money obtained from the sale of *slush*, or the grease skimmed from boiled pork, has been the occasion of unpleasant feeling, if not sometimes of discreditable conduct. The crew have sagacity enough to perceive that it properly belongs to themselves; and some commanders devote a portion of it to procure extra comforts and little luxuries for them; but the most usual application of this fund is to purchase gewgaws for the vessel, such as ornaments to go on boats and certain conspicuous parts of the ship, musical instruments, uniforms for musicians, &c. As the allowances for our ships are ample to meet the necessary wants for actual service, all these could be dispensed with, not only without injury, but with actual advantage, as its expenditure for these purposes only fosters the pernicious feeling in the minds of those directing the expenditure, that the national property is to be used for the gratification of their own personal vanity. In the English navy, we believe the proceeds of *slush* is paid to the cook, in lieu of other emoluments. As this has not yet obtained with us, the cook being otherwise compensated, the present is a favorable time to give the slush fund a direction, which will most benefit its proper owners.

(To be Continued.)

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EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES:

UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MONTGOMERY (ORANGE COUNTY) LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY, MAY 19, 1849.

THE subject for consideration this evening is of vast extent and of deep interest. Exclusive of the interest of the subject itself, it has been clothed with additional interest from the circumstance, that European philosophers, and especially many English authors, have pertinaciously endeavored to disparage our country, in all the particulars relating to the ability and facility of obtaining knowledge. It is true, they no longer insist on the truth of the dictum of Buffon, that animal nature degenerates in America; but they still assert that our progress is "stern foremost"—that we "have done nothing but propagating the species and chopping down forest timber, without advancing the cause of good government, or any branch of human knowledge, science, or art, one jot." Happily, although there was a time when such sneers irritated us, that time has been succeeded by the consciousness of power too great to be affected by manifestations of malevolence, or by the sycophantic parasites of royal favor. It was natural that, when we were struggling for a place in the family of nations, before the beauty and power of our institutions became manifest to the world, we should exhibit some little impatience at the reproaches so illiberally bestowed upon us; but it is just as natural now, when our condition in every respect is among the foremost, and in some respects in advance of them, we should regard such reproaches with the pity due to jealousy, rather than with the contempt due to malice.

I regret to be compelled to say, that, in part, we have contributed to the rise, progress, and continuance of these aspersions. The absence of an international copyright law, and the interest of American publishers, have contributed, in a very great degree, to depress American literature. We are now rapidly obtaining a literature of our own; but it is growing in despite of difficulties and opposition, because the vigor of American genius is too strong to be subdued. The discussion of the subject proposed for consideration this evening, will, probably, assist us to form a more correct opinion of our condition as a people than we have heretofore entertained; and I shall be exceedingly mistaken if it should not also make us rejoice that our lots have been cast where the facilities for obtaining knowledge abound to a degree unexampled in the most favored nation of Europe.

The question is—"Which country presents greater facilities for obtaining knowledge—the United States or England?"

The first thing to be determined is, what are "*facilities for obtaining knowledge?*" What are the influences which operate to produce a desire for knowledge among a people? These I think are, 1st, Political influence, or the nature of the institutions under which a people live. 2d, Physical influences, or the climate, soil, rivers, mountains, extent of ter-

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ritory, and political power of a people. In short, all the physical causes which contribute to make a people happy, contented, independent, and respected, and which, consequently, elevate the character of, and give a higher intellectual aim to the people. 3d, Intellectual influences, or the means of obtaining knowledge in seminaries of learning,—in the social condition and industrial pursuits of a people, and all the peculiar social influences, which, in every country, give direction and activity to the mind. 4th, Moral influences, or the general tendency of institutions, pursuits and education, to the practice of virtue in its largest sense. The first two bestow the *capacity*, and the two last the means for obtaining knowledge. It is of the first importance that these should bear a relation to each other. Let us examine the advantages of America and England, and compare them in these respects with all the impartiality of cosmopolites.

First. In regard to political influences, or the nature of the institutions, social and political, under which the people live.

Under this head I will present to you, side by side, the chief features of the American and English institutions, that they may be more easily compared:

UNITED STATES.	ENGLAND.
The supreme power in a Constitution, clearly defined by a written instrument constituting the departments of government.	The supreme power in a King, Lords, and Commons, defined by the laws of Parliament, and changeable by it.
The executive power in a President, elected every four years, having a salary of $25,000 annually.	The King hereditary, with an annual salary of $3,500,000, including allowances to the Prince of Wales and members of the royal family.
Senators elected every six years by the states from the mass of citizens.	House of Lords, composed of the hereditary nobility, and clergy, appointed by the King.
Representatives elected every two years directly by the people.	House of Commons, elected during the King's pleasure, by privileged constituents and ancient boroughs.
The Church distinct from the State, and wholly dependent on the voluntary support of the people.	The Church incorporated with the State, independent of the voluntary support of the people, and the clergy enjoying revenues varying from $150 to $150,000 each, annually.
The municipal laws of the country enacted by State Legislatures entirely distinct from the general government, the members of which are chosen directly by the people, according to State constitutions.	The municipal, as well as all other laws of the country, are enacted by the Parliament, in which the people have only a partial representation in the House of Commons.
All the people on an equality in regard to power, privileges, and distinctions, except when the people temporarily confer power on those they elect to office.	The people divided into distinct classes, with distinct powers and privileges hereditary in families.

These are the prominent fundamental features of the political institutions of the two countries. The consequences flowing from them will furnish the best data upon which to form a comparative judgment of the facility of the political and social institutions of these countries to promote knowledge in the mass of the people.

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UNITED STATES.	ENGLAND.
A public debt recently incurred, amounting to about $3 per head for each inhabitant.	A public debt of long standing, amounting to about $231 per head for each inhabitant.
Taxes on the people wholly collected through the customs from duties, about $25,000,000 annually, being about $1 25 per head for each inhabitant.	Taxes on the people collected from customs, excise, stamps, assessed and land taxes, about $270,000,000 annually, being about $12 50 per head for each inhabitant.
The executive, senators, and representatives, responsible to the people, from whom they are periodically taken, and to whom they speedily return, and with whom they must have an identity of interest.	The executive and senators irresponsible to the people, having interests adverse to them, and only kept in check by the right of the Commons to withhold supplies.
The income of the people free from the compulsory support of religion.	The income of the people taxed one-tenth for the support of the Established Church.
Land and wealth generally equally distributed among all the people, and no laws to perpetuate them in the hands of a few.	Land and wealth generally confined to the aristocracy, and laws to perpetuate them in these families.
A tendency of the whole genius of the government to place every person on the same level; or rather the absence of all laws creating distinctions, leaving to every person to find a position according to worth.	A tendency of the whole genius of the government to make distinctions among the people, and to separate class from class, and laws enacted to maintain such distinctions.

I pass over a comparison of the poor rates of the two countries for the want of proper data. The poor rates of England amount to about $45,000,000, a sum nearly twice the whole expense of our government; but the taxes for the support of our poor are assessed and collected in the counties of the respective states, and I do not remember ever to have seen the aggregate for all the states published. It is, however, a very small item compared with the poor rates of England, and would, if we had the data, exhibit a very decided difference in the condition of the people of the respective countries. Compared with England, we may be said to have no paupers, as a large majority of them are not natives, but foreigners.

The legitimate inferences from the facts stated are all favorable to the United States. The history of the progress of arts, sciences, and literature in England, is in itself proof that our political and social institutions are more favorable for the cultivation of knowledge. The only feature of the institutions of England which resembles the entire fabric of those of America, relates to the commons, and the only portion of the people of England which resembles the entire population of the United States, are the commonalty. Abate some peculiar characteristics imposed by the power and example of their aristocracy, and the political and social condition of the commonalty of England would be an exact representation of the citizens of the United States. Now it is a historical fact, that England owes nearly all her intellectual glory to commoners—to her people and institutions, which so nearly resemble those of the United States. Take from England the glory of her commoners, and

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you deprive her of almost all she possesses of modern date; for where would be her glory without Hampden, Cromwell, the Pitts, Burke, Sheridan, Shakspeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Bacon, Hale, Newton, Davy, Herschell, and hosts of others whose names are the brightest stars in her firmament? What would be her present condition if, since the age of Elizabeth, her fame had depended on her aristocracy? If the republican element of England has accomplished so much, clogged and fettered as it has been by debt, the Church and the aristocracy, may we not look for more glorious results to the same element in this country, free from debt, the Church and the aristocracy? Nay, can we not now, while our nation is in its infancy, point to a galaxy of names whose light is as clear, as large, and as strong, as any of those which shine in her firmament? It is true, we can exhibit no Shakspeare, Milton, or Bacon; but the world is at least six thousand years old, and among the millions of human beings who have successively lived and died, there has been only one Shakspeare, one Milton, and one Bacon. So, too, nations have been revolutionised, and founded throughout all time; but they have produced only one Washington, and one Congress, composed of a body of men such as the patriots who surrounded him, and founded our institutions. By the side of her statesmen, orators, philosophers, and scholars, we may place Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, Hamilton, Franklin, Calhoun, Clay, Webster, Rittenhouse, Marshall, Edwards, Noah Webster, Anthon, Irving, Prescott, Fulton, Morse, Morton, &c., without any fear of suffering by the comparison.

If the people of England may justly boast of their love of liberty, and its happy influence on the intellectual character of the nation, in comparison with any European nation, we may, with propriety say, that what the institutions of England are to those of any other nation in Europe, those of the United States are to England.

I now pass to the consideration of the second item I have mentioned, viz, physical influences, or a comparison of the physical geography of the two countries in respect to influencing a desire for knowledge. Nothing can be more true than that the intellectual character of every people is very importantly modified and influenced by the physical nature of the country they inhabit. Climate, soil, productions, and the general physiognomy of a country, have a plastic power over the mind. Even a balmy day and beautiful scenery put the mind in cheerful activity, which produces thoughts in harmony with the emotions. That mind controls matter is a common remark; but it would be much nearer to a general truth, if we should say, that mind and matter reciprocally act upon each other. The benevolent Creator, when he made man in his image, surrounded him with influences of beauty, grandeur, and utility, to give activity, progress, and happiness to his mind. What would be the present condition of England, were it not for her mineral wealth and her ocean coasts? Instead of occupying the present elevated position, she might figure as some German Duchy, or as a province of France.

It is impossible, within the limits prescribed to me in this paper, nor is it necessary for the object I have in view, to compare the physical influences of the two countries minutely. It will be sufficient to present the principal features of comparison in parallel columns.

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UNITED STATES.	ENGLAND.
Timber of every description necessary for a great maritime, commercial, and manufacturing nation, is abundant, and of excellent quality.	Timber scarce, chiefly oak, and chiefly supplied by importation, particularly firs, deals, and masts.
Every useful variety of minerals in abundance, except tin, which is compensated by gold, silver, and quicksilver, not present in England.	The useful minerals, including tin in abundance, except gold, silver, and quicksilver.
Soil fertile; adapted for the production of almost every variety of edible vegetables, including rice and sugar; also for the production of cotton, wool, indigo, various naval stores, hemp, &c.	Soil fertile for all grain and necessary edible vegetables, except maize, rice, and sugar. Does not produce cotton, hemp, indigo, or naval stores, but does wool.
Every variety of climate embraced between 25° and 48° north latitude, and covering an average width from the Atlantic to the Pacific of about 46° of longitude, diversified with immense rivers, mountains and lakes.	Placed in the north part of the Temperate Zone, and small in extent, the climate is moist, chilly, subject to frequent and sudden changes, and is more favorable to the growth than the ripening of vegetation.
The rivers and lakes are the largest in the world, and admit of the most extensive inland navigation. The general physiognomy of the country presents a slope to the Pacific, and another to the Atlantic Oceans, having a great central valley between the Rocky and Alleghany Mountains drained by the vast Mississippi, to which nearly all the rivers are tributary.	The rivers and lakes are comparatively small, the Thames being said to be navigable 138 miles. The country is well watered, and all its features may be called beautiful, but not grand.
Bounded by the Pacific Ocean on one side, and by the Atlantic on the other, with the great Gulf of Mexico in the south, presenting an ocean outline unequalled by any other nation in extent, importance, and number of harbors.	Bounded by the Atlantic, having several important harbors.
The magnificence, variety, beauty, and utility of the botany of this region, is in perfect keeping with its geographic features. The forests contain about 170 species of trees, about 100 of which attain a height of from 60 to over 100 feet. Many of them produce valuable fruits, as the pecan-nut, walnuts, shell-barks, persimmons, plums, hazlenuts, oranges, mulberries, &c. Herbaceous, climbing, and aquatic plants abound in the greatest variety, presenting everywhere objects of beauty or magnificence to the eye, and gratifying to the palate.	The native trees of England are so few that I can afford to enumerate them, viz.: oak, elm, beech, ash, maple, sycamore, lime, hornbeam, alder, birch, poplar, Scotch fir, and Mountain ash. "Nuts, acorns, crabs, and a few wild berries, were almost all the variety of vegetable food which its woods could boast." In herbaceous, climbing, and aquatic plants, it is not proportionably more rich. In short, England is indebted to other countries for esculent fruits and roots.
The fauna, terrestrial and aquatic, of the United States, is as varied, as beautiful, and as valuable as might be expected in such a country. Buffalo, elk, antelope, deer, bear, cougar, turkey, grouse, pheasants, are a few of the many species which abound in the prairies and woods. Ducks and other swimming tribes are also abundant, among them the delicious canvass-back duck, the best of the whole tribe.	The terrestrial fauna of England is, and always has been, comparatively unimportant. The only ruminants indigenous to the country are the Scottish ox and roebuck. Bears, wolves, beaver, and wild boars, were once inhabitants of this country; but the wild quadrupeds are now limited to the fox, badger, marten, otter, hare, rabbit, squirrel, and the like small animals.

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UNITED STATES.	ENGLAND.
It is unnecessary to mention the fishes of the two countries, as both are abundantly supplied with them.	The indigenous birds of England are as few as her quadrupeds. Fishes abundant.

A peculiarity which exhibits in a very striking manner the greater variety of species of trees in the United States, not only as compared with England, but with any part of Europe, is observed in the magnificent autumnal foliage of our forests, so celebrated by the lovers of the superbly beautiful. It is then that the red maple, the scarlet oak, yellow birch, and all trees according to their specific natures, exhibit the gaudy dresses, which excel in beauty and magnificence the most tastefully cultivated gardens. Nor is it foreign to the physical comparison I am making, to notice a beauty so peculiar and striking; for whatever excites the imagination—whatever increases the flow of animal spirits—whatever draws the heart and the thoughts to Him who unites beauty with design,—enlarges the mind, gives it elasticity and power, and facilitates the acquisition of, as well as begets the desire for, knowledge.

It is apparent that the United States possess many advantages over England in the physical influences which incite to, and facilitate the acquisition of knowledge. Except tin, I do not know a single object or subject of industry, or one which demands the skill and mind of the operator, that is not equally as abundant in the United States as in England. Nay, it is evident, that while we possess all that she has, with one exception, we possess also all that she lacks to make her an independent nation in her ship timber, and the various raw materials necessary for her immense manufacturing establishments. And who will pretend that we are deficient in any mental or physical qualification necessary to use these abundant and various materials skilfully and properly? No well-informed and honest Englishman. If there should be one, whose mind has been perverted by travellers' tales, or a reviewer's flippancy, I refer him to American successful competition with English mind and skill in some of the important articles in which they take great pride, and on which their prosperity depends. Is it in seamanship, and ship-building? Ask the underwriters at Lloyd's, where both of these things are practically tested by the hope of gain, and the fear of loss. Is it in the manufacture of hardware and cutlery? I refer him to the manufacturers of Birmingham, to learn whether we can manufacture fine edge-tools, locks, &c. Is it in machine-making? I refer him to Russia for our steamboats and locomotives, and to several German States for our locomotives—nay, to the Liverpool and Manchester road engineers. Is it in mechanical and scientific skill to apply and invent? I refer to Whitney, Fulton and Morse. Is it in industry and enterprise? Ask on the London Exchange, where our ships are not, and where our productions do not compete with the industry and enterprise of England.

But it is unnecessary to enumerate particulars. What is there in any particular of the physical condition of the United States unfriendly to the developement of human mental or physical power? That the climate is as healthy, and as favorable to longevity, is proved by the unerring fact, that life insurance risks are calculated from the same Carlyle tables which form the basis of the London offices, and result in equally large profits to the companies. It is also proved by the fact, that we have a clearer atmosphere, more sun, and consequently, our vegetation ripens

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more certainly than in England. But although I can discover nothing more unfriendly to human nature in our physical condition than exists in England, I can perceive many favorable influences which must operate beneficially for a higher developement of mental power. The immense extent of our territory—the magnificent scale and grandeur of our scenery—the seas, lakes, rivers, mountains, and prairies, expand—give tone and sublimity to the mind contemplating them. No man can step on a steamboat on any western river, without feeling that he has an ocean before him in length. Ocean rivers are never thought of in Europe, and certainly not in England. The privileges enjoyed by these extensive rivers, enable the inhabitants of all parts of our country to have rapid, easy, and cheap intercommunication. A journey of a thousand or two miles is nothing to an American. Hence, we have few citizens with the rust of the fireside—with the contracted ideas of a vegetative life about them. The faculties of all have experienced the benefit of wide and extensive travel; the freshness, the elasticity and vigor bestowed by new scenery, new climates, new men, new manners and new interests.

Nor do I esteem it of less consequence to the favorable developement of mind, that our country exhibits none of the hoary remains of ancient civilization, to bind and fetter reflection to former men and things; none of the police regulations, which require passports to be constantly in the hand; none of the fastidious etiquette, which draws lines of separation between man and man. On the contrary, it everywhere exhibits the freshness and magnificence of nature, which fill the mind with joy for the present and hope for the future, instead of reflections on the past; every where the government reposes confidently on the people, because treason is unknown, a stranger to our judiciary, and a crime scarcely within the range of possibility; everywhere the manly frankness and open bearing of nature's noblemen measure intercourse by the conduct and intellect of men, rather than by artificial distinctions.

I now pass to the consideration of the third item, viz:—Intellectual influences, or the means of obtaining knowledge in seminaries of learning, in the social condition and industrial pursuits of the people, and all the peculiar social influences which, in every country, give direction and activity to the mind.

No single element of modern society will exhibit the progressive condition of a people so perfectly as the number of seminaries of learning among them, and the facility afforded to youth to be instructed in them. I will endeavor to present a very condensed view of the condition of the United States and England in this most important particular, but, at the same time, sufficiently comprehensive for a general comparison.

In the United States there are one hundred and eighteen colleges scattered through the different states, for the education of youth, from which about 3000 graduates issue yearly. The annual expense for education, including board, in these seminaries, averages about $150. In all of these institutions, a competent classical education is given to youth, embracing, in general, the branches taught in the universities in England.*

In England, the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the London University and King's College, particularly the two first, are the

* It is not pretended that as highly finished educations are obtained in our colleges as at the universities of England; but the courses adopted in a few, as Princeton, Yale, Cambridge, &c., will suffer very little by a comparison.

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wealthiest, the most ancient, and, probably, the most celebrated in Europe. I do not know the number of annual graduates; but the expense for education, boarding, &c., with every economy, will amount to $750 per annum. It is doubtful whether the greater number of our colleges is an advantage in every respect; but their number and wide diffusion accord better with the desire of the people and the genius of our institutions, by the greater cheapness and facility of collegiate educations, than if the whole were concentrated in three or four institutions, as in England. With us, the great object is to afford a collegiate education to as many as possible; while in England, the aristocracy is almost exclusively benefited by her public educational institutions. Even her public schools, such as Eton, Westminster, Winchester and Harrow, although originally founded as charity schools, are now appropriated to the aristocracy.

But the most important element of modern civilization, that which, more than any other single feature, so advantageously distinguishes modern from ancient civilization, is the facility afforded for the intellectual cultivation of the whole of the people, rather than the few. It is to this element, particularly, we must look for the comparative facilities of the two countries for obtaining knowledge. Universities and colleges, whether on the exclusive and expensive plan of England, or on the general and economical plan of the United States, are, in a greater or less degree, seminaries for the wealthy. They are, therefore, under the most favorable circumstances, seminaries for the few. The academies, grammar and primary schools, are the instruments for moulding the great body of the people into good and useful citizens. It is in these, chiefly, that the great practical elements of life are developed and prepared for activity; and it must be in these, if anywhere, that the substantial knowledge must be acquired to enable mechanics, artizans, agriculturists and laborers, to give power and glory to a nation, by the fidelity, skill and ingenuity with which they perform their respective duties.

In the United States, the Federal government has no authority to interfere with the internal policy of the respective states; consequently it has only been directly instrumental in creating the noble Military Academy at West Point, and the Smithsonian Institute in Washington City. But, although this branch of our government has been thus restricted by the nature of our institutions, it has laid a noble foundation for establishing common-schools, by the endowment of one section of the public lands in every township for educational purposes, besides making other reservations for colleges, academies, and internal improvements.

But it is to the state governments we must look for provisions for education. The regulations, and the funds for education, are very different in the different states. As a general remark, it may be said, that no public system of education prevails south of South Carolina, east of the Alleghany Mountains, and south of Tennessee, west of the Alleghany; but that the whole of the extensive and populous region north of these lines, containing four-fifths of the white population of the country, enjoy the advantage of a more or less perfect system of public instruction from funds provided by the state. In the state of New-York are fifty-seven incorporated academies and seminaries, in which are taught the classics and many of the higher branches of learning, which annually receive a portion of the public funds. Every town is divided into a suitable num-

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ber of districts, in each of which a school-house is erected, and provided with furniture and fuel by the district. From the income of the Common School Fund, $275,000 are annually distributed among the school districts, according to the number of scholars, the towns being required to raise, by tax, an equal amount. The number of school districts in the state is 10,990, and the whole number of scholars taught in them 709,156, for which the public pay nearly half the whole expense.

Connecticut, in proportion to population, is more amply provided with the public means of education than any other state in the Union. The school fund amounts to about $2,000,000, the interest of which is sufficient to provide every child in the state a good English education.* She is also abundantly supplied with academies and colleges for those who desire a finished education. It is unnecessary to detail the particulars in each state. In some, I know not how many of the states, libraries are established in every common school district, from the funds of the literature fund, for the free use of the people. In the state of New-York, these libraries contain an aggregate of 1,310,986 volumes, at a cost of nearly eighty-seven cents per volume. The aggregate in Michigan is 36,988 volumes. No returns from other states.

Newspapers and periodicals present another vast engine for distributing knowledge among the people of the United States, nearly all of whom read, and feel a deep interest in passing events. There are about 1500 of these published, nearly 100 of which are daily, and the editions of several range from 15,000 to 40,000 copies each. It is said, that the number of newspapers and periodicals published in the United States, exceed the number published in the whole of Europe, which, in proportion to population, gives to the people of the United States an advantage in this particular of thirteen to one.

England is lamentably deficient in primary schools for the people. The only schools of this description are a few in London, the principal of which is the celebrated Bluecoat School, in which about 1,100 children are maintained and educated. There are also 3,898 other charitable foundations in England, with an income of $326,000, which, from various abuses and neglect, do very little for education. In addition, they have endowed new schools 302, and unendowed new schools 820. The result of this state of things is, that a large majority of the mechanics, artisans, and laborers of England, can neither read nor write.

The English periodicals are more ably edited than those of the United States. The subscription price for them are, on an average, at least ten times the subscription in the United States. The stamp duties, which amount to more than $3,000,000 annually, absorb a large part of this enormous charge; but after paying very liberally for the best talents employed in the various departments of these papers, the net profits of some of the largest circulation are known to be large. Those of the Times have been estimated at $120,000 per annum. There are about 225 periodicals published in England. But this information is of little value, unless we also knew the total number of copies issued in each year. I

* Connecticut, however, should require, as in New-York, that the several townships raise a sum equal to the state fund for the support of schools. The absence of this requisition induces the authorities to require frequently of a candidate no other qualification for teaching than that he will be satisfied with the state allowance.

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have no means of ascertaining this accurately, but can approach it sufficiently near to answer the purpose of comparison. The total annual number of stamps consumed by the press of England, is 25,000,000, including issues for copies for advertisements. Deduct 8,000,000 of these stamps for advertisements, which will leave 17,000,000 for the number of copies of periodicals circulated annually. But deduct nothing, and give to the English periodicals a circulation equal to the total consumption of stamps, and it does not amount to as many copies for the whole of England as are issued by the periodicals of the city of New-York.

It must be admitted, that in the facilities for obtaining knowledge from these great and inexhaustible fountains of modern discovery and use, the United States present advantages much superior to those of England. The intellectual and social condition of the people manifest this superiority. It is a rare thing to find a citizen north of the lines mentioned, and especially in the northern section of the region, who cannot read and write. In the Southern States, where there are no public schools, the white inhabitants are also generally educated. From the peculiar nature of their social institutions, nearly the whole white population of the south are planters, merchants, traders, and mechanics, nearly all of whom read and write, and many of whom are highly educated.

I now proceed to the consideration of the fourth and last item of the facilities enjoyed by a people for obtaining knowledge, viz.: moral influences, or the general tendency of institutions, pursuits, and education, to the practice of virtue in its largest sense.

The first, and by far the most important element of these influences, is the Church.

Whatever may be thought of religion in the abstract, by those who are regardless of its sanctions, they cannot, if they are men of any observation, deny the fact, that the state of civilization and prosperity of every nation, bear a direct relation to the state of religion in such nation. The moral principle of a people is "the breath of life"—"the living soul" of their political institutions and mental energy. This great truth is marked on the history of nations of all periods, and has never been more strikingly manifest than it is now. From Fetishism through Buddhism, Lamaism, Foism, and Mahommedism to Christianity, the gradations are as regular as the proportion of the moral element which enters into their compositions. The same remark will apply to Christian countries; for, although the religion of all of them is founded on the same Scripture, the moral element infused into each differs vastly in amount, and, of course, in efficiency.

It is not only the boast of our country that we have devised, and given an example to the world of new political institutions, but also that we have set the scarcely less important example, that the moral principle will be more highly developed without than with the coercion of the law—without than by the union of Church and State. In short, that the religion, the moral condition of a nation, may be safely entrusted to the keeping of the people.

Although morality does not embrace all required by the Christian religion, yet this last unquestionably includes all embraced in morality. But the Church is not a less valuable instrument to promote worldly advantages, because, while she eminently promotes them, she pays regard to our relations to a future world.

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The Church in the United States is founded on the voluntary motions of the people. It is unsupported by law—by the slightest coercion of any political authority, except what incidentally arises from the nature of the laws, and popular opinion. But popular opinion can only be favorable in a community in which the majority of the people are favorable to virtue—favorable to religious influences; consequently popular opinion does not support the Church, until the Church inculcates the principle to value her influence.

Remembering that the Church in the United States is entirely a voluntary institution, and conceding that its whole tendency is to promote and diffuse knowledge of every description among the people, a statistical statement of its condition, and of the various beneficial institutions which it has originated and promoted, will be one of the best evidences of the moral tone of the people. Exclusive of the Quakers, the communicants of the different churches in the United States are 4,456,727. If the Quakers were included, and they are among our most moral people, I think the communicants would amount to 5,000,000, or nearly one third of our white population.

The churches in the United States, exclusive of Methodist and Quaker, amount to 30,051. Ministers, exclusive of Quakers, 25,287.

Theological seminaries connected with the various churches amount to 41. I will not attempt to detail the Foreign and Domestic Missionary Societies, Sunday-schools, Bible Societies, Maternal, Education, Tract, Seaman, Temperance, Prison Discipline, and other Societies, which owe their origin to the churches, and their support to the voluntary contributions of the people. Besides these, which originated directly from the churches, are Asylums for the insane, for widows and orphans, for the deaf and dumb, and for the blind, &c., which originated from the same spirit so widely diffused among the people, although they did not directly from the bosom of the Church.

To exhibit in a condensed form the active moral element of the people of the United States, they have voluntarily taxed themselves as follows, viz:

To support and promote religion, - - - - - -	$11,000,000
Common School Fund, $20,338,246. Income, - - -	1,500,000
Supplied from other sources exclusive of the School Fund, viz: voluntary taxes in towns, &c., to support public education,	3,500,000
	$16,000,000

To the above add the amount expended for education in colleges, academies and other seminaries, at the cost of the parents, say ten million dollars, (which is certainly much below the actual amount,) and we have a grand total of twenty-six million dollars voluntarily expended by the people of the United States, annually, to sustain and promote religion and education—a sum about equal to the whole annual expenditure of the Federal government. This sum employs, annually, viz:

Ministers, as above enumerated, - - - - - - - - -	25,287
Professors in colleges—literary, theological, medical, &c., - -	1,371
Teachers in Academies and private seminaries, in which are taught the classics and higher branches of education, (estimated) -	6,500
Teachers in public and primary schools, (estimated) - - -	80,000
	113,158

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The number in the two last mentioned estimated items is evidently much too low; but I have no returns of the actual number of teachers in all the public schools, and therefore made a designedly low estimate to be certainly within bounds. That it is low, is evident from the returns of the number of teachers employed in the public schools. In New-Hampshire 2,126, Vermont 2,276 and Massachusetts 7,675; making an aggregate of 12,077, or more than one-seventh of the whole number in three states alone. New-York and Pennsylvania employ about 25,000 teachers. To estimate the whole number of teachers in the primary schools of the United States, from the data furnished by these states, would give the number employed 156,803, which would be evidently too high; and yet the number of children in the United States which require to be taught, (and with few exceptions they are all taught,) amount to about 4,200,000, which would give to each of the 156,803 teachers 27 scholars. I mention these facts to show that the estimate of 80,000 is certainly within bounds.

I much regret that I cannot exhibit the moral influences prevailing in England with as much exactness as I have those in the United States. I have not the statistical tables for the purpose; but think I can perform the task with sufficient accuracy to answer the general object we have in view.

Ministers of the Established Church and Dissenters, (estimated) -	15.000
Teachers in endowed and unendowed schools, - " -	25.000
	40.000

The estimate of ministers is based on the number of parishes, which are estimated, for England and Wales, at ten thousand seven hundred, and the belief that every parish has at least one rector or vicar. Many of the rectors and vicars do not perform parochial duties, which are discharged by curates; but this does not materially affect the estimate, as it is only the substitution of one for the other. There are, no doubt, many instances in which the rector or vicar and the curate are actually employed in parochial duties. For these, and for dissenting clergy, I have allowed four thousand three hundred, which, it is believed, is amply sufficient.

I have not been able to learn the number of professors in the universities and colleges of England. I will estimate them at the same number as in the United States, viz: one thousand three hundred and seventy-one, which is probably much too large. The University of Oxford has nineteen colleges and five halls; and Cambridge thirteen colleges and four halls. The University of London and King's College are also large institutions; but it is scarcely possible that these, together with their medical colleges, should employ 1,371 professors.

In respect to primary schools for the great body of the people, I am enabled to be a little more particular, as the Parliamentary investigations at the instance of Lord Brougham, have placed many important facts within my reach.

There are in England eighteen thousand four hundred and forty-nine schools, endowed and unendowed, exclusive of five thousand one hundred and sixty-two Sunday-schools. The number of teachers in these schools I have estimated at twenty-five thousand; an estimate I think, beyond the truth. Of the endowed schools, three thousand eight hundred and sixty-five are old charity foundations, the funds of which are absorbed by

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various modes, other than by teaching, and consequently employ but few teachers. The whole number of scholars in all these endowed and unendowed schools in England, were 644,282; being 104,105 less than attended the common schools of New-York, last year. The aggregate of all these estimates gives the number 41,371 persons in England, employed in moral and intellectual education, being 71,787 less than those employed in the United States for the same objects.

I have made no estimate of the expense of supporting the moral and intellectual establishments of England, because nearly the whole is compulsory—a part of state machinery, and consequently furnishes no comparative evidence of the moral tone of English and American society.

The population of England and Wales is about equal to the white population of the United States; consequently, it is fair to presume her scholastic population is also equal. The returns of the number of scholars in the common schools of the United States are very incomplete, though we possess the official returns of the most populous states in which the school system is in the highest perfection. These give the number of scholars attending the common schools to be a few over 2,200,000, exclusive of scholars attending the numerous private seminaries. The report of the Education Committee of England, to Parliament, gives a grand total of scholars attending schools, as follows:

Endowments,	Free scholars,		145,952
	Pay scholars,	19,481	
Unendowed day schools,	Free scholars,		168,064
	Pay scholars,	310,785	
		330,266	314,016

Thus, in the endowed schools of less than half the states of the Union, two million two hundred thousand children are taught, against three hundred and fourteen thousand and sixteen children in the endowed schools of England; that is, that in a little over one-half the population of the United States, seven children are taught in the common schools of this country for every one taught in the endowed schools of the whole of England.

I have omitted, in my estimates, Sunday-schools, which, in England, are esteemed important instruments for education; but I have also omitted these schools in the United States, because, although they are highly valued as moral influences, day schools are so numerous that they are not much valued for their intellectual influences. But here, too, if a comparison should be made, the advantage is greatly in favor of the United States. The report of the Education Committee to Parliament gives the number of Sunday-schools in England, 5,162, and the total number of scholars 452,817. Dr. Baird, in his "Religion in America," p. 156, says the Sunday-schools in the United States "were reckoned seven years ago at 16,000; the teachers at 130,000, or 140,000; and the scholars, comprising, it was supposed, 100,000 adults, at 1,000,000."

It is proper to say, that I do not know whether Lord Brougham's laudable efforts to increase the facilities for education in England have been followed by any very important results. It may be, that the condition of England, in respect to general education, is a little more favorable than it was at the time of the Parliamentary investigation, from which

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the above facts are taken; but I believe it remains substantially unaltered.

I may concede, without materially impairing the wide contrast between the United States and England, in educational facilities, manifested by the above facts, that the universities of England afford, for the very wealthy portion of her inhabitants, more favorable opportunities for obtaining a thorough and finished education, than can be readily obtained in the United States. This concession is really of very little importance. The rich can always obtain facilities in proportion to their desires. The real question is, what are the relative facilities of the *whole of the population* of the two countries for religious, moral, and intellectual cultivation? It is on the great body of the people that national prosperity and glory must depend. If all the poor of a nation possess at least elementary educations—can read, write, and cypher, no fear need be entertained that the rich will not acquire all the higher branches of knowledge required by their positions. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, simple as they appear to be to many persons, are instruments of incalculable power, if their combined effects on a whole nation should be estimated. They constitute the essential elements of civilization and progress; for while they enable the laborer to perform all his duties more skilfully and efficiently, he is conscious of the dignity of possessing the elements of accurate knowledge, of estimating public measures and men, and of contributing his mite to national prosperity and glory. He knows he is a man, not a mere machine, surrounded by religious, moral, and political responsibilities, in the discharge of which he has as deep an interest as any member of the community.

I will now conclude without a summary of the preceding facts. It is unnecessary. Every member of this society must be convinced, that England, great and glorious as she is, possesses neither natural nor artificial qualities to constitute her an exemplar for the United States. We may say, with all sincerity, we envy our old mother nothing she enjoys: on the contrary, we rejoice with the natural and lively feelings of children, at her very eminent position among nations, in respect to everything which constitutes this glory of the very remarkable age. Nor do I desire to boast of the advantages we possess over her. We should remember that we are indebted for more than half of what we enjoy to the numberless superior physical influences which the great Creator has bestowed on our highly favored country, its remote position from European counteracting influences, the highly favorable time of the origin of our happy institutions, and the Anglo-Saxon blood as the foundation element of our prosperity. But the powerful natural and artificial instruments at work among us must accomplish great results; and when I look at the immense theatre on which they are acting, and the powerful influence they must exercise on the destiny of mankind, I cannot withhold the expression, that a new spectacle in the grand drama of civilization is here exhibiting, which will form a great epoch in history, to which posterity will point with joy as the first great embodiment of the truth, that a representative democracy is the best and cheapest form of government for a large as well as a small nation.

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EARNING A LIVING;

A COMEDY IN FIVE ACTS.

ACT IV.

SCENE I.—OLD HOLLYBUSH'S *house.* CHARLOTTE *and* MARY *and* JACOB HOLLYBUSH.

C. Oh, uncle Jacob, what a strange arrangement.

J. H. It's Minetta's doing, not mine—

C. That you should go with us, you and Minetta—indeed we were very glad of that. That seemed a sort of sanction to the very bold step we are taking. But Mr. Glumly! Oh, dear, dear, and Nancy Dubarre!

M. How could you consent to it, Uncle?—

J. H. I consent to nothing, propose nothing, oppose nothing. My affair is to marry Minetta, when and where she pleases, I take no cognizance of the parties that may go along.

M. Have Hartington and Rupert been informed of this?

J. H. Yes, and they behave, about it, much as you do. They do not like it; but to get rid of it now, it would be necessary to change the whole arrangement, and perhaps make a mortal quarrel.

M. Nancy Dubarre has no occasion to run away. She is her own mistress.

J. H. Neither has Minetta—neither have I. We are all amateurs.

C. We are not. Papa has driven us to this. Oh, uncle! you have no idea how he has treated us the last day or two.

J. H. Haven't I? Indeed I know my brother well, and I love him well; but I have never seen caprices of temper like his.

M. Charlotte, have you that letter?

C. Yes, here it is.

J. H. For your father?

C. Yes.

J. H. Let me see it.

C. It is sealed; but I can tell you what is in it.

M. It is a letter of adieu—of deprecation—of excuse, so far as we can offer any without offending him too much.

C. It represents to him that we are under solemn promises already, which he has given us no sufficient reasons for recalling—that our faith is plighted to our future husbands, and our highest duty is henceforth to them.

J. H. It won't be his opinion.

M. Dear uncle!

J. H. Dear girls, don't argue the matter with me. I'm only a spectator.

C. Well, Mary, carry the letter to papa's room, and leave it on his table.

M. He's there himself.

C. Asleep?

M. Yes, on the sofa—and the door open. I saw him as I came down.

C. Well, no matter; only don't wake him. (*Exit Mary.*) What o'clock is it, uncle Jacob?

J. H. Ah! that begins to be an important question. It is near half past three. I must call on Minetta again, and then to the rendezvous at Thompson & Weller's. (*Exit.*) [*Scene closes.*

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SCENE II.—THOMPSON & WELLER'S *shop.* HAY *and* HARTINGTON.

Hay. We are a little before our time.

H'n. Not much. It's a bore, this—about Glumly.

Hay. Why, Glumly is not to blame. Miss Campion managed the whole matter for him, and forced it upon him: so says uncle Jacob.

H'n. You have it quite pat already—"Uncle Jacob."

Hay. He and his intended are a couple of originals. I don't know two people who care so little what anybody says or thinks.

H'n. Unless it be Glumly and Miss Dubarre.

Hay. Miss Dubarre, yes; but not Glumly. Glumly is vain and sensitive. Don't be savage to him now. Remember he does not intrude here by his own choice.

H'n. Four elopements together! When was that known before?

(*Enter* GLUMLY.)

G. Good day, gentlemen.

Hay and H'n. Good day.

Hay. We are to have your company, Mr. Glumly, in this rather extraordinary party?

G. Yes, if you will accept it—and I believe you must; for the ladies have so decreed.

H'n. Have you seen Mr. Jacob Hollybush?

G. Here he comes.

(*Enter* J. H.)

J. H. Well, gentlemen, I bring you the very last news. The ladies are all ready; my nieces are to call for Miss Campion, and Miss Dubarre is waiting for them with her. In fifteen minutes, or half an hour at farthest, they will be here.

Hay. What shall we do in the meantime?

G. Take a cup of chocolate and make ourselves comfortable. Here are the evening papers. [*They seat themselves, and the scene closes.*

SCENE III.—OLD HOLLYBUSH'S *house.* MARY *and* CHARLOTTE, *with their hats on.*

C. Ah, Mary, it is time to go.

M. Why, let us go then.

C. I cannot. This dear old home, when shall we see it again? Do you think papa will let us come home?

M. Yes, Charlotte, I do. But let us go. I have thought about all that, and cried about it, too, and now that's over—let us go.

C. Dear father—he has been very unkind just now, but he loves us dearly, and we shall grieve him deeply.

M. Yes; but he will send for us again to comfort him, and we shall come. He will forgive us, and all will be well. Come, Charlotte, cheer up, and let us go. (*As they pass toward the door, it opens, and old Hollybush comes in with the letter open in his hand.*)

C. and M. Oh!

O. H. (*looking at them a moment, then speaks.*) Still here, my daughters? I thought you had eloped.

C. and M. Oh, papa!

O. H. I had a dream, or warning of some sort.—Ah, I believe it was a letter. It said you were going to quit the poor, helpless old man, and look for gayer quarters.

C. (*sobbing, and throwing herself upon his neck.*) Oh, dear papa, dear papa. (*Mary stands apart, and silent.*)

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O. H. *(putting Charlotte into a chair.)* There was a time, when I did not expect this; there was a time when I thought I had a treasury of love in my children's heart's that would last out my days, and the days of mourning after them. But no.

C. Oh, yes; dear father, yes.

O. H. Fathers should know their place; they should not give advice, nor exercise authority; they should not check folly, nor foretell misfortune; they should first let the mischief be done, and then sacrifice themselves to remedy it.

C. Oh, father, you will break our hearts.

M. Not mine; at least, not in that manner.

O. H. Not yours, hard-hearted girl? Do you stand there, like a statue, and defy me? Do you contrive a plot to ruin yourself—to run straight into perdition, from the shelter of your father's house, and then look me in the face and justify it?

M. I can justify all I have done, and all I intend to do. It would be well for you and for us, father, if you could do the same.

O. H. Justify!—l—justify! Shall I stand up before my children, like a criminal, and take my trial for having exercised a parent's authority? And receive sentence, I suppose, on my knees?

M. I don't know how to answer exclamations, nor irony. But if I should confess that we had been wrong, would you allow me then to ask you to judge yourself—to seek in your own bosom for evidence, and see if you were not wrong first?

O. H. *(walks up and down in silence, then stops and addresses Mary with affected calmness.)* How have I been wrong?

M. In attempting to govern us by force—by absolute commands—without reasons—and by restraints upon our personal liberty.

O. H. Was it not all for your own good?

M. You thought so, but we differ as to that.

O. H. We do, indeed. Indeed, indeed we differ. And you should have had your way, and I was wrong, of course.

M. *(taking his hand.)* Father, if you meet me with sarcasm, my courage will break down, and we shall never understand each other. Let me speak plainly, and answer me kindly.

O. H. Proceed.

M. Nay, father; you have been very unkind to us. You have not been consistent. You allowed us to form these intimacies first, and then the intimacies to ripen into attachments, and the attachments became engagements, before we ourselves were fairly aware of it. You should have spoken sooner, —a great deal sooner.

O. H. Had I not distinctly reserved my right to veto?

M. Yes, long ago; but you let it sleep until it died. You let the time go by till your silence became a sanction.

O. H. And that sanction cannot now be retracted?

M. No; certainly.

O. H Not if I had discovered circumstances never known to me before? Not if I had the proof that you had made your engagements, not with poverty merely, but with perpetual misery and dishonor?

M. & C. Dishonor!

O. H. Yes; with dishonor. I did not intend to speak out to you so soon; I meant to have investigated more deeply, and to have shown you proofs when I should speak; but I tell you, your faith is given to dishonorable men.

C. Oh, Mary, what will become of us?

M. Let us know the truth. Tell us what is this dishonor? Dear father, you have said too much now to leave us further in suspense.

O. H. I will tell you. These young men have wasted their means, and they pick up a dishonorable living by borrowing. Borrowing what they cannot pay, and accumulating hopeless insolvency. Will you wed yourselves to debt, and for your lives? It is the veriest fiend that walks in the ways of men.

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M. How do you know that this is so?

O. H. I have had hints from several quarters. But the confirmation came from Vansittart. They attempted to get a loan of money last week, through him.

M. Does Vansittart say so?

O. H. I said it to him, and he could not deny it. He prevaricated—he showed a wish to deceive me—but he could not deny it.

M. It is not conclusive; but it is enough to make us pause.

O. H. It is, indeed. You may well pause and hesitate before you make your households with such an inmate. The debtor's pillow is all thorns—his food is all spread with bitterness. His daily walks are a perpetual humiliation; the conversation that is addressed to him, a continual insult. He sickens at his life; he hates the morning, because it brings back mortification; and the evening, because his fireside is a reproach to him. All this he suffers; and he revenges it all upon—his wife. [*Exit.*

C. (*kissing, and throwing herself into Mary's arms.*) Oh, Mary, what shall we do? what shall we do?

M. Bear up, Charlotte, or I shall sink too. (*Bursts into tears, Charlotte sustaining her, and sinks into a chair.*) Oh, Charlotte, my strength gives way, but not my spirits. I do not believe it. I do not believe it. There is some dreadful mistake. [*Scene closes.*

SCENE IV.—THOMPSON & WELLER'S. HAY, HARTINGTON, GLUMLY *and* JACOB HOLLYBUSH.

G. (*to J. H.*) Here is the Herald.

J. H. Thank you; I've read it through twice.

G. A pretty preparation that for your wedding.

Hay. I'm afraid something has happened.

J. H. I don't understand it. It's half-past five.

G. Mr. Hay, was that a Philadelphian I saw talking to you, to-day, in Wall-street?

Hay. Before the Exchange?

G. Yes.

Hay. Yes.

G. I thought so. I can almost always tell them.

J. H. How?

G. Oh, they look so band-boxy. That is, you know, the society men, the stars of Chestnut-street.

Hay. Yes; Philadelphia is the only place I know where the men of fashion are generally dandies.

G. Yes; that's the word—dandies. Men that look rigged; that seem to be thinking about their clothes.

J. H. Every city has its peculiarities.

H'n. What are ours?

J. H. Oh, this is the metropolis. I mean the provincial cities.

G. In Boston, it is the inner man that they rig.

Hay. And the inner woman?

G. Oh, certainly! Logic and Latin, instead of ruffled shirts; and transcendentalism instead of Miss Lawson's hats and feathers.

J. H. Well, I think I can always tell a Boston woman when I hear her talk.

H'n. So can I.

G. They are so well informed, and so informing. So sure of what they say; and so precise and emphatic.

J. H. Even so. (*Looks at his watch.*) Ain't you tired of this conversation?

G. Thank you; very. But what the devil can we do?

J. H. I don't think we need stay here any longer. Something has certainly gone wrong. Let us all walk up to Mr. Campion's. You three stop in there, and I will bring you word if anything has happened at my brother's.

All. Agreed. [*Exeunt.*

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SCENE V.—*Old* HOLLYBUSH'S *house.* CHARLOTTE *and* MARY *with their workbaskets.* CHARLOTTE *rings.* (*Enter* JOHN.)

C. John, is papa still in the breakfast room?
John. Yes, madam. There's a gentleman with him on business.
C. Tell him we want to speak to him before he goes down town.
John. Yes, madam, [*Exit.*
C. He is very angry with us still, Mary.
M. Yes. I was afraid at breakfast he would make a scene before the servants.

(*Enter* OLD HOLLYBUSH.)

C. Papa, will you send Mr. Vansittart here this morning.
O. H. Yes, if you desire it. You are going to examine witnesses and take depositions, and sift out facts for yourselves, are you?
M. Yes, sir.
O. H. Very well. Anybody else that I can summon to appear before you? Vansittart is below stairs now.
M. Yes, sir; after we have seen Vansittart, we wish to see Mr. Hartington and Mr. Hay.
O. H. Do you, indeed? Then I must inform you that Mr. Hartington and Mr. Hay shall never enter my doors again. I will send Vansittart up. He will convince you of the truth if he won't speak it. And then, if you are not satisfied, you ought to be; and there is an end. [*Exit.*
C. Oh, Mary; how violent and unreasonable!
M. Yes, Charlotte; but let us keep calm, and search this matter out.

(*Enter* VANSITTART.)

V. Good morning, ladies.
C. and M. Good morning.
V. Your father mentioned that you had something to say to me. Can I be of any use?
M. Yes, Mr. Vansittart; we want a piece of information, which, we are told, it is in your power to give us.
V. On what subject, Miss Mary?
M. It concerns Mr. Hay and Mr. Hartington. You must be aware by this time that we have reason to interest ourselves in what relates to these gentlemen.
V. I am well aware of it.
M. Well, Mr. Vansittart, the fact is this—do they owe you money?
V No.
M. Have you not borrowed money for them?
V. If I have, Miss Mary, they would not owe me, but those from whom I borrowed.
M. You do not answer the question. Do these young men get their living by borrowing?
V. Certainly not.
C. That is not the question. Mary. The question is, do they borrow money at all that they cannot pay.
V. Certainly they do not.
C. Did they never do such a thing?
V Never. I think I may safely guarantee that.
M. But, Mr. Vansittart, papa says they did—and through your agency.
V. Oh. no, Miss Mary; your father could not say exactly that. You have misunderstood him.
C. But he is exceedingly displeased about it; and has forbidden their visits here in consequence.
V. That is very strange. There was a transaction, a loan of a very large sum of money; your father lent it to Mr. Duperu. I negotiated the loan. But

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your father had most ample security for the repayment. I cannot imagine how that should have displeased him.

M. Was that money for Hay and Hartington?

V. Oh, I forgot. Your father seemed to suspect it was; and he asked me some questions about it. Now, all that I knew in the matter, I knew professionally and confidentially. Of course I could say nothing.

C. But can they pay this money again?

V. My dear Miss Charlotte, it was Mr. Duperu that borrowed the money, and he gave full security for the repayment.

C. But if he gave it to Hay and Hartington, perhaps they cannot repay *him*.

V. You are a searching cross-examiner, Miss Charlotte; but in this matter I am not at liberty to enter into details. I must ask you to take my word for it, that it was an honorable transaction throughout and for all the parties.

C. Hay and Hartington included?

V. (*laughing.*) Yes; if they had anything to do with it. And what you tell me about your father surprises me very much. I thought the suspicions he had would have raised those gentlemen in his estimation very much, instead of the contrary. Can I be of any further service?

C. Not now, Mr. Vansittart; thank you. (*Exit.*) Now Mary, what do you think of that?

M. Why, that papa is entirely mistaken.

C. So it seems to me.

M. And he is determined not to be set right.

C. It does appear so. What must we do?

M. Leave this house, Charlotte. I never would do it, so long as papa was reasonable, and allow us free intercourse with our friends. But total separation, and by force, too! It is not to be thought of.

C. Where is uncle Jacob?

M. I don't know. But he will not raise his finger for us. We must send a message to Hay and Hartington, and the only messenger I can think of is Mr. Glumly.

C. That is true. He is not the confidant I should choose; but he is in so deep already, it is better trusting him than telling more.

(*Rings. Enter* JOHN.)

M. John, step over to Mr. Glumly's rooms, and say, we should like to speak with him, and as soon as convenient.

John. Yes, madam.

M. John, say as soon as possible.

John. Yes, madam. [*Exit.*

C. Now, Mary, what are you going to say to Mr. Glumly?

M. I am going to ask him simply to deliver a note to Hay, and to bring me back the answer.

C. And what will you put in the note?

M. Let us consider. (*Arranging paper and pens.*) "Dear sir: (*writing,*) Last evening we were detained at home, by papa, until it was too late to walk out, as we proposed."

C. Very well; and besides—

M. (*writing.*) "And besides that, papa said some things to us which Mr. Vansittart can explain to you, which made us hesitate at the step we were taking."

C. Yes; but we have seen Mr. Vansittart.

M. (*writing*) "But we have seen Mr. Vansittart, and are satisfied with the statements he has made to us."

C. And we wish you to know—

M. "Yes; (*writing,*) and we wish you to know that our sentiments have undergone no change. Yours, &c., M. H."

C. That will do. Only there is not a word there about what we are to do next.

M. Runaway again.

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C. Oh, Mary!

M. Certainly. Is there not a plain promise in the note?

C. Why, Mary, there is not a word about it.

M. Certainly. "Our sentiments have undergone no change." Were not those our sentiments?

C. Well; but the proposal at least ought to come from them.

M. So it will; and I will go up stairs and get ready.

(*Enter* GLUMLY.)

G. Good morning, ladies.

C. and M. Good morning, sir.

G. Can I be of service to you, ladies? John brought me a message.

C. Yes, Mr. Glumly; there is no time just now for explanations; but will you hand this note to Mr. Hay?

G. Certainly.

M. And will you do us the favor to bring his answer here?

G. Certainly.

C. Because papa has given orders that he and Mr. Hartington are not to be admitted here. (*To Mary.*) You should have put that in the note.

M. They knew it yesterday.

G. Good morning, then, and au revoir. I will make all the haste I can.

[*Exit. Scene closes.*

SCENE VI.—VANSITTART'S *rooms.* VANSITTART, HAY *and* HARTINGTON.

Hay. So, that makes all this trouble. I cannot imagine what he finds amiss in that. He said at the time, the voyage was most excellently planned.

V. Yes, he certainly said that.

H'n. And he is not the man to think the worse of us for getting up a good voyage. Was it the smuggling part on the west Coast of Mexico, think you?

V. No—he rather chuckled over the smuggling. I remember his remarks about that.

Hay. What did he say?

V. Why, he said we should teach the Mexicans, after a while, that to lay extravagant duties was the way to get goods brought in free of any.

H'n. Yes, he goes strong for free trade. But he had an idea, too, about slave trading.

V. Oh, he did not think that. Such an idea crossed him, but he did not entertain it for a moment.

Hay. If he did, we could easily set him right.

V. Set him right, indeed! No you couldn't; let him think what he might. You might as well set the vane the way you wanted the wind to blow. You don't know him.

H'n. That would'nt change the wind, eh?

V. No; you know not whence it comes, nor whither it goes, and his opinions are just as unaccountable.

Hay. And just as perverse, or a little more so.

(*Enter* GLUMLY.)

G. Mr. Hay, I have been looking for you. Here is a note that will interest you, and I am requested to take charge of your answer.

Hay. (*reads it and hands to Hartington.*) What is to be done?

H'n. (*after reading.*) All that was left undone last evening.

Hay. It is now eleven o'clock—shall we say twelve?

H'n. Yes.

Hay. (*to Glumly.*) Same place—same arrangement—only let the ladies go first. Do you understand?

G. Perfectly. I'll go and make up the party. [*Exit.*

H'n. Hay, you had better write.

Hay. Perhaps so. I will go down to my room with him and give him a note with all the particulars. [*Exit.*

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V. Mr. Glumly seems to be deep in your confidence.

H'n. Deeper than I wish, a good deal. But the fates seem to thrust him upon me. I shall get used to him, I suppose.

V. Certainly. Apothecaries get fond of rhubarb.

H'n. Rhubarb has some virtues; but I doubt about Glumly. (*Exit.*)

[*Scene closes.*

SCENE VII.—HAY'S *rooms.* HAY *alone.* (*Enter* HARTINGTON.)

H'n. Hay, have you arranged all that?

Hay. Yes.

H'n. For twelve o'clock?

Hay. Yes.

H'n. I've ordered the coaches. I hope we shan't make a miss of it this time.

Hay. No; I hope not.

H'n. Are we to be encumbered with Glumly, and his bride as well, and Mr. Hollybush and his?

Hay. Yes. I don't see any objection. On the contrary, I rather like the joke.

H'n. I'm anxious, and not in a humor to take jokes. How do we proceed then, exactly?

Hay. Why, Charlotte and Mary leave their father's house about twelve, they pass by here, we shall see them. They go on and call for Minetta Campion—Miss Dubarre is to be there, then all four go to Thompson & Weller's together.

H'n. And we follow immediately?

Hay. We go down to Glumly's rooms and take up him and Jacob Hollybush; then we four go also to Thompson & Weller's.

H'n. Immediately?

Hay. Yes, the ladies will take a cup of chocolate, and we shall be there before it is finished. The rest follows of course.

H'n. Yes, when we once get as far as that, I believe we shall know what to do. Have you seen Duperu to day?

Hay. No.

H'n. The Sarah Sands is in; her letters I suppose are not distributed yet. I wanted to go round and see what news, but now there will be no time.

Hay. Oh, don't start off on any expeditions. It would not be very pleasant for those ladies to be kept waiting at Thompson & Weller's after they ceased to have any apparent reason for staying.

H'n. Indeed it would not. I have time, too, to go down to Duperu's. But you are right, and I won't. But I am a little anxious still about those Calcutta bills.

Hay. They were all accepted.

H'n. Yes, but perhaps the house they are drawn on may fail. I want to hear that they are paid. There have been so many failures.

Hay. Does this vessel decide it?

H'n. Yes.

Hay. Well, we have other matters in hand now. I imagine it will all be right. The house was safe up to the last steamer, and that brings it pretty near.

(*Enter* GLUMLY.)

G. Miss Mary requested me to say to you, gentlemen, that in case of any possible accident or detention preventing us all from arriving in time, the ladies will positively wait only a quarter of an hour at Thompson & Weller's.

H'n. That shows forethought; but I believe we shall be in time.

G. Most probably, but the ladies are still a little nervous from yesterday.

Hay. Well, we shall remember. [*Exit G. Scene closes.*

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SCENE VIII.—OLD HOLLYBUSH'S *house.* CHARLOTTE *and* MARY.

C. There, I believe all is now arranged and ready.

M. I believe so.

C. I feel more composed than I did yesterday—more resolute. Papa's intemperate behaviour seems to me to justify what we are doing. When he spoke kindly once or twice, yesterday, I thought my heart would break.

M. He might have conquered me, if he would have used gentle means.

C. I would bear anything, if he would not insist on interdicting all intercourse with Hay and Hartington. But what are we to do? We have given them our hearts irrevocably, and we must keep our hold on their's. Absence might change them.

M. I hope not; but I am no more disposed to try it than you are.

C Farewell, old mansion; we have had some happy days here.

M. Yes, and we will come back here and have some more.

C. Oh Mary, do you think so? Will papa forgive us?

M. Yes, Charlotte; and you know it well enough. I would not leave him even now, with all the good reasons I can give myself for doing it, if I were not certain of coming back to him. No, nor would you. You know you would not.

C. He is very stern sometimes, but I do hope he will soften. Where is the trunk?

M. John has it in charge.

C. What did you tell him?

M. I told him it was a trunk uncle Jacob would probably send for, and if he did, to deliver it. Uncle Jacob will do as much as that for us, after we are fairly married.

C. Yes, but he won't raise a finger for us now.

M. No—he observes the most conscientious neutrality possible.

C. Come, Mary, the hour has arrived; let us go forth and meet our destiny. Adieu, adieu! (*looking around, and waving her hand to the various objects in the room.*)

M. (*doing the same.*) Adieu. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IX. HAY'S *Room.* HAY *and* HARTINGTON.

Hay. It is twelve o'clock.

H'n. Yes; and there come Charlotte and Mary down the street.

Hay. Let us wait awhile, and not go out till they have had full time to get in and arrive before us.

H'n. No; I suppose just now we may as well avoid being seen even near them in the street. The old man may possibly be on the watch.

Hay. Oh, if he is watching, he'll trap us to a certainty. But let us avoid accidents. (*Knock at the door.*) Come in.

(*Enter* BOY.)

Boy. Here's a note from Mr. Duperu.

Hay. Ah, give it me. (*Reads.*) "Dear sir,—I regret to say that the Sarah Sands brings news of the failure of Chapman's house; and our Calcutta bills have all come back protested." Is it possible?

H'n. Is it possible?

Hay. (*reads.*) "You see this makes it necessary for us to raise $30,000 more, as we must take up these bills ourselves; and the money we raised on the loan is all wanted for our second batch of notes, which fall due to-morrow."

H'n. Yes; all but seven hundred dollars.

Hay. (*reads.*) "I wish you to come to me immediately. If I am to save my credit to-morrow, there is not a moment to be lost." Indeed there is not; but what can we do about it?

H'n. Duperu must stop payment.

Hay. (*throwing himself into a chair.*) What a dreadful blow!

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Boy. Any answer, sir?

H'n. Yes; tell Mr. Duperu we will come immediately. No—stop. Do you know Mr. Glumly's room?

Boy. No, sir.

H'n. It's the white house on the corner below here, over the barber's.

Boy. And a toy-shop in the same building?

H'n. Exactly. Run down there, (*writes a line, and gives it to him*) and give that to Mr. Glumly. We will go to Mr. Duperu, and deliver our own answer. [*Exit boy.*

Hay. What did you write?

H'n. I wrote that an affair had occurred, involving a friend of ours, which called on our instant attention—that it was so important, that even in these circumstances, the ladies would approve our failing in our appointment, as soon as we could see them and explain.

Hay. Very well. They will be astonished; but they will certainly pardon us when they know all. Come. [*Exeunt.*

MALHERBE.

Here is a gem, and an exquisite one, too, from the pen of Malherbe, the Beranger of the sixteenth century. The lines were addressed to Du Perrier, on the death of his daughter.

Malherbe was born at Caen, in 1555, and in his fiftieth year was received into the service of Henry IV., who liberally pensioned him. He was the founder of that severe school of purity and taste, which has given such elegance to the poetry of France. Although a ripe scholar, his works were principally odes, sonnets and stanzas. They are all marked by beauty and vigor, and the most fastidious critic admits their power and elegance. It is related of Malherbe, that such was his zeal for the purity of the French language, that in his dying hours he reproved his nurse for incorrectly using a word. Boileau says of him, that he was the first poet in France who gave to verse its harmony, grace and strength, and that,

> "Tout reconnut ses lois, et ce guide fidéle,
> Aux auteurs de ce tems, sert encore modele."

He died in the year 1627. A beautiful edition of his works was published at Paris in 1757.

> "'Mais elle était du monde, où les plus belles choses
> Ont le pire destin
> *Et, rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses:*
> *L'espace d'un matin.*
> La mort a des rigueurs à nulle autre pareilles,
> On a beau la prier,
> La cruelle qu'elle est se bouche les oreilles,
> Et nous laisse crier.
> Le pauvre en sa cabane, où le chaume le couvre,
> Est sujet à ses lois;
> Et la garde, qui veille aux barriéres du Louvre
> N'en défend pas nos rois.'"

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POPULAR PORTRAITS WITH PEN AND PENCIL.

ALBERT G. BROWN, OF MISSISSIPPI.

ALBERT G. BROWN is the second son of Joseph Brown, a respectable planter, who settled in what is now Copiah county, in the state of Mississippi, in the winter of 1823. The country was then a wilderness. The white man had not yet taken possession of the "new purchase," and the fire of the red man was at that time smoking, so recent had been his exit from the country.

In indigent circumstances, Joseph Brown had sought this forest home, consented to brave its hardships, in the hope of rearing his children to better fortune than his own. His two sons, Edwin and Albert, then small boys, performed such labor in opening the farm as they were able to endure. Albert, then ten years of age, was a sort of man of all work. It was his business to mind the stock, work a little on the farm, go to mill on Saturday, and attend school occasionally when there was nothing else to do.

If it should be thought by any that this was an indifferent method of opening the way to the boy's fortune, it must be borne in mind, that the family was surrounded by the most trying circumstances, and the future promised nothing but what industry, honesty, and the most rigid economy might yield. Pitching his tent in the unbroken woods, not a tree missing from the dense forest, far from the settled parts of the country, without provisions, and almost without money, and not an acquaintance or a friend on whom he could call for help—it will be readily seen that the whole business and cares of the elder Mr. Brown's life were founded on the single word "bread."

After the first two or three years, thanks to industry, economy, and a fertile soil, hard fortune began to relax her iron grasp. Well stored granaries, sleek herds of cattle, fat hogs and horses, attested the thrift which followed on the heels of retreating poverty. About this time attention was given to Albert's strong inclination for books, and he was kept pretty steadily at such inferior neighborhood schools as may be found in a frontier country—that is, barring the interruptions which going to mill and working on the farm in times of great need, would occasionally interpose.

In February, 1829, having made tolerable proficiency in the rudiments of an English education, and given evidence of sprightliness, his father consented with as much readiness as was consistent with his limited means, to send him to Mississippi college, then a respectable school, under the management of that excellent man and pure Christian, the Rev. D. Comfort. Here he remained three years, endearing himself to a large circle of class and school-mates, almost all of whom have since been his fastest and truest friends, and winning the confidence and affection of his venerable teacher, who still survives to witness the success of his pupil, and to enjoy the happy consciousness, that his parental cares and sage counsel has lifted a poor boy to distinction, and placed him on the high

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way to fame and fortune. The writer has often heard the subject of this notice confess with deep emotion his gratitude to his old preceptor, and declare that to him he owed, in a great measure, whatever of success had attended him through life. From Mr. Comfort's school, young Brown was transferred in the winter of 1832, to Jefferson college, where he remained six months—when, becoming dissatisfied with the institution, he left it and went home, under a partial promise from his father to send him for a regular collegiate course to Princeton or Yale. But after counting the cost, and making allowance for the care of a then rather numerous family of sons and daughters, Mr. Brown (the father,) concluded that he should be unable to send his son to college. Thus closed the school-boy days of Albert G. Brown. With an education very imperfect, suddenly disappointed in his cherished hope of prosecuting his studies in one of the old schools, he was at the early age of nineteen years left to select his future course. This was a critical period, and few young men thus suddenly crossed and thrown back upon their own resources would have behaved better. Mr. Brown not entirely desponding, but greatly chagrined at being thus cut off with an education scarcely commenced, went of his own choice to the county village, Gallatin, entered into an arrangement with a lawyer of high standing, (E. G. Peyton, Esq.,) and the next day began the study of the law. In less than a year, he was examined before the Supreme Court of Mississippi, and admitted to the bar with appropriate evidences of his qualifications. Though closely pursuing his studies, Mr. Brown found ample time in his hours of recreation to extend his acquaintance among the people, and by his bland and courteous deportment to lay deep and solid foundation of that singular personal popularity, and which no change of parties or political convulsion has ever shaken.

During his six months' stay at Jefferson college previously mentioned, he underwent a course of military training; and, recommended by this circumstance, the people of his county attested their confidence in him by electing him a colonel of militia before he was nineteen years old. This was the first office he ever held. The next year he was chosen a Brigadier-General of Militia.

Mr. Brown was scarcely twenty years of age when he applied for admission to the bar, and the writer has heard him speak of his extreme anxiety, lest the usual question (where there can be any doubt)—"are you twenty-one?" should be propounded. This was the only question to which he could not have given a satisfactory answer, and by singular good fortune (for him) it was not asked.

He began the practice of his profession in the autumn of 1833, and succeeded at once. He took rank with the oldest and most distinguished professional gentlemen at the bar where he practised. His business steadily and rapidly increased to 1839, when he withdrew from the profession, in the enjoyment of the fullest and most lucrative practice, being professionally employed in nearly five hundred causes during the year in which he retired from the bar.

In October, 1835, Mr. Brown, (or General Brown, by which title he was then better known,) was married to Elizabeth Frances Taliaferro, a Virginia lady of accomplishments, of great personal worth, and of excellent family. She survived the marriage only about five months. Her family have subsequently been among the most steadfast of General B.'s numerous friends and supporters.

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In this year, 1835, began the political career of General Brown. At the November election, he was chosen a representative to the State Legislature, to fill the first vacancy occurring after he was twenty-one years old. It was an interesting period in the Legislation of Mississippi, and there was great competition for the seats. In 1835, Copiah, the county of Mr. Brown's residence, was entitled to three representatives, and he was one of nine candidates, nearly all democrats, or as they were called, "Jackson men." Great pains were taken to defeat him, as the aspiring and ambitious thought he would be in their way on future occasions. Some maintained that he was too young, but the great bulk of the opposition rested upon an alleged unsoundness in his political views. For this change there was no better foundation than that General Brown's father was a whig, or, as he was not ashamed to call himself, a federalist of the old school. The election transpired, and General Brown was successful, being the second successful candidate, and leading his next highest competitor about 75 votes. His representative duties were discharged with marked fidelity, and so entirely to the satisfaction of his constituents, that at the next election he was returned without a struggle, the opposition being only nominal. He took an active and leading part in the debates, and in all the business of legislation; and before the expiration of his first term, the speakership having been vacated by the indisposition of the presiding officer of the house, he was chosen speaker *pro tem*, by acclamation. It is to be regretted that the debates in the Legislature of Mississippi at that period were not preserved, as they were intrinsically valuable, and if now in existence, would throw a flood of light on the political history of the state. A record of these debates would exhibit in relief admirable and bold, the political forecast of General Brown. Though almost the youngest member of the house, he counselled his more aged compeers in many an earnest speech, against that system of banking which has since rendered the financial policy of Mississippi so remarkable throughout the world.

General Brown took his seat in the Legislature under his second election in January, 1838. The banking system had already given way, and was tottering to its fall. Just then, Governor Lynch, the first and last whig Governor of Mississippi, recommended the Legislature "to express its opinion on the subject of a National Bank," and entered himself into an elaborate argument in favor of that institution. This recommendation was referred to a committee of which General Brown was chairman, and his report contains many strong views in opposition to the bank, both on the ground of unconstitutionality and of its inexpediency. We have only room for one or two short extracts, as follows:—

"Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering the opinion of the court, in the celebrated case of McCullough against the state of Maryland, lays down the principle in broad terms, "That when the law is not prohibited, and is intended to carry into effect any power entrusted to the government, Congress is to be the exclusive judge of the degree of its necessity." Suppose this to be the settled doctrine upon this subject, the abolition of slavery is not expressly prohibited in the District of Columbia, nor any of the states where it exists, and among the enumerated powers of the general government, is one authorising it to provide for the common defence and general welfare. Suppose then that the abolitionists of the north, whose strength, disguise it as you will, is increasing with frightful rapidity, should, under this rule of construction adopted by

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jurists, and sanctioned by politicians, insist that in all cases it was their duty to provide for the "general welfare," in obedience to the power given them, and that to carry into effect this specific grant of power, if it was "necessary" to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the states where it exists—We ask, whether it might not be competent for them to do so, or how this case is distinguished from the one immediately under consideration, to wit, the power to charter a National Bank, because it is a measure "necessary" for the "general welfare;" and if the Supreme Court thought it incompetent for them to inquire into the degree of necessity involved in the first case, could they undertake to make the inquiry in the letter? We think not. Again, suppose the nation, in the present enfeebled state of its treasury, be suddenly involved in a conflict with Great Britain, or some other foreign power, Congress is called upon to furnish money to carry on the war; this she refuses to do, by levying a direct tax which shall bear equally upon all portions of the United States,—but incorporates a company, and invests them with exclusive power to navigate the Mississippi River for fifty years, in consideration that the company will pay the government a bonus of twenty-five millions of money. The power to have such action on the part of the general government is well questioned; it is not however expressly prohibited, and Congress asserts that it is "necessary" in providing for the "common defence and general welfare" to charter said company, and invest them with such powers, for the consideration of the twenty-five million bonus; and the Supreme Court, if appealed to, says, Congress is to be the judge of the necessity, and we will not interfere.

"We ask if such rules of construction, with such arguments to sustain them, may not, indeed if they are not likely to lead to the most disastrous consequences—consequences portentous of great evil to the rights of the states, and threatening at once the stability of our excellent forms of government? Your committee are of opinion, that this clause of the Constitution furnishes no warrant for the establishment of a National Bank."

The report continued with various other views of the constitutional question, chiefly in answer to the arguments urged by the friends of the bank. It set forth many and strong arguments against the expediency of the bank, and concluded as follows:

"If, then, it does not render the labor of the citizens more valuable, we are at a loss to discern the great advantages which the working man is to derive from its creation. But we are satisfied of its effects, when the redundancy of paper money which it circulates has swelled in a twofold relation the value of every horse, plough, harrow and other articles of husbandry or family consumption which the laborer buys. Then we find it is an institution which, instead of lightening the poor man's toils, in fact levies a heavy contribution upon the wages of his industry. It is an institution which make the weak weaker and the potent man powerful; ever filching from the poor man's hand to replenish the rich man's purse. Your committee have mistaken the duties of legislators, if it is their province to guard over the peculiar interest of the speculator and gambler, who live by the patronage of banks, to the detriment and ruin of the honest yeomen, whose toils have raised our happy republic from a few dependant colonies, to the highest pinnacle of national fame, causing Indian wigwams to give place to splendid cities, and the whole wilderness to bloom and blossom as the rose. It is well said that 'the laborer is worthy of his hire;' and the illustrious Burke never uttered a sentiment which better deserved to be embalmed in the hearts of freemen, than that the workingman should feel the wages of his labor in his pocket and hear it jingle.

In conclusion, we recommend as an expression of this body on the subject of a National Bank, the adoption of the following resolutions:

"1. *Resolved*, That the government of the United States has no constitutional right to charter a National Bank.

"2. *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient and improper to charter such an institution at this time, even if Congress had the constitutional right to do so."

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This report elicited the warmest commendation on the part of the anti-bank press and party, whilst all the bank interests assailed it with denunciation, attempts at ridicule, and occasionally with something like argument. It was extensively published at the time, and is believed to have had a salutary influence in awakening public inquiry on the subject in Mississippi.

In the fall of the same year (1838) Gen. Brown being absent from the state, the bank party took advantage of a general panic in the public mind, growing out of the existing pecuniary embarrassments in Mississippi, to get up written instructions requiring him to vote for a bank U. S. Senator, or resign. He chose the latter alternative. Although in a moment of panic, 750 out of 900 voters had signed these instructions, Gen. Brown did not hesitate to present himself as a candidate to fill the vacancy occasioned by his own resignation. He issued a short address from which we present an extract.

"To stand in the way of a free disposition of the elective franchise by the people, in the selection of their representatives, I should conceive the greatest moral and political disgrace which could befal a republican citizen. I am a democrat in practice as in principle, and it is one of the first articles in the *Koran* of that political sect, that the people should be represented by whom they will. If my services are no longer desired, *I* should cease to feel contented in the seat which has been assigned me by your preference. And whenever you shall determine at the ballot box to dismiss me from your service, I shall retire with a sense of pleasure equalled only by the satisfaction which I experienced in entering upon it, and surpassed only by the gladness which I now feel, in having performed at all times as I best could the trusts confided to my care. I have a right to ask in abdicating my seat in the legislature, that the articles of my condemnation may not be signed and sealed by the people, and handed over to be ratified, confirmed and executed by my political enemies, before I am heard in my own defence. All I ask, is a free conference with the people. *Come set ye down and let us reason together.*"

He at once entered upon a close and searching canvass of the county. The result was, his triumphal return to the Legislature by a majority of one hundred and fifty odd votes over his bank competitor. The opposition was confounded. They had counted on success as a matter of course. The anti-bank friends of Gen. Brown in his own county, and throughout the state, were of course greatly elated at this signal triumph. The democratic State Convention assembled soon after, and although not then twenty-five years old, he was unanimously nominated for Congress. The chances for success were anything but flattering. The whigs had swept the state at the election previous, and the bank interest in Mississippi was in the zenith of its power. Not dismayed by these unfavorable circumstances, he entered at once upon an active and vigorous canvass of the whole state; and before the election in November, 1839, he and his colleague, Mr. Jacob Thompson, had thoroughly canvassed every nook and corner of the state. Though met at every step by the most unscrupulous opposition; assailed with vituperation and slander—with denunciation, personal and political, Gen. Brown and his colleague moved steadily forward, calling the people together, challenging their opponents to meet them in debate, and carrying conviction to the mind of their auditors. The result did ample justice to their zeal and fidelity. The state was redeemed; bank thraldom was ended. The whole democratic

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ticket was elected by an average majority of three thousand; Gen. Brown leading the Congressional ticket by large odds.

He took his seat in the U. S. House of Representatives, Dec., 1839, being *then* a little over twenty-five years of age. His speeches while in that position compare favorably with those generally made in the lower House of Congress. He entered boldly into the defence of the Independent Treasury, and the other leading measures of the administration. His opposition to the bank and to whig measures generally, was maintained with his accustomed zeal and ability. If we had space we should like to make extracts from these speeches, and especially from one in which the policy of the administration in power at that time is defended and whiggery reviewed. To those desirous of seeing with how much zeal and ability Gen. Brown defended his favorite measures at that term, we commend this speech. It concludes with a glowing tribute to the moral and intellectual worth of Mr. Calhoun, a perusal of which cannot be otherwise than gratifying to the numerous friends of that distinguished statesman and patriot.

After the adjournment of Congress in 1840, Gen. Brown went home and entered immediately and with singular activity in the Presidential canvass. He traversed the state, defending Mr. Van Buren, as the regular nominee, against this growing distrust of his people, and appealing to them to stand by the measures of his administration. Many of his speeches at this time were remarkable specimens of stump oratory; and though they failed to carry the state under the weight of Mr. Van Buren's name, they did not fail to add greatly to Gen. Brown's character as a speaker.

On the 12th of January, 1841, Gen. Brown was a second time married. The lady, Miss Roberta E. Young, had been known in society at Washington as one of the most fascinating and intelligent ladies of the gay metropolis. She has directed with great dignity and propriety the domestic affairs of her husband's household, and especially during his gubernatorial term. She is the mother of two sons.

At the close of his term in 1841, Gen. Brown was again put in nomination by his party friends. But having taken upon himself the cares of a family, and finding his pecuniary interests seriously involved from long neglect, he was constrained to decline. This he did, in the full confidence that his party, though temporarily defeated, were sure to rise at another election. He was not disappointed. The democrats of Mississippi at the November election, 1841, nobly redeemed their state from the ban of whiggery. At this election Gen. Brown consented to stand a poll for a judgeship of the Circuit Court; and it is among the remarkable evidences of his singular popularity, that he was voted for by men of every shade of opinion, political, social and religious. He was barely eligible to the office on account of his youth: but he was elected, beating his able and distinguished competitor, Judge Willis, the former incumbent of the same office, nearly three votes to one. He served in this position nearly two years, when he accepted a nomination from his political friends to run for Governor, and thereupon resigned Judge Willis was chosen his successor. Judge Brown entered the canvass for the governorship early in the summer of 1843, being then just thirty years old, and consequently barely eligible under the constitution of Mississippi. The opposition was fierce and exceedingly powerful. In addition to the whole

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strength of the whig party, Judge Brown had to encounter the stern opposition of a large number of the most talented and influential men of his own party. The ostensible reason for this opposition was a difference of opinion in regard to the state's liability to pay a class of bonds issued in her name, and known as the "Union Bank Bonds." Judge Brown maintained that the bonds had been issued in violation of the state constitution, and that the people were therefore under no sort of obligation to pay them *by taxation*. In this contest he had two opponents—Mr. Clayton, the regular whig nominee, and Col. Williams, "the independent bond-paying democrat." Both were gentlemen of high character. Mr. Clayton, a lawyer of distinction, belongs to the Georgia family of that name; and Col. Williams was an Ex U. S. Senator from Mississippi. For many weeks after the canvass opened, Judge B's chances seemed desperate. Almost single handed, he encountered the whole opposition, whigs and democrats. How he bore himself, may be judged of from the fact that his competitors were *together* beaten by two thousand three hundred votes. He entered upon his new duties as Governor, January 10, 1844. The bond question having been the principal topic of discussion in canvass, Gov. Brown availed himself of the privileges incident to his inauguration, to state succinctly his views on that subject. The reader may find it interesting to examine those views, which we here extract from the inaugural speech of the Governor.

After some general remarks upon the value of the constitution, and the absolute necessity for its inviolable preservation, he continues:

"I have been led into these reflections by the too common expression, that although the constitution was manifestly violated in the issuance of the Union Bank bonds. yet, inasmuch as a *majority* of the people approved it at the time, therefore the *whole* people must submit to taxation to pay them: thus declaring that the will of the majority, and not the constitution, shall be the measure of power, and virtually making one acknowledged wrong the pretext for committing a still more grievous wrong. But how, it may be asked, will the constitution be violated in levying a tax to pay a debt, even though that debt was contracted in violation of the constitution? It has been assumed that the taxing power resides with the Legislature, and that they may exercise it for any purpose within their discretion, not positively prohibited by the constitution. This construction of the powers of the Legislature, is by far too comprehensive. Under it, the legislative department may tax *ad libitem*. No such authority, in my opinion, was ever conferred. The Legislature may rightfully tax the citizen to defray the economical expenses of the government, and to pay the debts of the state; but it would be going far beyond the authority delegated to them. to levy taxes to pay the debts of any one, or all the corporations within the state. If the Union Bank bonds constituted a debt against the state, then would it be constitutional to tax the citizen to pay them; but that these bonds do not constitute such a debt, will, I think, be made sufficiently manifest by a candid review of their origin, and of that clause of the constitution under which they could alone issue."

He then proceeded to state the facts connected with the creation of the bonds in a most clear and able manner, to show that the plainest provisions of the state constitution had been deliberately and wilfully violated. That the bonds, having no legal existence, are not a debt against the state, and that the legislature, if it had the will, has no power to levy taxes for the payment of those bonds.

The administration of Gov. Brown will be long remembered in Mis-

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sissippi as one of the most fortunate which that state has ever had. With his first election ceased the "Union Bank bond" controversy, and he was left without hindrance to look after the other long-neglected and suffering interests of the state. He found the treasury bankrupt, and the officers and servants of the state paid in a kind of paper, known as "auditor's warrants," then at a depreciation of fifty to fifty-five cents on the dollar. He set himself earnestly at work to revive the drooping credit of the state, and had the satisfaction, at the end of two years, to see "auditor's warrants" at par with gold and silver, and at the close of his second term, to leave a surplus of several hundred thousand dollars in the treasury.

Gov. Brown zealously advocated the cause of education. His messages, and other papers, are interspersed with reflections, suggestions, and earnest appeals on this interesting subject. Several schools grew up under his auspices. The Common School system was adopted on his earnest and repeated recommendations; but so shorn of its best proportions by the legislature as to be a mere caricature of the system recommended by him. He entered earnestly and zealously upon the task of establishing the State University. Under his direction the funds were secured, and by his advice the institution was put into operation. In every matter relating to the local interests or the honor of Mississippi, Gov. Brown was a faithful guardian. So well satisfied were the people of this, and indeed with his whole administration, that at the end of his first term all opposition had ceased, and no one was found to enter the list against him for another election. His second term, like the first, was marked by an unceasing care for the local interests of the state which he governed. The feature in his administration, which distinguished it perhaps as much as any other, was its constant fidelity to the payment of the "Planters' Bank bonds." In his first inaugural speech, after disposing of the Union Bank bond question, he continues:

"Wherever there exists a debt against the state, contracted in good faith and with a proper regard to the constitution, it *must* be discharged to the last mill. Of this character do I regard the bonds issued on account of the Planters' Bank; and come what may, the state can never shrink from the payment of them. Let prompt and efficient action be taken for their settlement. A speedy liquidation of them will afford what every good citizen is anxious to see—a fitting opportunity to manifest to the world, that in rejecting the Union Bank bonds we are actuated by no mean or sordid principles of dollars and cents, but by a more elevated impulse—that of adhering faithfully to our written constitution."

And in his message to the legislature he reviewed the whole subject of these bonds, showing, that as they legally existed, that the state would never, for an instant falter, in the payment, and advised by all means their prompt discharge.

And again, in 1848, in alluding to the same subject, he remarked:

"In estimating the indebtedness of the state, the bonds issued on account of the Planters' Bank, have been included. My last general message conveyed to the legislature and the country, my views as regards the state's liability to pay these bonds. These opinions have undergone no material change, but a reiteration of them is uncalled for, and would be unprofitable at this time. Having long since settled in my own mind, that the state is bound by every obligation that the constitution and the laws can impose, to pay the debt, it has only re-

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mained to devise some means acceptable to the people, and not too oppressive, by which it could be done. The whole subject has been calmly considered, and however it may be regarded by others, there is, to my mind, but one course to be pursued worthy the character of a great and growing state, and that is to raise the money by taxation and discharge the debt as rapidly as possible. That course is respectfully but earnestly recommended. The debt now stands as follows:

Bonds issued in March, 1833, - - - - - -	$1,500,000
6 per cent. interest from March, 1839, to Jan., 1848, -	795,000
Bonds issued in July, 1831, - - - - - - -	500,000
6 per cent. interest from July, 1839, to Jan., 1848, -	255,000
Total, - - - - - - - - - - - -	3,050,000

Gov. Brown's second term being about to expire, he accepted a unanimous nomination to run for Congress, in the 4th Congressional District; and although it was known that his term as Governor would not end until near the middle of January, and that he would not in consequence take his seat until the first two months of the session had passed, he was elected without opposition. He took his place in the House of Representatives in the latter part of January, 1849, in the midst of the excitement growing out of the discussions on the Mexican war. In the course of two or three weeks he spoke in review of the conduct of the administration, and generally in defence of his own country. Speaking for himself and his constituents, he said,

"We believe the war to have been just and constitutional in its commencement; that it has been vigorously prosecuted thus far, for wise and proper ends; and that it should be so prosecuted until we have the amplest reparation for past wrongs, and the fullest security that our rights as a nation are to be respected in future. To this end, we are prepared to vote such number of troops, and such additional sums of money as, in the judgment of the commander-in-chief, may be necessary to attain these objects."

In the course of a discussion on the President's proposition to tax tea and coffee as a means of raising money to carry on the war, Governor Brown indulged in some severe but deserved criticisms on the conduct of the opposition, saying:—

"When, sir, did these gentlemen first learn to sympathize with the poor man? Was it at a time when they were taxing cotton cloth, leather, iron, coal, and salt? Was it, sir, when they were levying protective duties on these articles, all of which enter into the poor man's consumption? The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. Marsh] pours out the fulness of his sympathetic heart over the poor man's tax on tea and coffee, and then he bewails the downfall of *protection*. You, sir, sympathize with the poor man's tax! you who would tax all the necessaries of life to give protection to some overgrown manufacturer! Strange and incomprehensible logic, that we must tax the poor man's hat, his shoes, his shirt, his plough, his axe—everything, in short, which he consumes, for the benefit of the manufacturer! but your sympathetic hearts will not allow you to tax his *tea* and *coffee* to support your government in time of war. You would send him shoeless, hatless, and shirtless, to cultivate his ground without implements, unless he pays tribute to the manufacturers; only give him tea that is not taxed, and you are satisfied. You would lay his diseased body on a pallet that is taxed; give him taxed medicine from a spoon that is taxed; you give him untaxed tea in a cup that is taxed; he dies, and you

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tax his winding sheet, and consign him to a grave that is dug with a spade that is taxed, and then insult his memory by saying that you gave him untaxed tea. Why, sir, if I thus outraged the poor man's common sense during life—insulted him in his last moments, and whined a hypocritical sympathy over his tomb when dead, I should expect his ghost to rise up in judgment against me.

"Other gentlemen may do as they please—for me and my people, we go for our country. We write on our banner millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute. Tax our property, tax our supplies—ay, tax us millions on millions for the defence of our country's flag and our country's honor, and we will pay it; but if you ask us to pay one cent of tribute to your lordly manufacturers, we rise up in rebellion against you. Take our property for the defence of our national honor, but do not plunder us to make a rich man more rich."

At all times and under all circumstances, Governor Brown has proven himself the steadfast friend of the toiling millions, opposing whatever tended to retard their prosperity, and advocating with energy every measure which promised to advance them intellectually or otherwise. In a debate on the subject of the public lands in the House, he said:—

"I am for disposing of the public lands freely. To the soldier who fights the battles of his country I would give a home, nor would I restrict him to very narrow limits. To every man who has no home. *I would give one*, and, so long as he and his descendants choose to occupy it, they should hold it against the world, *without charge of any kind*. The government owns more than nine hundred millions of acres of land, and yet thousands of her citizens, and some of them her bravest and best soldiers, are without homes. The dependence of the government and people should be mutual. If government relies on the people for defence in time of war—if she expects them to fight her battles and win 'empires' for her, the people should expect in return to be provided with homes; his reasonable expectation ought never be disappointed.

"I have no objection to the government selling lands to those who are able to pay for it, at a moderate price; but I protest my disapprobation of national *land-jobbing*. The nation degrades her character when she comes down to the low occupation of exacting the hard-earned dollars of a poor citizen for a bit of land purchased, it may have been, with the blood of that citizen's ancestors. To my mind, there is a national nobility in a republic's looking to the comfort, convenience, and happiness of its people; there is a national meanness in a republic selling a poor man's home to his rich neighbor, because that neighbor can pay a better price for it."

This and many similar extracts might be adduced to show his constant care for the interests of the masses and the great body of the people. But his whole life, public and private, attests his attachment to the laboring man, and his ceaseless care for his prosperity and happiness. The writer once heard him asked, how it was that success had so constantly attended him. He replied, "I never forgot that I was one of the people." Ah! there is the secret—he never forgot that he was one of the people. As the man of all work on his father's farm—as the "mill boy," he was one of the people—as a member of the legislature and of Congress, he was one of the people. Electing him judge did not change his character; and as Governor, he was still one of the people. Faithful to all his pledges, frank in the expression of his opinion, open and decided in his course, tolerant towards his opponents, and cordial towards his friends, he has always been sustained, and is now the unanimous choice of his party for Congress in his district.

Governor Brown is now thirty-six years old. He has been a candidate

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at every general election in his state since he was nineteen, and has never been defeated. It is not the least remarkable feature in his history, that he has been elected to all the offices he has filled at the first election after he became *eligible*. He is the first and only man who was ever elected Governor of the State of Mississippi, or to Congress from it, without opposition. His political course has always been decided, and his personal intercourse with the people familiar and frank. In the county of his residence, Copiah, but one or two attempts have ever been made to draw the party lines on him, and they have failed.

The people, without reference to party opinions, and with singular unanimity, have sustained him for every office to which he has aspired. He has, we understand, given notice of his intention to withdraw from public life at the expiration of the term of this Congress, and to resume the cares and duties of his profession.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

The state of affairs in the money circles gives evidence of great prosperity throughout the country. The fall business has been unusually extensive and lucrative, while the various avenues of trade have increased in receipts—the corporate institutions in profit, and the federal government in revenues. Money has continued abundant, too much so for individual capital in the great cities to draw its accustomed interest. The great industrial interests of the country have in the last few years been wonderfully promoted by the mutual ameliorations on the part of the United States and England, in relation to commercial restrictions, and the large supplies required by Great Britain in the year 1848, have, to a very considerable extent, been supplied from the United States. The famine which overtook Ireland in 1847 was the main cause of a very considerable increase in the demand for food, and it also accelerated the introduction of Indian corn to the use of that people as food.

According to official tables, the quantities of breadstuffs entered Great Britain for consumption in twelve months ending August, 1849, was as follows :—

BREADSTUFFS ENTERED FOR CONSUMPTION IN GREAT BRITAIN, YEAR ENDING AUGUST, 1849.

					Export from U. S. to G. B. same time.
Wheat	quarters	4,323,645	equal to bush.	33,589,160	$1,084,385
Barley	"	1,323,827	"	10,588,616	—
Oats	"	1,221,883	"	9,774,664	—
Rye	"	220,829	"	1,766,836	—
Peas	"	266,475	"	2,131,800	—
Beans	"	531,177	"	4,249,416	—
Indian corn	"	2,287,283	"	18,298,264	12,721,626
Flour, 3,503,375 cwts., or qrs.		1,002,393	"	8,019,144	5,570,080
Total,	qrs.	11,177,512	bushels	89,420,096	$19,376,091

The flour and Indian corn were, it appears, mostly derived from the United States, while but a very small proportion of the grain went hence. Now these immense supplies imported into Great Britain were in aid of what is called a

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good harvest; yet it is probably the case, that the production per acre was much short of the usual yield. The agricultural wants of Great Britain, and the probable demand upon the United States, is matter of exceeding interest; and the importance of obtaining information upon the subject is felt on both sides of the Atlantic. In furtherance of this information, returns of the agricultural produce of Ireland were made, by order of Lord Clarendon, for the years 1847 and 1848, and they present results of the most extraordinary character—and to no parties are they more interesting than to the farmers of the United States, from whom Ireland must draw her largest supplies.

The following table will show the number of acres sown with different descriptions of grain, and the arable produce in both years:—

ACRES SOWN IN IRELAND, AND THE PRODUCTION IN BUSHELS PER ACRE.

	1847.		1848.	
	Acres.	Yield.	Acres.	Yield.
Wheat	742,187	31,4	564,062	22,0
Barley	288,228	39,0	247,876	37,3
Oats	2,227,872	41,8	1,949,408	37,6
Beans	—	44,6	—	39,7
Rye	—	40,6	—	39,2
Potatoes	286,739	7,28	745,522	3,87
Total cultivation	4,778,347	—	5,108,062	—

The total number of acres under cultivation given is exclusive of the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, where the disturbances prevented returns. The aggregate quantity of land under cultivation not only increased, but the number of small holdings had much diminished. Thus, the number of farms classified was as follows:—

	1847.	1848.	Decrease.	Increase.	Pigs. 1841.	Pigs. 1847.
Farms not over 1 acre	62,447	44,262	18,185	—	295.048	19,108
" from 1 to 5 "	125,926	101,779	24,147	—	251,587	21,422
" " 5 " 15 "	253.630	225,251	28,375	—	350,825	80,098
" " 15 " 30 "	150,999	146,725	4,274	—	215,340	113.864
" over 30 "	137,147	140,817	—	3,670	240,301	282,984
Total,	730,149	658,834			1,353,101	517,476

Thus, although the quantity of land under cultivation increased, the number of farms greatly diminished. What horrible evictions took place and bloodthirsty oppression was practiced to produce this result is partly known. Cots were pulled down, and the tenants driven forth to starve, when their little patches were resumed by the landlords. The yield of the land does not appear, under the change, to have improved; on the other hand, the deficit was large. In stock, the change was as follows, for the year 1847, as compared with 1841:—

	1841.	1847.	Decrease.	Increase
Pigs	1,353,101	517,476	835,625	—
Sheep	2,106,189	1,996,624	109,565	—
Poultry	8,334,427	4,956,148	3,378,279	—
Horned cattle	1,863,116	2,390,230	—	527,114
Horses	576,115	521,867	54,348	—

This great havoc in the stock of the country shows the awful consequences of the famine, which compelled the poorer classes to consume the means of their future improvement. This state of affairs among the small farms was much worse than the figures show, as thus: the aggregate diminution of pigs is 835,625, while the decrease on farms, below 30 acres, as seen in the above table, was 878,312, there being an increase of 42,643 on farms over 30 acres. This arose from the buying and seizing for rent, as well as robbing for tithes on the

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part of the large proprietors, when they drove the tenants forth, or, in other words, "cleared the lands." The decrease in the other stock presents the same features. Thus, the decrease in poultry on farms less than 15 acres was 4,427,253. The increased culture of potatoes in 1848, produced but about 50 per cent. of the usual quantity. This root yields the largest quantity of food to the acre in usual years, but the short crop of 1848 caused the continued demand for corn. The decrease in stock also diminished the consumption of food. The great evil with Ireland has been the constant and steady drain upon its productive industry, in the shape of interest upon mortgages, tithes and rents. The capital which should have accumulated in the hands of its producers, has been drained for the uses of absent owners, and for the benefit of the shopkeepers of London and Paris.

It is matter of conjecture in how far the diminished yield of land per acre in Ireland extended to England and Scotland. The result is, however, that the immense importation of the year by no means exceeded the wants of the consumers. It is to be regretted, that these returns for Ireland, which are the first that can approach to accuracy, ever obtained of two consecutive harvests in a country, do not embrace all the British Islands. The importance of the subject is, however, now become so paramount, that measures will doubtless be taken to ascertain annually the breadth of land under each description of cultivation, as a guide to the wants of the community for the year. It is to be hoped, before long, that census regulations in the United States will become so efficient as to place before the community each year the actual number of acres cultivated, and the manner in which they are employed, so that they can be concentrated for the harvest of each year, and form a guide to all agriculturists in succeeding operations. The telegraph will aid in centralizing and condensing returns which ought to be made locally at least once a year. The United States, as events now tend forward, will soon be called upon to add the vast manufacturing operations of Great Britain to the "home market." It was ascertained by the census of 1841, that 1,000 persons in Great Britain were engaged as occupiers and laborers in raising food for 2,984 persons, besides themselves; and this proportion had increased from 1,000 producers to 2,200,000 consumers, besides themselves, in 1830. The abrogation of the corn laws and the navigation laws, it is supposed, will still further tend to change labor from agriculture to manufactures, and therefore rapidly to promote that operation which has been going on so long, while the rapidity of communication with the United States, and the greater liberality in relation to the interchange of commodities, offers to the laborers of England the fields of the United States for a supply of food, and to the farmers of America the wants of 30,000,000 persons added to the "home market." Canada, under the operation of the laws of trade, is about dropping into the Union; and the same irresistible laws will gradually sweep away all restrictions between England and the United States, when the vast wants of those islands, supported by its accumulated capital, will be at the disposal of the industry of the United States.

For the moment, the prospects of the foreign market for produce, for the coming year, is not flattering, by reason of the considerable estimates of the yield of the present harvest. From the increased extent of potatoes sown, however, should the fears entertained in relation to the rot turn out to be well founded, an approximation to the horrors of 1847 might be anticipated. The large and lucrative sales of Indian corn which have been made in the last year to Great Britain and Ireland, and amounting to $7,000,000 in value, has been of the greatest benefit to the western farmers, being, in fact, a realization of so much property, which, but for that demand, would have remained upon the farms, scarcely worth the labor of harvesting. This important addition to their means has exerted its influence upon the whole trade of the country, animating every portion, and none have profited more from the general excellence of the export trade than the manufacturers of the country—those at the west more particularly. The indications of the general prosperity are found in the returns of public works. The most important of these compare in all sections of the Union with last year, as follows:—

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	1848.	1849.	Increase.
Pennsylvania Canal Tolls to July 1	$ 733.001	798,370	65,369
Ohio Canal Tolls, nine months to August 15	406,537	462,594	56,057
New-York Canal Tolls, year ending Sept	3,006.285	3,101,761	95,476
" Rail roads, state tolls "	95,476	128,534	33,058
" & Erie rail road, 3 qrs. "	224,437	526.761	302,323
Baltimore & Ohio, " 1 year "	1,213,665	1,241,205	27,540
Harrisburg & Lancaster, " "	121.800	123,193	1,393
Madison & Indiapolis, 6 mos. "	99,703	118.686	18,983
Massachusetts Western, for Sept	126,160	129,825	3,665
Macon and Western, "	12,143	12,590	447
Norwich and Worcester, "	20.741	24.419	3.677
Long Island, "	15.727	16,916	1,188
Total, 11 lines	$6,071,675	6,685,855	814,180

The average increase is ten per cent., and derived generally this year from larger movement of freights, and less from passengers. Every important line in all sections shows the same result. The government revenues at the three leading ports, for the quarter ending Sept. 30, are as follow:

UNITED STATES REVENUES—QUARTER ENDING SEPTEMBER 30.

	1848.	1849.	Increase.
New-York	$6,446,080	7,329,177	883.097
Boston	1,444.971	1,798,167	350,196
Philadelphia	905,403	983,338	77,935
Total, three ports	$8,796,454	10,110,683	1 311,228

All these are indications of that enhanced activity of trade, which has eminently resulted from the removal of restriction on the external trade, and which has so improved the finances of the western states.

The state of Ohio, as an eminent example, has $5,918,658 of stocks falling due after 1850—that is to say, she has the right to redeem after that time. Of these, $1,500.000 of 7 per cent. stock falls due in January, 1852 This stock was negotiated in 1843, in order to close up the state's indebtedness, and stop further loans. It was taken at *par* in New-York, for Ohio funds, and is payable in New-York in New-York funds. Now, the state passed a law that the United States surplus revenue fund, amounting to $1,653,084, which had been loaned out in the several counties on real estate, should be called in in instalments, and placed with the fund commissioners for the redemption of the 7 per cent. stock. A considerable portion of this fund has been paid in, and the commissioners are now in New-York, prepared to invest the money to advantage until the stock matures, or to purchase the stock at a fair premium—perhaps two per cent. It is thus seen that New-York is getting back the money formerly loaned by it to western states; the prosperity of which, growing out of the extended foreign market for produce, enables them not only to cease borrowing, but to pay up. Illinois is paying back the $1,608,000 loaned to it in 1843 to complete its canal; and this makes over $3.000,000 which these two states return. Their wheat crops threaten badly this year, but the corn is very abundant; and as the market for it abroad extends in volume, their prosperity will increase. It is to be remarked that, including this seven per cent. stock, which the state has the means to pay, Ohio has reduced her debt since July, 1845, from $20,018,515 to $17,396,596, say $2,621,920. Of the aggregate debt, $6,507,828 was held abroad January, 1848. These favorable changes in western state finances call up reflections upon the state of the country now and at the time, (1843,) under the whig dynasty, when those short loans were contracted. Then all was discredit, insolvency and ruin. The federal government could not borrow a dollar; its revenues did not, under the tariff of 1842, half meet a peace expenditure; commerce was paralyzed, trade depressed, and all the in-

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debted states struggling against repudiation. The lapse of four years ending with last March, saw the federal credit restored simultaneously with the conquest of new empires, commerce and credit revive, the revenues rise to an excess over expenditures, and the produce of the western states pour out of the country to profitable markets; their internal resources so increase that they come forward to pay their debts, and pave the way for diminishing taxes, while farmers and merchants participated with manufacturers in the general prosperity. Although Ohio strove against the general policy which has wrought out these wonderful results, she does not the less reap its advantages. Pennsylvania has also not only recovered her credit, and promptly met her interest, but the operations of the newly-established sinking fund already begins to diminish her debt. By releasing capital from stock investments for terms of years, the facilities offered to general business by the competition of funds for employment are enhanced. This may operate in favor of New-York business. While the Boston money market is cramped, by the insatiable demands of railroads, for funds for permanent investment, the New-York dealers are freely supplied with the means of operating to advantage. The enterprise of Boston has thus, in some respects, outrun itself; by making too much haste, it makes less speed. There is undoubtedly now more means at the command of New-York to advance upon the produce of the West sent hither, and to influence that trade in this direction, which, in a different state of things, might have sought Boston. The operations of the Independent Treasury, large as they have been, have ceased to attract attention; and the most impudent cannot, in the present state of affairs, charge upon it any adverse influence. The amount now in hand at the New-York Assistant Treasury is $3,830,638, against $2.386,436 last year, and $5,291,554 at the same time in 1847. This sum of nearly four millions paid into the government vaults by the importers of goods in New-York, has already been repaid to them from the sales of the goods taxed. Hence, this money has not been drawn from the city from the pockets of the consumers of goods. The dividends of the Boston banks for the six months ending with October, show results as follows:

BOSTON BANK DIVIDENDS.

Year.	Capital	Dividends, April.	Dividends, October.	Total.	Per cent. per annum.
1846	$18,180,000	$593,000	$603,000	$1,196,000	6,57
1847	18,180,000	620,000	658,300	1,281,300	7 04
1848	18,920,000	702,800	725,550	1,428,350	7,52
1849	19,280,000	736,800	745,000	1,481,800	7,70

These dividends have constantly increased, as has also the bank capital; and it will be remembered, that although the rate of interest is limited in Massachusetts to 6 per cent., these institutions, chartered with special privileges as money-lenders, earn nearly 8 per cent. per annum; that is to say, the law forbids the individual to take more than 6 per cent., but chartered companies may take 8 per cent!

The New-York bank dividends have also been large; most of those which declare dividends in November, have made 5 per cent. The dividends for the first six months of 1849, on an aggregate capital of $24,457,890, was 4.14 per cent., or $991,494. This amount was increased for the last six months. The accumulation of deposits was so large with the institutions that the loaning of it raised their profits. It is time, however, that the mercantile community gave their attention to the subject of interest, and the present system of banking. The means with which the banks operate being mercantile deposits, why should not a mutual system be devised by which those deposits should be applied exclusively to mercantile wants?

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POLITICAL MISCELLANY.

THE FALL ELECTIONS.—The result of the fall elections everywhere evinces the awakening of the people from that singular apathy which enabled one clique of unprincipled politicians to defeat Gen. Cass, and another to elect Gen Taylor. The masses of the people seem all at once to have aroused themselves to the danger and disasters which threaten, in consequence of the ascendancy of Federal principles in the national councils, brought about by free-soil defection, and the Taylor delusion. The weakness and dishonesty of General Taylor, falsifying, as President, every pledge made by him as a candidate, together with the incapacity and unscrupulous corruption of those whom he has selected as advisers, and at whose narrow-minded and small rogueries he connives, have awakened a contempt in the public mind, singularly manifest in the Pennsylvania election. When that election was coming on, the chief magistrate did not blush to leave his official duties to go and stump the state, affording a most degrading example of official interference in local elections. The popular response has been an overwhelming majority against him. Precisely in those places where he exerted himself the most, his party has met with the greatest loss. When in Pittsburgh, he made a tariff speech; the consequence was, that his own majority of 3,521 in the county, has been reduced to one thousand. In every spot where he insulted the people by his presence his party lost ground, and the democratic canal commissioner carried the state by an immense majority. This untoward effect prevented his stumping New-York state as he had intended. The state will, nevertheless, regain her natural democratic position. The utter demoralization of the federal party, resulting from the election of Gen. Taylor, must of necessity restore the tone of the democracy. No thinking citizen will follow the fortunes of a party destitute of principle, and which shows itself ready, on all occasions, to abandon avowed policy for availability. The broad fact is everywhere recognized, that the Federal party never established a principle; on the other hand, the democracy have always triumphed in the cause of popular progress.

CANADA—The movement in Canada towards annexation to the United States proceeds with steadiness. At Montreal, on the 10th, a declaration in favor of annexation to the United States was drawn up, and in the short space of five hours, received the signatures of three hundred of the first merchants, land-holders and professional men—including two members of the Provincial Parliament, and two of the Queen's Counsel.

The advantages of a subordinate relation to Great Britain have passed away, and even the most superlatively loyal are fully prepared, we sincerely believe, to adapt themselves to, and accept, in good faith, the institutions under which they have seen their neighbors in the United States attain a degree of prosperity and social advancement infinitely supassing their own.

A new paper has been started to advocate the cause of independence, as preliminary to that of annexation. The New-York agent, Mr. R. R. Boyd, has put out a prospectus for subscriptions.

NEW MORMON STATE—DESERET.—It is known that the Mormon people, having penetrated the wilderness in search of a resting place, and being "headed" in their passage to the Pacific by the adventurers whom gold stimulated to settle California, located in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, and built the Mormon city, which, being two or three miles square, is located in a fine valley, 150 miles long by 20 or 30 broad, with a gradual descent to the lake—so much so that the whole may be, and much is, watered by the streams and rivers which

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issue from the high mountains above them. They have now about 6,000 inhabitants The city is laid out in large squares; and every man can and must have 1½ acres of land for garden use, which can be readily irrigated. The Mormons are a very regular, well-informed, well disposed and hospitable people. They are building a fine State-house, or Council-house, as they term it. Their dwellings are small—mostly made of sun-dried brick, with some few log huts, and are quite comfortable.

In February last, notice was given to all the citizens of that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada mountains, that a convention would be held at the Great Salt Lake City, on the 5th of March, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a territorial or state government.

Accordingly, on the day appointed the Convention met, "consisting of a large portion of the inhabitants of that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada mountains." Daniel Spencer was elected Chairman; William Clayton, Secretary; Thomas Bullock, Assistant Secretary; and Horace S. Eldridge, Marshal.

After several addresses, a committee of ten was appointed to draft a constitution, under which they could govern themselves until the Congress of the United States should otherwise provide.

COMMITTEE:

Alfred Carrington,	Joseph L. Haywood,
William W. Phelps,	David Fullmer,
John S Fullmer,	Charles C. Rich,
John Taylor,	Parley P. Pratt,
John M. Birnhisel,	Erastus Snow.

The Convention then adjourned to Thursday, the 8th, when they met to receive the report of the committee.

This report was then made, in the shape of a preamble and constitution for the government of the new state. The first clause is as follows:

"We, the people, grateful to the Supreme Being for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, and feeling our dependance on him for a continuation of those blessings, do ordain and establish a free and independent government, by the name of the State of Deseret, including all the following boundaries, to wit:—Commencing at the 33d deg. north latitude where it crosses the 108th deg. longitude, west of Greenwich; thence running south and west to the northern boundary of Mexico; thence west to and down the main channel of the Gila river, on the north line of Mexico, and on the northern boundary of Lower California, to the Pacific ocean; thence along the coast north westerly to the 118th deg. 30 min. of west longitude; thence north to where said line intersects the dividing ridge of the Sierra Nevada mountains; thence north along the summit of the Sierra Nevada mountains to the dividing range of mountains that separate the waters flowing into the Columbia river from the waters running into the Great Basin; thence easterly along the dividing range of mountains that separate said waters flowing into the Columbia river on the north from the waters flowing into the Great Basin on the south, to the summit of Wind river chain of mountains: thence south-east and south by the dividing range of mountains that separate the waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico from the waters flowing into the Gulf of California, to the place of beginning, as set forth in a map drawn by Charles Preuss, and published by order of the Senate of the United States, in 1843."

The powers of the government are then divided into three departments—Legislative, Executive and Judicial.

The article in relation to the Legislative Department is not essentially different from the constitution of the several states. Members are required to be free, white male citizens of the United States, and to take an oath to support the constitution thereof. The first Senate is to consist of seventeen members, and the House of thirty-five members.

In the Executive Department provision is made for the election of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor of Public Accounts, and Treasurer. The judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court and such inferior

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tribunals as the Legislature shall establish. A Chief Justice and two associates compose the Supreme Court.

The fifth article provides for the election of all the officers named in the constitution, on the first Monday of May, [last] and for a vote for, or against the adoption of the constitution; "and if a majority of all the legal votes shall be in favor of its adoption, the same shall take effect from and after said election."

In the Declaration of Rights, it is declared—"that all men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, and the General Assembly shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or disturbing any person in his religious worship or sentiments—provided he does not disturb the public peace, nor obstruct others in their religious worship."

This Constitution was adopted on the 10th of March, 1849.

The first General Assembly met on the 2d of July.

Speaker of the House.
MILLIARD SNOW.

Clerk.
FREDERICK CARRINGTON.

Assistant-Clerk.
JOHN D. LEE.

Sergeant-at-Arms.
GEORGE D. GRANT.

After the organization, the Chairman announced to the House, that a majority of all the votes of the people had been given for the adoption of the constitution. The following persons were announced as elected State officers:

Governor.
BRIGHAM YOUNG.

Lieutenant-Governor.
HEBER C. KEMBALL.

Secretary of State.
WILLIAM RICHARDS.

Auditor of Public Accounts.
WILLIAM CLAYTON.

Treasurer.
JOSEPH S. HAYWOOD.

On the 3d, a resolution was passed providing for a joint committee to memoralize Congress for a State or Territorial government, which was afterwards reported and adopted,

On the 5th inst., according to previous resolutions, the Legislature met in joint session, and proceeded to ballot for a Delegate and Representative to Congress, when Almon W. Babbitt, Esq, having received a majority of all the votes, was declared duly elected.

On the 9th, the Legislature adjourned *sine die*. Before doing so, they adopted a memorial to Congress, in which they set forth the reasons which have induced them to organize a state government. They cite the failure of Congress to provide a government for the territory acquired from Mexico, the abrogation of the Mexican law, the anarchy which has followed; "the revolver and the bowie-knife, (they say) have been the highest law of the land; the strong have prevailed against the weak—while persons, property, character and religion have been unaided, and virtue unprotected." Finally, they represent that there is now a sufficient number of inhabitants residing within the State of Deseret to support a state government and to relieve the general government from the expense of a Territorial government; and they therefore ask that the constitution accompanying this memorial be ratified, and that the State of Deseret be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the other states, or that such form of government may be given to them as may be deemed expedient; and that their delegate may be received, and their interests properly represented in the Congress of the United States.

Not a word is said in the constitution about slavery, or the Wilmot Proviso, such things not having entered into the imaginations of the law-givers as important for their welfare, and intriguing politicians do not yet stir up local strife upon

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abstractions. The constitution will be pressed upon Congress, and, if ratified, two new Senators and a Representative will soon appear in that body from the State of Deseret—a state which was without a settled inhabitant four years ago, and which is some twenty-five hundred miles from the seat of the Federal Government. The new state is quaintly styled the "State of Deseret," which implies, according to the Mormon history and interpretation, the "honey bee," and is significant of industry and the kindred virtues.

California—The convention for framing the constitution of California, preparatory to its admission into the Union, met at Monterey, on the 31st August. The original number of delegates, as fixed by the proclamation of Gen. Riley, was thirty-seven. To this, the proclamation requested each District to add such number of supernumeraries as might by them be deemed just by reason of their increased population. The District of San Francisco, Sacramento, and Pueblo de San Jose, have responded to this suggestion by electing supernumeraries, as follows:—In San Francisco, 5; in Sacramento, 6; in Pueblo de San Jose, 3. Total, 14.

If we presume that these delegates will be admitted to seats in the convention, that body will then consist of fifty-one. To this may probably be added five or six supernumeraries from the District of San Joaquin, which will make the whole number of delegates fifty-six. The composition of the body, as far as known, is as follows:—

District of San Francisco.—Regular—Edw. Gilbert, Myron Norton, Wm. M. Gwin, Joseph Hobson, Wm. M. Steuart. *Supernumeraries*—W. D. M. Howard, Francis J. Lippitt, A. J. Ellis, Francisco Sanchez, Rodman M. Price.

District of San Jose.—Regular—Joseph Aram, K. H. Dimmick, J. D. Hoppe, Antonio M. Pico, Elam Brown. *Supernumeraries*—Pedro Sansevain, Julian Hanks, A. M. Pico.

District of Monterey.—Regular—H. Wager Halleck, Thomas O. Larkin, Lewis S. Dent, Charles T. Botts, Pacificus Ord.

District of Sonoma.—Regular—Joel P. Walker, Robert Semple, L. W. Boggs, M. G. Vallejo.

District of San Diego.—Regular—Miguel de Pedrorena, Henry Hill. *Supernumeraries*—Cave J. Couts, John Forster, William Richardson.

Art Unions—It is proverbial with individuals that prosperity is harder to bear than adversity, and it would seem that corporations and states are amenable to the same rule. Under the able and disinterested management of several public-spirited gentlemen, the American Art-Union has become a powerful institution. The worthiness of its object, and the general esteem entertained of its managers, have filled its sails with the breath of popular well-wishes, and it has not ceased to prosper. As is always the case, success has produced emulation, and an International Art-Union has been started. All institutions of this nature are open to criticism, and the moment that the disposition to criticise becomes aroused, enough to find fault with can always be discovered. By some unfortunate means this disposition to find fault has been awakened. The natural censoriousness of mankind, which has slumbered in respect of the American Art-Union, has most unfortunately been directed towards the International, and as a consequence has produced reaction against the American Art-Union. The most unseemly recriminations have degenerated, in some quarters, into gross personalities against estimable citizens. We are pleased to know that those gentlemen to whom the American Art-Union owes its success, have not consented to lower the dignity of their position by entering the arena, either to detract from a worthy rival, or to pronounce judgment upon an unworthy one.

Fair of the American Institute.—This attractive Fair, held at the Castle Garden of New-York, has been open during the month of October. While it has given evidence of the great and increasing skill in the mechanical arts among

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our countrymen, it also operates as a sort of exchange, where ideas are interchanged and the mind enlarged upon subjects of practical usefulness. No one can visit the Fair without being struck with the gross absurdity of those who pretend that American skill and industry are dependent for existence and success upon the paltry laws of Congress and the ridiculous theories of protectionists. For our part, when we look around and see the multipled samples of American ingenuity, we feel a spirit of exultation rising within us, at the independence of American labor. It owes naught to the silly cobweb theories of politicians. It stands on its own broad and impregnable foundation of superior genius in conception and skill in execution. We hope that, as the great Fairs of Europe are instrumental in bringing together merchants from every quarter of the world, who fix, by competition, the prices of staple commodities, the number and importance of Fairs will multiply here, promoting a perfect intercourse among industrial interests, until, ultimately, they will overcome their great enemy, which is not foreign competition, but the devouring operation of private capital at home.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

1.—The Works of Michael De Montaigne; comprising his Essays, Letters and Journey through Germany and Italy; with Notes from all the Commentators, Biographical and Bibliographical Notices, &c., &c. By William Hazlitt. J. W. Moore, 193 Chesnut-street, Philadelphia.

This edition of the immortal confabulations of "the dead old Gascon gentleman," does great credit to the publisher, and is very acceptable to the reading public. The translation is that of Cotton, than which none can be more agreeable, with emendations by the editor, Mr. Hazlitt. In those occasional passages where the sense of the author was not fully rendered, the original meaning has been restored. It is, doubtless, to that rare intelligence and kindliness of heart, which placed the great writer centuries ahead of his time, that his continued popularity may be ascribed; although his unrestrained vivacity, energy and liveliness, must be always attractive. The father of the modern essayists, he has scarcely been equalled by the numerous authors that, in three hundred successive years, have followed in his train. There is an inexpressible power and frankness in his *talking* at once convincing and agreeable—the more so, when we reflect, that he was the first to open the world of philosophy to the unlettered public, and to divest of superfluous mystery, that humanity, of whom he was so profound an observer, and which occupied so large a space in the benevolence of his character. The present beautiful edition, we doubt not, will have a wide circulation, provided as it is with a complete analytical index, and an index of the authors quoted by Montaigne.

2.—Cooper's Works—The Pilot; A Tale of the Sea By the author of "the Spy," &c., &c. Revised, Corrected and Illustrated; with a new Introduction, Notes, &c. By the author. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

This is the second volume of the very acceptable series of Standard American Works, issued by Mr. Putnam, uniform with the standard edition of Irving. The "Pilot," on its first appearance, met with universal favor, and became the model for a large class of sea stories, a taste for which was awakened in the public mind by the grace and vividness with which Mr. Cooper introduced his seamen to the reading public. In the present preface he informs us, that the admirable story was the result of an impulse derived from conversation with a friend, whose unqualified praise of Scott's Pirate, roused in the author the desire to produce a story founded on accurate seamanship. Certainly no works in the United States or Europe have been more deservedly popular. The standard edition of Mr. Putnam is that which must grace every library.

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3.—Saroni's Musical Times. Saroni & Co., 258 Broadway.

This is a weekly paper devoted to musical interests as well as those of the fine arts generally, and appears to be conducted with much ability. It contains, each week, music by the last masters, arranged with taste.

4.—History of the French Revolution of 1848. By A. De Lamartine. Translated by F. A Durrivage and William S. Chase. First American edition. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

M. Lamartine is certainly among the most remarkable men of the age. Called by circumstances to take a leading part in the regeneration of France, he won, in the first few weeks of power, an ascendancy over the public mind, superior to that ever before exercised by a single individual. The elections of May, 1848, showed almost a unanimous response in his favor from 36,000,000 of people, whom he rescued from anarchy, and governed without other authority than that which springs from necessity. These great results were produced by a few well-turned phrases, happily timed. The ability to utter phrases seems, however, to comprehend the whole of M. Lamartine's faculties. Having gained the confidence of the wild revolutionists for the moment, it was easy to give an impulse to affairs in the right direction, indicated by the popular voice. The moment, however, that the hopes excited in time of anarchy were sought to be fulfilled, and the people who had set aside monarchy demanded to realize, visibly, the benefits of the Republic, the self-constituted government fell miserably short of its mission; and, from the most popular man in the nation, M. Lamartine became the most contemptible individual in the community. A man of excessive vanity, absolute ignorance of human nature, and abandoned to impulse, but possessed of great beauty of language and of personal courage, he was far better for a crisis than for the material duties of statesmanship. His book on the Revolution is, however, one of the most valuable of the day. It is the freshly written notes of the chief actor in that extraordinary drama, in which a government, established by eighteen years' successful reign, apparently as firmly seated as any then in Europe, was in a few hours subverted —the first capital in Europe made a prey to anarchy, out of which, in a most miraculous manner, a poet and a few journalists formed a provisional authority, which restored order, and saved society until the will of the nation should be expressed. The authority of these men rested alone on their recognition by a few insurgents who had taken possession of the Chamber of Deputies, and affected to speak for France. The only excuse for the movement was necessity. The evil was, that none of these men understood the nature of a Republic—and, least of all, the means of its application to a nation like France. Those of the most just ideas were of the least firmness, and they gradually gave way to the energy of the more unscrupulous, dissolute and reckless members of the government. These, by their follies and wickedness, disgusted a people who, having a predilection for free institutions, but ignorant of their aspect, were presented with the most extravagant corruption, and the most destructive licentiousness, allied to open villainy and bad faith, as things that were promised in the name of political freedom. Universal suffrage was illustrated in the ridiculous letter of a miserable strumpet, issuing from the Home Department, authorising the packing of the ballot-boxes. It was little wonder that monarchy found the means of reaction in the dissatisfaction created by these mountebanks, or that republican progress should yet await in France the leaderships of more honest friends of the people.

5.—Iconographic Encyclopædia of Science, Literature and Art; systematically arranged, by G Heck. With five hundred steel engravings, by the most distinguished artists of Germany. The text translated and edited by Spencer F. Baird, A. M., M.D., Professor of Natural Sciences in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. Rudolph Garrigue, publisher, 2 Barclay-street, Astor House, New-York.

This great and valuable work is to be produced in twenty-five monthly numbers, each of eighty pages letter-text, and twenty engravings, done in the most exquisite style. The letter-press, of the royal octavo size does, in its typographical appearance, the highest credit to the enterprising publishers.

The Iconographic Encyclopædia will embrace (in a series of 500 quarto steel engravings, and upwards of 2000 pages of letter-press in large 8vo.) all the branches of human knowledge which can be illustrated by pictorial representations, viz.—1. Mathematics. 2. Natural and Medical Sciences. 3. Geography. 4. Ethnology. 5. Military Sciences. 6. Naval Sciences. 7. Architecture. 8. Mythology, &c. 9. The Fine Arts. 10. Technology, with all their respective subdivisions. There can be no question but

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such a work, appealing to the eye in so agreeable a form, is admirably suited to the public taste at this moment, when the physical sciences are so rapidly gaining favor. As a work of reference, it is unsurpassed in beauty and utility, and must be indispensable to every library, being, in fact, a library in itself, in the choicest, most comprehensive, and useful form.

6.—Clarence; or, a Tale of our Own Times. By the author of "Hope Leslie." Author's revised edition. George P. Putnam. 155 Broadway.

This volume is in appearance uniform with the standard edition of Irving's works and of Cooper's, commenced by Mr. Putnam. The authoress in her preface informs us, that the selection of "Clarence," which has been considered inferior to her earlier productions, as the first of the new edition, was accidental, and that the others will follow in due course. That is, we suppose, (and we trust it will be the case,) if the sale of the edition promises well. It is now nearly twenty years since "Clarence" first made its appearance, and it was then received with great favor. Since that time the public taste has undergone a considerable change, and perhaps not for the better. The licentious novels of Geo. Sand, and others of the French school, with their sophistical philosophy, shallow philanthropy, and attractive vice, have imparted a morbid desire for excitement, that has more or less vitiated the public taste, and we fear, rendered less attractive the American spirit, moral tone, and amiable philosophy, which distinguish the works of Miss Sedgwick, clothed though they are with a grace of style, the want of which, in some of the foreign works to which we allude, is supplied with rose-colored vice. We trust, however, that the picturesque delineations of New-England manners will not, in our moral and sober-minded community, be abandoned for the tinsel of British society, or the glare of Parisian vice.

7.—The Little Savage. By Captain Marryatt, R. N. Harper Brothers.

This story, by the popular writer, is of a boy cast upon a desolate island, and left to his own resources. The story is in the main interesting, but full of singular incongruities; as an instance of which, the book opens by the hero stating, that his first recollections were being, at about the age of five years, upon a desolate island, with a man of morose and taciturn habit, who seldom spoke, and replied to repeated questions with a blow.

"I should imagine that I was about five years old at the time I first recollect what passed. I may have been younger. I may as well here state what I gathered from him at different times relative to our being left upon this desolate spot. It was with difficulty that I did so; for, generally speaking, he would throw a stone at me if I asked questions, that is, if I repeatedly asked them after he had refused to answer. It was on one occasion, when he was lying sick, that I gained the information, and that only by refusing to attend him, or bring him food and water. He told me that about twelve years before, (not that I knew what he meant by a year, for I had never heard the term used by him) an English ship (I did not know what a ship was) had been swamped near the island in a heavy gale," &c.

Now, here is a child, five years old, on a desolate island, where it had been borne, so ignorant as not to know the meaning of the words "ship" and "year," yet so anxious to know how it came on that desolate island, as to encounter threats and blows to procure this information. Under such circumstances, how did it know that the island was desolate, or that there was any other portion of the globe less so? This wonderful abstract knowledge is the more apparent from the affectation of ignorance in other matters; and this silly—profound style, is that which mostly charactorise the writings of Marryatt, whose works are nevertheless popular.

8.—The History of Pendennis; his fortunes, misfortunes, his friends, and his greatest enemy. By W. M. Thackeray, author of "Vanity Fair," &c. Harper Brothers.

This highly interesting work, by this popular author, is being published in illustrated numbers by the Messrs. Harper. It is possessed of all that surpassing interest and wonderful knowledge of London society, so conspicuous in "Vanity Fair." There is a quaintness of humour and a *non chalant* recklessness running through the story, which keeps the reader perfectly at ease with himself, and confident of an unflagging interest in his acquaintance with the tale. In force of imagination and manliness of conception, as well as vigor of delineation, Mr. Thackeray surpasses most of the other London novel writers, not excepting Dickens, whose insufferable conceit and affectation destroy the effect of some of his finest passages.

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9.—Frank Forrester's Fish and Fishing of the United States and British Provinces of North America, Illustrated. By W. H. Herbert, author of Field Sports, &c. Stringer & Townsend, New-York.

This is a very elegant volume, from the press of Messrs. Stringer & Townsend, and does great credit in its appearance to those enterprising publishers. We, however, regard with small respect that perfection of idleness called fishing, and more particularly that frivolous wisdom and laborious indolence called "scientific fishing." It is the miserable resource of a roué and decayed English gentry, brought up to regard with contempt every useful employment, to eschew every means of advancing the human race, or promoting the general welfare. It would seem that these persons try every employment by one test only, viz.: "is it useful? does it in any degree tend to profitable results, mental or physical?" If it is convicted of any such tendency it is promptly voted a bore, decidedly vulgar, and not what can be called "scientific." Fortunately there are in this country but very few persons who take an interest in such unmeaning and idle pursuits; nor does there exist a class of aristocracy who are privileged for their idle amusement to set at nought the rights and interests of the people. Thus, the author of the compilation before us coolly laments, that in the northern and eastern states, "the jealousy of the farmers in regard to trespass on their lands, and the breaking of their fences, combine to render it (fox hunting) impracticable." The English of which is, that, in this "damned democratic" country, a gentleman may not ride down a field of grain, destroy fences, and ruin property with impunity in the pursuit of his pleasure. Several attempts have been made to apply English notions of "scientific fishing and gunning" to American streams and fields, but without any success. There are very many gentlemen, who, in the relaxation of the summer months, both 'gun' and 'fish;' but we have ever found that the most successful of these regard with unmitigated contempt the barren "science" of English books upon the subject—more particularly when those books are but impudent compilations from irrelevant works.

10.—Wordsworth's Poems.—The Excursion. By William Wordsworth. C. S. Francis & Co.

The influence of the genius of Wordsworth, in correcting the poetic taste of the age by weaning it from the pompous inanities that marked the close of the last century, and enlisting the sympathies, feelings and tastes in favor of nature and that kindly philanthropy which does honor to human nature, has been immense. While the influence of nature upon man was his theme, he was frequently as just as profound. In a late number of Blackwood, Christopher North (Professor Wilson) remarks of Wordsworth's poetry, that "it stands distinct in the world. That which to other men, is an occasional pleasure, or possible delight, and to other parts an occasional transport, the *seeing this visible universe* is to him a life—one individual human life—viz., his own—travelling its whole journey from the cradle to the grave; and that life—for what else could he do with it? he has verified, sung, and there is no other such song." The "Excursion," by far the noblest production of the author, was first printed in 1814, and contains passages of sentiment, description and pure eloquence, not excelled by any living poet. The principal character is a poor Scottish pedlar, who traverses the mountains in company with the poet, and is made to discourse with profound philosophy of the beauty and grandeur of nature. The edition of Messrs. Francis & Co. is a very beautiful one, and we doubt not but that the taste of the public will encourage the reproduction of others of the sterling writers of the language.

11.—Shakspeare's Dramatic Works; with introduction, remarks and notes, original and selected—Illustrated. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

The first number of this magnificent edition has come to hand, containing the "Tempest" complete, embellished with a beautiful steel engraving of Miranda. The edition is based on the text of that of 1623, with the notes of Mr. Singer, abridged in some respects, and extended and improved in others. The typographical appearance is very fine, and the large size of the type is very acceptable to *readers* of Shakspeare. The project of the edition is to publish semi-monthly numbers, each adorned with a steel engraving, and containing a play, complete, at 25 cents per number, an incredibly low price for the expensive and beautiful style in which they are produced.

12.—Commercial Relations with Foreign Countries; with a Synopsis of the Laws regulating the Foreign and Coasting Trade of the United States. John B. Satterthwaite, Wm. R. Brown, New-York Custom House.

This little work is most valuable—that gives at a glance a view of the laws regulating our intercourse with all nations. It is indispensable to the ship-master and merchant. The work is compiled by Joseph T. Talman, Esq., Deputy collector.

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13—The History of the United States of America, from the discovery of the Continent to the Organization of Government under the Federal Constitution. By Richard Hildreth. 3 vols. Harper Brothers.

The history by Mr. Hildreth has already acquired deserved reputation for the comprehensiveness of its facts, and the clear and attractive style in which the narrative is given. So comprehensive and accurate are the details of the story, accompanied by a complete analytical index, as to make a complete book of reference to all matters, facts and incidents, connected with the subject. This feature, of itself, would be an immense acquisition to any library, did not its literary merits and attractive style interest the general reader. The mere series of events does not alone occupy the author, but collateral subjects of more general interest are treated in an able, philosophic manner, while a romantic interest is thrown around them. The fullest information in respect to the aboriginal occupants of the soil is given with the various origin and character of the first colonists from Europe, and the ideas and modes of organization which they brought with them; the administrative, legislative, judicial, and ecclesiastical systems of the several Colonies and States; the origin and gradual developement of our existing codes of laws; slavery; indented service; religious sects; freedom of conscience, and religious equality; education; arts; manufactures; navigation; trade; the paper money system in all its forms and modifications; civil divisions, especially the boundaries of the States, when and how they became fixed as they are; the relations of the English Colonies to the mother country, to each other, to the Indian tribes, and to the neighboring Spanish and French settlements; the breach with the mother country; the Continental Congress; the Continental army and navy; the articles of confederation; the national administrative departments; the public debt; foreign and Indian relations; the State Governments; the Federal Constitution; including a full analysis of the debates of the Convention by which that famous instrument was framed. The table of authorities given at the close of the volumes, presents a broad field for enquiries for those who wish to pursue the extensive research which characterises Mr. Hildreth's work. The three volumes which compose the history are admirably got up, and do credit even to the world-renowned typography of the Messrs. Harper.

14.—Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt, Attorney General of the United States. By John P. Kennedy. Lea & Blanchard.

This is one of the most valuable books of the season—certainly one of the most interesting books ever published in this country.

Although Mr. Wirt was by no means a politician, his memoirs have peculiar attractions for young men, from the hints in which they abound concerning public life and public men, and the interesting personal incidents, anecdotes, &c. &c., which have been interwoven with the narrative. The editor, the Hon. J. P. Kennedy, has evidently had access to a very great variety of useful material, and has well performed the compilation and selection of the very agreeable letters of Mr. Wirt. If he had omitted his own, far from opportune or profound remarks upon those party organizations to which Mr. Wirt was a stranger, the interest and value of the work would in no degree have been lessened. The work is, notwithstanding, one which should be in the hands of every young man in the country. Its intrinsic interest will insure it a very general popularity.

Want of space in the present number excludes several extracts which have been reserved for the next number. They will be found highly entertaining.

15.—Posthumous Works of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D., LL. D. Edited by Rev. William Hanna, LL. D.

16.—Institutes of Theology. Vol. vii. Harper Brothers.

These two volumes of the Institutes of Theology, comprise vols. 7 and 8 of the edition of the Posthumous Works of Dr. Chalmers, and they are probably of most interest to the general reader. The rare energy of his mind, and the singular power of multiplying views of the ideas he presents, are well illustrated in these volumes.

17.—Success in Life. A series of books, six in number—each complete in itself. The Successful Merchant, Lawyer, Mechanic, Artist, Physician, Farmer. To consist of biography, anecdotes, &c. By Mrs. L. C. Tuthill. G. P. Putnam.

This little volume illustrates by examples from real life, the means by which the eminent of all professions have reached superiority in the paths they have chosen, and is designed to point the way to the young mind, and to stimulate energy in pursuing it.

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THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

AND

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

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THE NEW-YORK ELECTION.

Amidst its sweeping march to victory, in all quarters, the Democratic party has had to sustain an unexpected defeat in the great State of New-York. The disappointment naturally felt at this result, was vastly increased by the extraordinary contrast exhibited in almost all other elections throughout the Union. The results of these had equally surprised both parties, exhibiting so much earlier than was expected, by the most sanguine, a complete recovery from the popular delusion, which induced many of the Democratic states to abandon the party nominee, allured by the false glare of a meretricious military reputation inciting even our southern neighbours to elect a vice President, whose abolitionism was veiled in the delirium of Taylorism. This recovery we had, even in the darkest hour, regarded as certain and inevitable. The reasonless clamor in favor of an isolated individual, who had no sympathies with any of the cliques, which agreed in nothing but to wriggle into office under the wing of General Taylor, could not last. For this motley crowd of mercenary partizans, the moment of success was the moment of mutual disgust. The elevation of the instrument of their cupidity, only served to show in bolder relief to the mass of his adherents, the nothingness of his pretensions. Those who aided directly in such a triumph have not been slow to make amends, by electing a democratic congress in both branches. Without enumerating all the states, the elections of which afford the strongest condemnation of the administration, if Pennsylvania, Georgia, Louisiana, and Maryland, came round of their own accord, to manifest their disappointment and chagrin at the administration of General Taylor in one overwhelming vote for the opposition, what might not have been expected of New-York! The results of the election, as it is, show that the undivided strength of the democracy presents a majority of some 25,000 votes in the state; that is to say—if the votes of all those who adhere to the democratic policy, in the state and federal administrations, were brought out unitedly in support of a single ticket, there is no manner of doubt but their strength exceeds that of their federal opponents by at least 25,000. Yet with this power at its command, we find a federal vote diminished by mutual disgusts between its several sections,

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sufficient to place the destinies of the state in the hands of those men who have frequently jeopardised its interests, and once carried it to the brink of insolvency. This result has presented itself, notwithstanding, that in most other states, party divisions have been healed, and the democracy has resumed its ascendancy. When it was proposed to unite the party in New-York—a high wrought anticipation of triumph was manifest, which has given place to expressions of doubt and alarm, at the very time when the general issue of all the elections exhibits one of the most substantial of party triumphs—establishing the ascendancy of the democratic policy in the federal administrations on a high ground of impregnable security, which certainly, a year ago, we had not ventured to dream of so soon attaining. However, the very contrast of the exception of New-York, will serve to bring out into bolder relief the peculiar causes to which alone it can be ascribed; and thus to strengthen the moral of political truth to be derived from it.

It would be unnecessary to dwell upon the means which were strained to the utmost, by the opposite party, to carry the election, rendered more important to the administration in that some relief was indispensable from the universal condemnation of its conduct, which reached Washington from every quarter of the Union. This election was confessedly the last chance of the party. This lost, and every shadow of hope or inducement to prolong the struggle was gone. The activity of those interested in supporting the administration was great, and made effective by a lavish expenditure of money, raised by heavy contributions, here and at Washington, on those best able and most interested in the result. The mode in which such an influence was made to bear effectively on the election, was simple in its means, and grand in its combination. An admirable organization by districts throughout the state, guided by knowledge of men open to influences, and the allotment of their application to suitable local committees, was made effective by use of money, and aided by appeals to local prejudices, through such factitious documents as that of the Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles, in relation to the state financial policy. In considering these facts, the question recurs, why was not the democratic party, in view of its superior strength, triumphant in spite of all these opposing elements? Why did not those great popular principles, now that they are recognised as sound by thousands, who formerly voted against them, suffice as in former elections, to reassure the ascendancy of their advocates? The answer is to be found in the internal weakness of the party itself, proceeding from long and deeply operating influences. The immediate cause it is true, was total want of organization. Formerly, when internal dissensions had not disturbed the energies of active men, some 16,000 local working committees might have been counted, where this year there was not one. A long deferred attempt at union had occupied men's minds, down to the moment of conflict; and while the irritating discussion, combined with the selfish obstinacy of certain leaders, had prevented preparation for the polls, there was no hearty and frank acceptance of the conditions of union, such as was necessary to awaken and confirm confidence in mutual good faith. Weakness, vacillation, and above all, any liability to the mere suspicion of double dealing, could not but be fatal at such a period. It is always a mistake to attempt to unite, where a party has suffered defeats through the defection of any portion of its members who may choose to recede, from any cause, from the main body. The only

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true policy is to reconstruct from the foundation anew. Instead of attempting a *quasi* compromise between the conflicting opinions in the democratic party itself, the great principles involved in the administration of the government, and which were always the guides to power, should be thoroughly probed and discussed, and such progress made in a radical direction as embraces the rights of all members of the Union, and sacrifices the equality of none for impossible abstractions. The crisis through which the party is now passing is not dissimilar to that of 1837–9. At that period the democracy had held too long and too absolute a control of the state, and had by no means been exempt from the corrupting influence upon the purity of its first principles, incident upon too certain a tenor of power. A complete stirring-up of all the elements of its composition had become necessary. A long course of erroneous legislation had built up a stupendous fabric of chartered interests, interwoven with the party organization, and supported by a rigorous application of official patronage. The gradual enlightenment of the public mind upon the evils of class legislation, and the necessity of extending the elective franchise, had made reform necessary. The existence of these elements for a long period had arrayed one half the voters in implacable opposition to that organization popularly known as "the Regency." Thus placed, that organization had run its course. It was at the mercy of any section of its own numbers, however small, that chose to secede. Its long and arbitrary use of power had destroyed or driven into the ranks of the opposition any neutral body that might, under other circumstances, have furnished recruits to replace its seceding members. And such a defection produced the overwhelming defeat of 1837. The mistaken idea was then indulged in respect to the conservatives, as last year, in relation to the free-soilers, that such a body, with all the motives, interests, and feelings which had attended their secession, could possibly be brought back to a sound and healthy reunion. The error then was expiated in the overthrow of the administration of Governor Marcy and in the predominance of Whig rule, until the recurrence to sound principles, and the avowal of a uniform practical policy, on which the party was entirely reconstituted, again restored it to power in 1842, and the renewed adhesiveness of the party produced the triumph of 1844. These two triumphs, viz: that of the state in 1842, and of the National Democracy in 1844, definitively settled, as the state and national policy, those leading principles for which the party had so often rallied, and in defence of which they had so often triumphed. The divorce of bank and state, the *ad valorem* revenue tariff principle, and the re-annexation of Texas, were all consummated past the power of faction to defeat. In New-York, the debt-paying and anti-monopoly policy, with the decentralization of the executive power, were established at the election of 1842, and consolidated in the constitution of 1846. The adhesiveness which the advocacy of these fundamental principles had imparted to the democracy was much loosened when they were established beyond the reach of partisan attack. There was no longer any principle at stake in favor of, and against which both parties were uncompromisingly committed, and the door was open for the intrigues of faction. Thus, previous to the revulsion of 1836, the stupendous pyramid of chartered interests built up in New-York could not be charged to the exclusive errors of either party, both having participated in it; and before the full current of public opinion had been directed against the

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monopoly system, the adherence to those interests formed that pretext for a bolting faction, the secession of which overthrew the democratic ascendancy. In the same manner that the federalist party was ever in favor of chartered rights, they always opposed extension of territory, and as a means for preventing that extension, advocated, what is called "free soil." The democratic party, on the other hand, adhering to the advice of Washington, never to raise sectional questions, as party issues, and listening to the warning of Jefferson against "free soil," applied to Missouri, which, in his own words, "like a *fire bell in the night*, has awakened and filled me with terror," and following the admonitions of Jackson against "the detestable efforts to alienate one portion of the country from the rest," had always frowned down the slavery agitation. At a meeting held in Albany, of which the most active members were Gen. John Dix and Mr. John Van Buren, the former gentleman declared—

"The union of the states, which under Providence has conferred the richest lessings on the people, was the result of compromise and conciliation; that we can only hope to obtain it by abstaining from all interference with the laws, domestic policy, and peculiar interests of every other state; and that all such inrerference, which tends to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, deserves to be frowned upon with indignation by all who cherish the principles of our revolutionary fathers, and who desire to preserve the constitution by the exercise of that spirit of amity which actuated its framers." * *

"As a fundamental condition of our social existence, that the question of slavery in a slave-holding state shall not be disturbed by the people or government of any other state; and that the general government has no control over it;" but he held that "there was a political obligation, arising out of the compromise of interests, in which the foundations of the Union were laid, *to abstain from every species of interference* which may tend to disturb the domestic quietude, or put in jeopardy the rights of property, which the constitution was designed to secure."

Now, as this question had never been made an issue, and was therefore not identified in the minds of men with party allegiance, it furnished to the seceding faction at the Baltimore convention the pretext for bolting, and the subsequent defeats of the democracy are the result. It is undoubtedly the case that the major proportion of the people of the free states, probably all, are opposed to slavery as they are to idolatry, and to the colored race, bond or free; yet, mindful of the obligations imposed by our glorious constitution, they refuse to make religious or moral opinions the test for political support. In the city of New-York, the strength of the faction that sought to apply that test is very small, but their talent at intrigue, activity, and unscrupulous command of means are great, and they induced the democratic party to commit the error of attempting to reunite. They had defeated the party by adopting a Whig principle, and some of their most active men had the audacity to solicit Whig influences for their retention in office, on the ground that it was their defection from the democratic party that really elected General Taylor, and that therefore they were entitled at least to the wages of treason; yet they demanded to be restored to the democratic party on equal terms, and their propositions were weakly listened to. It could not reasonably be supposed that those staunch democratic voters, who had supported regular nominations through good report and through evil report, would rally strongly to the support of men to whose defection the defeat of the regular candidates was alone to be ascribed. Ten thou-

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sand democrats in office last March have been proscribed and turned out, solely in consequence of the defection of those men who now called upon them for their votes, and those votes not in favor of any great principle for which the true-hearted democracy always rally, notwithstanding treason and disaster, but simply and merely to confer office upon those who had deprived them of it. On Christian principles they should have done this; but unfortunately, as yet, elections are not conducted on Christian principles.

In addition to the want of organization which prevented a proper development of the state vote after an attempt at union had been made, the manner of the union was such as to bear the aspect of a palpable fraud, and thus to keep from the polls many whose activity was paralysed by fear of deception. The pretext for the split in the party had been "free soil," which was not recognised by the democracy as a political test, whatever might be the opinions of the individual candidates in regard to it. Its profession as a "principle" was everywhere understood as a pledge to the support of Mr. Van Buren for office—it was neither more nor less;—of course, an indispensable preliminary to union, in an election which at least pretended to respect popular wishes, was the abandonment of such a pledge. Mr. Van Buren himself would not have the temerity to place his name directly before the people for an election; but the election to office of men pledged to "free soil" was, in fact, electing men pledged to send Mr. Van Buren to the National Senate in place of those democrats who have so nobly represented the state in that body. Finally, a convention of the democracy met at Syracuse, nominated a ticket, and passed the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That the Democratic State Committee be authorized to withdraw any of the nominees presented by this Convention, except those for Comptroller, Attorney-General, Canal Commissioner, and State Prison Inspector, provided the Utica Convention ratify those names, and complete the ticket by nominating well-known and acknowledged democrats as candidates for Judge of the Court of Appeals, Secretary of State, Treasurer, and State Engineer, *and shall impose no principle or test upon said candidates inconsistent with the resolutions adopted by the Democratic Convention held in the Presbyterian Church at Rome:* and that the ticket thus nominated receive the united support of both divisions of the democratic party."

This resolution was accepted by the Utica Convention, and the nominations it permitted as a condition of the waiving of the "test," were made in accordance with it. The "free-soil" Utica Convention adjourned to Syracuse, and framed the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That Congress has the constitutional power over slavery in the District of Columbia, and has no power over the subject in the States. That it possesses, in our opinion, full power over the subject in the territories of the United States, and should exert that power on all occasions of attempts to introduce it there; but *as the constitutional power is questioned, we are willing to tolerate the free exercise of individual opinion upon that question, among members of the democratic family who are willing to rally under one standard* and support the ticket nominated by the recent State Conventions."

This undoubtedly contained a covert fraud. They were willing to "tolerate individual opinion" in those who voted for free-soil candidates. But while it thus accepts votes for Van Buren candidates, it does not agree to give a hearty support to the other nominees. It was evidently intended, however, to convey the idea that in waiving the test in regard to voters

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it was waived also in regard to candidates; and at the ratification meetings that idea only was recognised, viz: that there was to be no test. In gross, open, and contemptuous disregard of this rule of action, as well as of public opinion, the Lockport Committee chose to carry out Mr. Van Buren's threat contained in his speech in the Utica Convention, where he declared that "if the candidates did not rightly respond to queries on the slavery subject, they would be defeated by one hundred thousand majority," and addressed the following "test" questions to the state candidates:

"Dear Sir,—We, the undersigned, are desirous of a perfect union of the democratic party of this State upon principle; at the same time, we do not wish to disguise that, in our opinion, there is great danger that the schemes now on foot to extend slavery into the territories lately acquired from Mexico will be successful, and that such success would cause lasting injury and disgrace to our whole country. One of the means used to accomplish this, to us, dreaded end, *is the inculcation of the doctrine that Congress has no constitutional power to prohibit slavery in our territories*—a political heresy which is, in our opinion, opposed to the plain provisions of the constitution, the decisions of the Supreme Court, and the uniform course and practice of our national government.

"We would, therefore, respectfully request your opinion—

"1st. As to the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories belonging to the United States.

"2d. As to the duty of Congress to prevent by express law the existence of slavery in the territories acquired from Mexico.

"3d. As to the propriety of Congress abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia immediately, and of abolishing slavery therein by proper and just laws."

The resolution waiving this opinion upon the power of Congress over slavery in the territories, was scarcely passed in Convention, before the men who voted for it sat down and penned these queries to candidates!

That this threat of Mr. Van Buren was but an idle gasconade, is manifest, in the fact that the democratic candidates who treated the impertinent queries with the contempt they deserved, so far from being "defeated by 100,000 votes," were elected; while some of those who demeaned themselves by replying, were defeated, and the *only free soil nominee that was elected* on the State ticket was one that did not reply to these queries. This is an instructive fact; and taken in connection with the whole election, conveys this moral: that the mass of democratic voters are honest, and will not come to the polls to countenance an open and shameless fraud, such as the attempt to apply "tests" that had been solemnly ignored in convention. Those who manifest such unfaithfulness to principle, cannot expect to command the confidence of the people. In the city of New-York the combined democratic vote was less than that cast for General Cass in 1840, and 5,000 less than the aggregate democratic vote at that election, while the whig vote declined 8,200, bartered away for the suffrages of 1,200 blacks by the Fourierite section, affording a singular contrast to the interior, where the whig vote was nearly full, brought out by their efficient organization, and not chilled by the antics that some of their members displayed in the city. The decrease of the whig vote as compared with last year was 8,114 in the city, and 4,272 in the country. The democratic vote decreased 5,266 in the city and 24,599 in the country, notwithstanding that the anti-rent portion of the democracy again voted for the regular candidates. Such is the fruit of frauds before the people. The totals of votes were nearly as follows:

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	WHIG.	DEMOCRATIC.	POLLED VOTES.
1848	218,603	234,828	453,431
1849	206,220	204,963	411.183
Decrease	12,383	29,865	42,248

The popular votes of several of the States at the late elections, as far as made up officially, compare as follows :

POPULAR VOTE IN EIGHT STATES.

	1848.			1849.		
	Taylor.	Cass.	Van Buren.	Whig.	Dem.	V. Buren.
Maine	35,276	40,206	12,178	28,260	37,534	8,025
Vermont	23,122	10,948	13.837	26,603	3,321	23,362
Massachusetts	61,070	35,281	38,058	53,070	30,839	24,406
New-York	218,603	114,318	120,510	206,220	204,963	
Pennsylvania	185,513	171,176	11,268	133.111	144,480	
Georgia	47,544	44,802		43,159	46,514	
Tennessee	64,705	58.419		60,350	61,740	
Indiana	69,907	74,745	8,100	67,218	76,996	3,018
Total 8 States	705,740	549,895	203,951	617,991	606,387	58,811
Increase					56,492	
Decrease				87,749		145,140

The aggregate decrease of votes in this State was 176,405, a portion of which was produced by emigration to California, but the larger portion through indisposition of the people to vote at an election where a sectional issue is presented, which, if successful, can be of no practical benefit to themselves, but, on the other hand, must lead to a disturbance of the national prosperity, and injury to the cause of human progress.

It has been the case that our adopted fellow-citizens and their friends newly arrived having come more directly into contact with the black race as competitors in domestic service, have not failed to observe that, although the wealthy employers themselves regard the latter as a degraded race, yet among domestics they make no distinction in favor of the white, where they employ both. That such a state of affairs should enhance the natural enmity between races it is not difficult to comprehend; and that the same feeling is evinced by far the largest portion of the voters, is proved in the result of the vote taken upon the constitution of 1846. That instrument provided that the following clause should be submitted separately to the people.

"Colored male citizens, possessing the qualifications requisite by the first section of the second article of the constitution, other than the property qualification, shall have the right to vote for all officers that now are, or hereafter may be elected by the people after the 1st day of January, 1847."

Of 44,000 votes cast at that election, in the city of New-York, 5,713 only were in favor of black suffrage, the remainder being in the negative. The clause of the constitution was therefore inoperative. Notwithstanding this strong dissent, irrespective of party, to negro suffrage, a meeting of colored citizens* was influenced by that unprincipled section of the

* In contemplating the intelligence displayed at that meeting of colored citizens, whose condition is superior to that of any of the inhabitants of Europe, we could but reflect upon the inscrutable ways of Providence, that, through the instrumentality of British cupidity, and a training of servitude, raised those blacks from the condition of nude cannibals to the position of Christian freemen. To that slave trade, horrible as it is, against which British pseudo philanthropy has vainly striven for a quarter of a century, are the blacks indebted for their superlatively happy condition, mentally and physically, as compared with the descendants of their ancestors in Africa. As the Jews were trained by the divine dispensation in arduous servitude to the enlightened Egyptians, to return and properly enjoy their land of Canaan, so are cannibal negroes rescued from an unprogressive savage state to the enjoyment, as far as they are capable, of the highest benefits of civilization.

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whig party represented by the New-York Tribune, and although the number that are legally entitled to vote were very few, the effect was more than sufficient to keep six times their number of whites from the polls, more particularly when it was understood that the blacks who voted were attended by gangs of bullies to overawe the challengers.

It appears, that among the poor, as among the rich, an equal number of whigs were disgusted with the charlatanism of would-be-leaders, as in the democratic ranks, with the palpable frauds attempted with the sophistical abstraction of free-soil. This fact was singularly manifest in the election of Massachusetts. A free-soil coalition was formed and run with the regular democratic ticket and the regular whig ticket. Great hopes were entertained of the strength of this coalition, and Mr. Van Buren addressed them at Faneuil Hall on miscellaneous subjects, and explaining why the Van Buren party in New-York had been anxious to elect General Taylor, giving as a singularly *democratic* reason, that "Cass belonged to the democratic party—a party, which, when it got into power, generally stayed there; while Gen. Taylor was the nominee of a party which came into power to die." He then had the indiscretion, in Faneuil Hall, in that old "cradle of liberty," whose ancient walls have resounded with the patriotic eloquence of Otis and Adams, with their immortal compatriots, and which witnessed the progress of our national independence until it ripened into our glorious union, with its boundless prosperity, and world-renowned institutions—to hold up "free-soil" as the desirable instrument of disunion, civil war, anarchy, and ruin to our institutions. The display of a phantom so hideous, in precincts so sacred to patriotism and national honor, produced its natural effect, and the free-soil vote diminished 33 per cent, while the regular democratic vote increased in the same proportion. It required but some such reckless partisan to lift the veil which shrouds the future of free-soil, and open to the investigation of the clear intellects of New-England, the boundless wickedness of a sectional issue which contains no vitality whatever, except the germs of disunion and the horrors of civil war, to defeat it at the polls. While it denies the right of local self-government to the whites, its tendency is to check the gradual elevation of the blacks in the scale of humanity, retard the prosperity of the country, promote civil dissensions, and ultimately consign the divided states to the power of the sword. Thinking men, who love their country, will not abet a partisan cry, which involves such fearful hazards; although desperate political gamblers may adopt it for present profit, regardless of the future. A few more such speeches, and free-soilism is extinct.

Perhaps the most gratifying result of the elections has been in the State of Michigan. The malice of Van Burenism there exerted itself to procure from the legislature instructions to General Cass to vote for the free-soil proviso, in its application to California, and the members of that legislature were induced to do so. The popular vote at the presidential election had been, for Taylor 23,940, Cass 30,687, Van Buren 10,389, being a Taylor and Van Buren majority over Cass of 3,642. The noisy gasconade of the free-soilers induced many to suppose that their strength had so increased that the democratic vote would be far in the minority, and no means were neglected to procure such a legislature as would compel General Cass to resign or vote for the free-soil proviso. The most

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active of the whig and free-soil agents were busy in calumniating Gen. Cass; so much so that that gentleman thought it advisable to address a letter to the Washington Union, July 10, 1849, reiterating his principles as expressed in the Nicholson letter. He stated emphatically, after showing the absurdity and unconstitutionality of the proviso, that "Those who oppose the Wilmot proviso on the ground of its unconstitutionality, can never surrender their opinions and vote for it."

On this distinct issue the election turned, and in order to make assurance doubly sure, the free-soilers having nominated a pseudo-democrat, Mr. Littlejohn, the Whig Convention, remembering that the two parties combined at the presidential election had a majority over Cass of 3,642, adopted that free-soiler as their candidate, and went into the election. The result has been a complete democratic triumph—John S. Barry being elected by nearly 5,000 majority over free-soilers and federalists—equal to that of Ransom in 1847. The democratic party have entirely triumphed, and free-soil, like the progeny of the opossum, has slunk back into the bowels of its federal parent. The democratic legislative majority in joint ballot is 28, a noble response to the letter of Gen. Cass, and a severe rebuke to the authors of Van Buren instructions.

In Wisconsin the democratic ticket also triumphs over a whig and free-soil combination. In Louisiana Taylorism is thoroughly repudiated in the election of Gen. Walker. In Mississippi every democratic candidate has been elected And while the democracy of the north repudiates free-soilism, that of the south rejects Taylorism. It will be observed that with whatever party "free-soil" united, it defeated it. In New-York it defeated the democracy, in Michigan and Wisconsin whiggery; in Massachusetts the democracy recovered when freed from its contagion; even in Vermont its connection with democracy increased the Whig vote. The results of most of the late elections have been upon the legislatures as follows:

COMPLEXION OF STATE LEGISLATURES RESULTING FROM LATE ELECTIONS.

	HOUSE.				SENATE.				MAJORITY.	
	W.	F.S.	Dem.	Total.	W.	F.S.	Dem.	Total.	Joint ballot. W.	Dem.
Maine	63	—	88	151	11	—	20	31	—	34
Mass.	170	—	65	235	27	—	13	40	109	—
New-York	63	—	65	128	17	—	15	32	tie	tie
New-Jersey	33	—	25	58	10	—	9	19	9	—
Maryland	47	—	35	82	14	—	5	19	21	—
Pennsylvania	57	—	76	133	16	—	17	33	—	20
Georgia	61	—	67	128	24	—	28	52	—	10
Ohio	29	5	38	72	17	1	18	36	—	4
Michigan	24	—	42	66	6	—	16	22	—	28
Illinois	22	14	58	94	7	8	10	25	—	33
Indiana	42	—	58	100	21	—	29	50	—	26
U. S. Congrs.	109	10	108	227	24	2	34	60	—	9

This is a chart which indicates such plain-sailing for the next four years as must effectually prevent even the most ordinary intellects from going astray. The strength of the party is such, notwithstanding that the popular vote in many localities has been diminished by California emigration as to make union inevitable. The great fact to be recognised is, that how much soever party leaders may negoitate for nominations, the people will not rally to the support of those who have proved themselves

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faithless. It is in vain to talk of supporting regular nominations when the nominees have set the example of defection. Those who brought free-soil into the party to distract it, must carry it back where it originated—into the ranks of federalism—and remain there with it.

But this free-soil cry was not altogether a mere pretext for party bolting. It involves, prospectively, an important social influence. Thus, at the New-York constitutional convention of 1825, when it was proposed to confer the right of suffrage upon the colored population, it was argued by the Van Buren faction, which was then organizing that system of patronage which consolidated the "regency" power, that the blacks were mostly the servants of the wealthy federalists, and under their influence, and that to extend to them the right of suffrage was simply to increase the corrupt federal vote. Since that time an important change has taken place in the relative position of blacks and whites. Wealth has greatly increased, and the luxury of living has kept pace with it. But the number of free blacks has not increased in any degree proportionate to the number required to administer to the luxury of affluence. In New-York and Boston the increase has been as follows:

	BOSTON.			NEW-YORK.		
	ASSESSED PROPERTY.	BLACKS.	WHITES.	ASSESSED PROPERTY.	BLACKS.	WHITES.
1810	18,450,500	1,468	32,319	209,130,240	40.730	918,319
1820	38,289,200	1,740	41,558	255,552,365	40.368	1.332.744
1830	59,586,000	1,825	59,517	319,118,296	44,945	1,873,663
1840	94.581.600	1,988	83.012	641,343,818	50.031	2.378.890
1845	135,943,700	1,842	112.524	616,824,955	44,853	2,559,642

The blacks in Boston, as well as those in New-York, have decreased numerically within 15 years, notwithstanding the supposed accession made by gradual emancipation. The assessed wealth in Boston in 1810 averaged about $578 per head of the white population; in 1848 it had reached $1,210, while the black population sank from 4½ per ct. to 1½ per ct. of the white inhabitants. In New-York State the increase of whites has been in numbers 1,641,323, while the blacks have increased but 4,123. In the same time the assessed wealth of the whites has increased over $400,000,000; this is from $227 to $241 per head. The same result is manifest in nearly all the northern and eastern states that have become rich by trade and manufacturing. The ability to employ domestic servants in the cities has greatly increased, while the *material* of those servants has been stationary. It is true that the number of immigrants from abroad has been immense. At New-York, the arrivals have been, for 31 years, ending with 1849, 1,692,776.

These immigrants supply nearly all the servants in the cities, but, thanks to the genial influence of our institutions, they do not, as abroad, remain in that capacity. They very soon find ways and means to set up on their own account and become equals in the community. Hence, notwithstanding this apparent large arrival, the supply of domestic servants does not materially increase. It is but for a short time that the white race occupy that capacity in the United States. In England and most countries of Europe hitherto all the laws enacted have conspired to check the emancipation of the masses from the condition of servitude, and the same policy has ever marked the federal party here. Although they *talk* largely in favor of labor, and of promoting adopted citizens to the highest offices in the state, they advocate laws only in favor of capital,

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protective privileges, and chartered rights, while they seek to bring free black labor in contact with that of immigrants, and thus doubly to retard their progress. They are not indeed called "slaves" either here or in Europe, but are by arbitrary laws, nevertheless, indirectly bound in servitude. That position they occupy, many of them, here on their first arrival, but rapidly rise from it to the rank of employers. It is not so with the black race;—they retain that subordinate relation to the whites. Hence the desire to procure black servants who will not "abandon service as soon as they have learned its duties,"—this being the general complaint of the wealthy against immigrants. In consequence of this state of affairs the pay of black servants is constantly on the rise, and $14 to $20 per month is a minimum rate. And this difficulty will increase as the number and wealth of employers continue to outrun supply. The problem is to increase the latter. That class of men who formerly objected to black suffrage as being subject to the influence of political opponents, have now thriven by their political trade so well that themselves have became employers, and thus experience a growing affinity with ancient enemies, and other associations of wealth draw them towards the aristocracy of the federalists. The federalist policy was always by confining slavery to a small section, to cause it ultimately to become unprofitable, and finally to cease. That is, by legislation to ruin the business of planters, in order to rob them of their slaves; in the same manner that stock-jobbers conspire to raise a panic in order to buy stocks cheap. The blacks now monopolized by the south, upon being emancipated, would enhance the supply of free servants at the north, enable the wealthy to dispense with immigrant service altogether, and to pay less wages for black service, also to drive white immigrants into corporate factories. It is known that, notwithstanding the offer of the highest wages, *one-fifth of the spindles at Lowell this year have been idle for want of hands*—the slavery is too severe. Displace whites in domestic service, and they will be *driven* to factories at low wages. In Virginia there are 140 blacks to every 200 whites; in New-York to 200 whites there are only 3 blacks, and still decreasing in ratio. Compel Virginia to emancipate those blacks, and the wages of free service at the north will decline. The free blacks now here will be ground under the competition of their own color, and the wealthy whites will profit largely by the exercise of their philanthropy. It is this social view which has greatly influenced the wealthy leaders of the bolting faction, of which the New-York Evening Post is the peculiar organ, to adopt that Whig principle of "free-soil," which jumps with interests changed by accumulation of wealth and its aristocratic influences socially.

Unscrupulous and reckless as have been the agitators of the free-soil question, they have never yet dared openly to attack the rights of states, in violation of the compact of the constitution. The power of congress over the question in territories is that only which is claimed, and the conquest of two provinces of Mexico, presented the opportunity of agitation. With the occupation of the territories was discovered such an abundance of gold as attracted thither as many thousands of whites as have sufficed to form a free state. To those who know the temper of the white inhabitants of this country, the exclusion of blacks from the territory was as certain as that whites would settle there. When the north-western territory was settled, the officers of the old Virginia line applied for a remis-

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sion of the ordinance of 1787, in their favor, for the settlement of the Scioto and Miami vallies with slaves, for the cultivation of Tobacco. The rejection of the application by the people of Ohio was unanimous, when their assent would have nullified the ordinance of 1787; the state constitution which they then formed sought to exclude blacks from their territory, and the same spirit has prevailed in the other states. Four years since New-York state, by a vote of 223,834 nays out of 309,000 votes, refused to allow blacks to vote. Illinois, by a still more decisive vote, forbade blacks to come into the state at all to settle. To suppose that emigrants from such a population would go to California, where the exclusive business is gold digging, and vote to permit blacks to come in as slaves, to monopolise the mines for their owners, was in the highest degree absurd. Nobody believed that they would do so; but to permit those people to make a constitution, excluding slavery, was death to "free-soil" agitation, and with it the hopes of the bolting faction, as well as the profits of the whigs, from the dissension growing out of the agitation, were overthrown. Hence, both the free-soilers and federalists sent agents thither to delay action, or to prevent the formation of any constitution. These intriguers—seceding democrats' and federalists' agents—were utterly foiled. The Californians, in the exercise of their rights, have formed an unexceptionable constitution, excluding slavery. The absurdity of all the agitation upon the subject, is thus manifest, and it threatens to expire for want of aliment. The free-soil and whig factions that sought to defeat the constitution, have amusingly enough vituperated and recriminatad each other with ill-concealed spleen at their mutual disappointment. The former are already intriguing to coalesce with the ultra slavery section of the south, to prevent the admission of California, because she *has* excluded slavery. She has had the audacious impudence to destroy the Van Buren pretext for disunion, and must be punished. The whig faction with equal dishonesty affects to acquiesce in the admission of California, but insists npon dismembering Texas, in behalf of New-Mexico. They will certainly not allow an agitation, from which they have derived such advantages to slumber.

The result of the late elections in the northern states, however, shows that the people of those states reject the question of slavery as a party issue, and that the great democratic party will come together again for the campaign of 1852, in a strength that will sweep every vestige of whiggery from the the public administration. Those politicians who were induced by exaggerated estimates of its strength to truckle to free-soil, are already aware of their error, and the shrewdest begin already to disclaim any connection with it. Nothing can prevent the reconsolidation and triumph of the democracy, and unless New-York relieves herself of the leprosy of Van Burenism, the democracy of the union will elect a federal administration without her, and the Empire state will remain a political outcast, as a punishment for the crimes of her once vaunted "favorite son." We apprehend, however, that the process of exfoliation is nearly completed. The unsound members of the party have nearly fulfilled the indication of their federal affinities, and the unblushing whiggery of such organs as the Evening Post, will no longer serve to distract the democracy.

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GIRARDIN, THE JOURNALIST.

Between twelve and two o'clock, every day, were the hours of reception at the house of this celebrated person; and it was a little after noon of the morning of my chat with Baptiste, my fourth day in Paris, that I jumped into a neat little *coupé*, waiting for me in the court-yard of the *Hotel des Princes*, and drove to the residence of Emile de Girardin.

There are few men in France whose name is more familiar to the public, for he has challenged its attention in every conceivable way for long years past. He is an author of numerous publications, of more or less merit, and his literary reputation has long been established. He has engaged at different periods in various enterprises, of a mixed literary and trading character, such as the establishment of miscellaneous publications, generally successful; and thus has acquired the repute of a bold and skilful speculator. His performances in the arduous field of journalism, where he has displayed vast ability, singular energy, and extraordinary hardihood, has added immeasurably to his previous notoriety. He was one of the first to conceive the happy expedient, in France, of lowering the price of newspapers; and the journal which he established on this basis, *La Presse*, has had an immense success, which, doubtless, his talents greatly augmented. Beside the sources of consideration already mentioned, his career has been distinguished by various incidents of a romantic, and even tragic nature—and amongst the latter, may be cited as the most prominent—his fatal duel with the celebrated *Armand Carrel*. It may not be remembered, that this remarkable man was at the head of the republican party of France, after the elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne, and figured as the editor-in-chief of the *National* newspaper. It was not long after the establishment of *La Presse*, of which Girardin was the principal editor and proprietor, that a quarrel broke out between these two, and, at last, ended in a duel. Carrel sent the challenge, and seemed persuaded, from the first, that the result would be fatal to him. His courage had undergone many extraordinary tests, and on this occasion he showed no flinching. He made all his preparations for a tragical end with the utmost calmness, and though his demeanor was more gloomy than usual, his firmness remained unshaken. On the ground, his courage rose to hardihood, and in spite of the remonstrances and entreaties of his seconds, he took no pains to save his person from unnecessary risk. It is usual in France, to place the combatants at forty paces apart, and allow them to approach till one of them fires, when the other is obliged to stop instantly, and fire also. Carrel advanced with full front towards Girardin, and both fired at about the same moment. Carrel fell, mortally wounded, and died the same night, delirious. "A few hours before he breathed his last, and even in the midst of its hallucinations, his splendid mind, now tottering to its fall, burst forth with unearthly brilliancy, transporting those who listened; its dying flashes emitting an awful glare, elicited, as it seemed, by its giant struggle with approaching darkness." His death exasperated the republican party, and Girardin was marked out for sacrifice. Challenges showered on him

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from all sides, which he refused, and from personal insults he appealed to the laws.

These singular and exciting reminiscences all rose to my recollection in my long drive through the *Champs Elyseès* to the noble mansion of the wealthy and redoubtable journalist. His house stands off from the street, surrounded by a high wall, and is out of sight, till passing through a small gate, one discovers to his surprize, its noble and grandiose proportions. I sent up my card to the occupant on entering its portals, whom I had not seen for some four years, explaining that I was introduced at that period by a mutual friend. I was immediately shown up, and received with great cordiality. I found the celebrated editor seated in the middle one of three fine rooms, used as libraries. His dress was somewhat singular. He wore the common skull cap, which, in France, makes always one article of a morning-toilette. It covered just the top of his head, throwing his noble expanse of forehead into fine relief. A morning gown of simple material, constituted the rest of his attire, which he kept closely enveloped about him, as he had on neither vest nor trousers. He gave me his hand cordially on entering, and sat me down just before him. His air is somewhat stern—his manner direct—his language simple, but precise. He thinks with great rapidity, and conveys his ideas without hesitation, and at such a rate that to wander for a moment is to lose some important link in his argumentation.

We began talking of France, of course, and all the extraordinary events he had witnessed and acted in since the revolution of the preceding year. We agreed entirely in our general views, which I knew must be the case from a daily perusal of his paper.

"*Eh, bien*, Mons. Girardin," I said, "your position at this moment is interesting, and the particular doctrine you advocate, that of 'unlimited liberty,' is so near to my heart, that I would like your permission to speak my sentiments freely of you and your acts."

"It is just what I wish," he answered,—"speak."

"You opposed with vehemence and great power the administration of General Caviagnac, and supported with enthusiasm the advent of Louis Napoleon. Some say it was personal motives only that animated you; but I value your intelligence too highly to think so. It was simply because you saw, at once, that the system of Cavaignac must fail, and hoping better things of his successor, you adopted the line you pursued."

"You are right, perfectly so," replied the Achilles of the French press, looking at me very hard. "Pray, go on, and with the same frankness."

"I shall do so, and I am sure without the risk of offending you. What I am most curious to learn is this—whether you act in the spirit of a skilful journalist only in the opposition, or in the support you give to men and doctrines; or whether, from deliberate investigation, you are satisfied that the sincerity of one, and the truth of the other, warrant you in undertaking their championship."

M. Girardin smiled, and I waited for his reply with some anxiety. "It is not worth while," he remarked, "to make assurances of my faith, in either the principles or the men now in vogue in France; suffice it, that I combat with earnestness for what I really think likely to be useful to the country. Take, for example, the doctrine or thesis I am now discussing—*unlimited liberty*. I am profoundly persuaded, that in its application lies the only remedy for all the ills that afflict us."

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I was foiled in my desire to ascertain whether this powerful writer really derived his inspirations from a well-digested system, or merely regulated his views by his interests. "Yes," I answered, "I am astonished and delighted, to see so great a truth enforced with so much skill in one of the leading journals of Paris. It is impossible to over-estimate its importance, and in spite of the doubts and abnegations it meets with, you will gain ground every day. I know this better than you, for I hear it said a hundred times over, 'yes, Girardin is right; for it is not by stupid repression, but by yielding more liberty to thought and action, that we shall escape these repeated and violent efforts on the part of the people to obtain it.'"

"I am very glad," he said, abruptly, "to meet with encouragement from enlightened and impartial persons, for I am constantly remonstrated with by the friends of the government, who playfully menace to arrest me for spreading *seditious doctrines;* and who would, no doubt, attempt it if they dared. Even my own disciples, if I may use the term, are startled at what they call my audacity, but really consider my absurdity, and beg me daily to modify my sentiments, or rather withhold them altogether."

"Let me entreat you, Mons. de Girardin, not to listen to them," I expostulated, "and you will find your triumph in the immense good you will effect for your country, and for all Europe, by elucidating the truth and justice of the great theme you treat with such consummate ability. If you persist in this, you will be proved one day the boldest thinker of the epoch, and will find your recompense in the admiration of all men. I am enthusiastic in this, for no one so well as an American can estimate the value of your dogma."

"That is true," said the journalist, full of deep reflection,—"for you carry into daily practice in your country what I hardly venture here to express in theory. You must come and talk with me on this great theme, and give me illustrations from your national history and experience. I wish you would write on the subject. My columns are open to you, and I would be glad to have translated and published whatever you are pleased to furnish me."

"I am much flattered at your offer, Mons. Girardin, but I have not presumption enough to accept. The ingenious and eloquent essays you produce with such astonishing facility, where reason and logic mutually fortify each other, render it quite unnecessary for any other pen to enter the lists of discussion. But I will cheerfully avail myself of the honor of coming to see and talk with you. I will explain what we understand in America by 'unlimited liberty,' and show by abundant and convincing examples how, in every sphere, political, moral, and religious, its precepts are understood, and that its effects are advantageous. But there is another subject in which I take a deep interest," I added, "and that is your odious tariff, so prejudicial to the interests of France. I have lately scribbled with great brevity my opinions of it, and here they are in printed form. Run your eye over it, and I shall, for the subject's sake, be glad, indeed, to see 'La Presse' take it up. But I have no hope of this, for political theories are discussed with so much ardor in France, that you can get no one to turn their attention to commercial topics, although so intimately allied to them."

"Give it me," said M. Girardin,—"I will have it translated, read it, and see what can be done."

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At this moment a servant entered, and announced the Abbe Mitraud, who came in, and saluted M. de Girardin with great warmth. Whilst they were exchanging remarks and mutual greetings, I occupied myself in regarding the person and features of the worthy ecclesiastic who sat before me. He was a tall and strong-built man, and seemed capable of great physical exertion. His face and head were striking; the latter of large, massy proportions, and the former broad, and filled with animation. The expression was that of great intelligence and much benevolence of disposition. Another arrival was soon ushered in, for, as I have already said, it is the habit of the editor of *La Presse* to receive promiscuously, every day, his friends between twelve and two o'clock, when he is in the habit of engaging freely with them in political discussions, either on his own favorite opinions or the prominent topics of the day. In this way, he not only acquires much valuable information, but from the collision of ideas about him, he must be often saved the tedious and laborious process of investigating for himself the opposite sides of many intricate questions.

The new comer was no other than the celebrated Mons. Genie, who was at the head of the Bureau of Foreign Affairs under Mons. Guizot, and who was accused of exercising over the counsels of his chief an excessive and sinister influence. M. Genie was also cordially welcomed, and began a short conversation with the editor on some business transactions they seemed to have together. There was nothing in the manner or appearance of this well-known person at all interesting or attractive. He was a short, thick-set, pursy-looking man, with a stiff, abrupt air, like a man accustomed to authority, but who still bore about him traces of humbled pride and deep discontentment.

Here was a trio of remarkable men, two, at least, of whom had exercised a vast influence over the public affairs of France and Europe for many years past. I felt that a treat was in store for me, for a lively conversation on the events of the day was inevitable; and without knowing the exact opinions of each, it was pretty certain, that difference enough existed between them to bring out many valuable observations that could not but be highly advantageous to me. The Abbe opened the discussion by commenting with enthusiasm on the enlightened labors of M. de Girardin. His newly-broached principle of "unlimited liberty," the learned prelate seemed perfectly to comprehend. Without confounding it for a moment with licentiousness, which could only be its abuse, he pronounced his profound conviction to be, that it was only on recognising the complete liberty of the citizen in his conscience and personality, that France could hope for a peaceful political and social organization. He argued, that by refusing to acknowledge this principle, as was the case with all past governments, and the present one seemed entering on the same fatal error, that by employing the power of government only to repress the free expression of the sentiments of a portion of the community, whether minority or majority—that by pursuing as a system, the adoption of odious laws directed against liberty of person, condemning to prison or exile all who exposed opinions unfavorable to the existing government, the inevitable result would be, to subject society to constantly recurring violent and fearful agitations, which may, at any moment, lead to its temporary dissolution. It was only, on the contrary, he persisted, in yielding the largest liberty to all parties to discuss their several doctrines of improvement before the final tribunal of the nation, and in

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limiting the resistance of the government to direct attempts to overthrow it by violent means, that society in France, or anywhere, could progress in an orderly manner, and derive benefit from changes of system, that would cease to be prejudicial when effected with moderation and by regular means. The unlimited liberty of conscience and person, advocated daily by M. de Girardin, has, therefore, the only safe and possible rule for any government in France to go by, and in their struggling against it, the national sentiments, as was proved by three great revolutions, were outraged, and it only made the certainty of a fourth revolution (and the last would be worse than the first) more apparent.

It was in this sound and elevated strain that the Abbe expressed himself, and he talked with a fluency and eloquence that showed his entire familiarity with the subject, and the careful instruction his mind had undergone. The earnestness of his manner, and the beaming animation of his features, removed the least doubt of his good faith. M. de Girardin frequently struck in with him, giving his hearty concurrence to all he said, and adding many brilliant and striking remarks of his own in further confirmation of these views. He delivered himself in his usual manner, clear and decided. "It was evident," he said, "that the government of the day, blind to all experience, and in the face of all its declarations, was resolved on adopting the same stupid system of arbitrarily repressing that liberty, which could no longer be denied in principle, and which to refuse to admit in fact, was not only puerile but criminal, when the consequences were so frightful. He gave up all hope now of any early and pacific settlement of these complicated questions, where the rival interests of the different classes of the community were involved. He saw nothing in the future but confusion and conflict. It would be the same drama played over again, but deepening in grimness with each repetition. There could be no doubt, none in the world, of the fearful consequences that must result from the repeated and bitter disappointments of the people. They may on some future occasion, when the supreme power falls again into their hands, overturn in fury and despair the whole fabric of government, and give themselves up to reprisals that may compromise the interests, and destroy the basis of the greater part of all the property in the land. "So deep are my convictions on this point," concluded Mons. Girardin, "that I would rejoice *at any opportunity of saving a half of what I possess by giving up the rest. I would, this hour, without one moment's reflection, gladly make such a bargain, if I could find the power that would give me sufficient guarantees.* If I contend warmly, therefore, with the tortuous and reckless policy of Odillon Barrot, and his compeers, it is not only from the conclusions of logic, and from motives of humanity, but from a lively solicitude for my personal interests. I consider my safety, and the security of my property, endangered by the course of a government that has far fewer chances of arriving at a successful realization of its preposterous hopes than all the governments which have preceded it. Whether its failure and downfall will take place in the regular way the constitution prescribes, or be precipitated by some outburst of popular impatience, I cannot of course foretell; but this detestable system of arbitrary repression must be at last abandoned, and the indisputable doctrine of 'unlimited liberty' substituted in its stead, else we shall be condemned to live in an eternal circle of revolutions." I bowed my head with marked respect at the utterance of truths so palpable and convincing, and the ex-

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cited Abbe renewed the eloquent expression of his admiration for the good sense of Mons. Girardin, and the intrepid spirit which supported him against the combined opposition of most of the leading men of France, armed with despotic power.

There was an evident concurrence of sentiment between the courageous editor, the enlightened priest, and myself; but we all had a hearty dissentee in the former *chef de bureau* of Mons. Guizot. This, perhaps, was natural; but how extraordinary, that a man whose policy had been tested under every possible advantage to command success, and which had been exploded into a thousand atoms, could yet stand obstinately up, and contend that he was perfectly right from the beginning; that his theories of repression and despotism were the only basis on which government in France could secure obedience.

It was in this vein that Mons. Genie reasoned, and he drew his argument from fears discreditable to the intelligence of his countrymen, and opposed to the spirit and progress of the age. "Unlimited liberty," he thought, was a downright absurdity. This, bye-the-bye, is just what his master, Mons. Guizot, said of universal suffrage. Frenchmen, according to Mons. Genie, were entirely unfit for liberty. To give them privileges of any kind was only to insure their abuse. No government was possible that was not a strong one—that is, armed with complete power over opinions and persons. The less liberty, he believed, the greater order, and the more perfect security of society. It is useless, however, to repeat reasoning so shallow, false and pernicious. Infatuation like this, which shuts its eyes and ears to facts and proof, is beyond cure, and must be left to the fate that always awaits it. Sad is the reflection, that it works so much evil in the world before it is confounded. The just, philosophical mind of the Abbe took fire at heresies so flagrant as those of Mons. Genie, and seeking to refute him, he gave a free vent to his eloquence, which, for power and finish, I have rarely or never seen surpassed. Occasionally abandoning my reserve, I came to his support with examples from the history of the United States, which Mons. Genie endeavored to shove off in the way so common with all classes of the French, by saying—"Oh, it is a different thing with you Americans; there is no comparison in the case."

I denied this, however, by contending that human nature was everywhere the same, and that similar treatment produced similar results. The history of every country, ancient and modern, proved the same thing—that force employed in violation of the popular sentiments was, in the end, defeated; and that honest government mildly administered, was invariably successful. As the discussion grew warmer, I observed, by degrees, that Mons. de Girardin withdrew from it. Whether he was not willing to subscribe to all that was said by the Abbe and myself, or to deny all the propositions of Mons. Genie, I do not know. He had the air of a man listening attentively to both sides, and weighing in the careful balance of a sagacious and impartial mind, the weight, breadth, and depth of all the materials of reason and fact that are brought to bear on the question, and drawing for himself such deductions as seemed most in harmony with the truth.

It all ended at last, just as it began. Mons. Genie's disbelief in the virtue of liberty remained unshaken; whilst the confidence of the Abbe and myself in its final triumph, was only deepened. There was one re-

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sult, however, very agreeable for me, that came of my suit to Mons. de Girardin, on the day in question; and that was the valuable acquaintance of certainly one of the clearest and staunchest minds in France—that of the Abbe Mitraud. With the single exception of, perhaps, the Abbe Lamenais, he is the only man I have met in France, who, having examined practically, and philosophically, all questions, political and social, touching the rights and interests of all classes of society, dares at every risk, and at great sacrifice, to enunciate his honest convictions, and propogate his views. The extraordinary ability and apostle-like zeal of this excellent Abbe inspired me with the liveliest regard; and I expressed all my regret at parting, on learning that he lived at a distance from Paris, and was about to leave the next day. We exchanged addresses, and both joined in the hope of meeting again, before I left for America.

I was agreeably surprised, the next morning, at an early visit before eight o'clock from the estimable Abbe, who stated that it really had been so rare a treat to him to encounter a man who understood his meaning, and admitted the justice and wisdom of his reasoning, that he could not reconcile himself to leave Paris for some months without coming again to enjoy a few moments of sympathetic conversation, and increase the familiarity of an acquaintance he hoped to preserve. I made the warmest acknowledgments for expressions so flattering and undeserved of his regard; but assured him that my enthusiasm was still greater, to have met, at last, one man in France, who was capable of rising above the fleeting considerations of the power, and of suggesting a system of government, which, founded on the laws of nature, and in harmony with the interests of mankind, must be durable and beneficent, because it would be just and true. An animated conversation between us followed, during which I undertook, at his request, to explain the ingenious structure of our own political system, which I considered to be the very perfection of theory and practice combined. He seized with the utmost readiness every thought which struck him as new, and at once gave it an amplitude of form, and clothed it in a splendor of expression that equally charmed and surprised me. Before separating, he told me that at various periods during the last reign, he had refused a Bishopric rather than give up the utterance of his principles, which he could no more discard than alter the frame-work of his mind. "He was obliged to hurry away," he said, "as he left Paris in a few hours; but, if I would allow it, he would be delighted to continue an acquaintance by correspondence." I assured this estimable man, and true priest, that I would feel myself deeply honored, and much profited by any letters from his gifted pen. And so we parted.

Perhaps, a fortnight after, I received the following letter; which, in spite of its exaggerated expressions of esteem for my very humble self, I am not inclined to withhold. It is an important and consoling thing to know, that just such a man as the Abbe Mitraud exists in France at this epoch. To take the full measure of the value of his services, should an occasion ever arise to call them forth, it should be borne in mind, that he is a Catholic priest. How gratifying it is to find the great intellect of one of the zealous sons of the mother church, at length employed in disseminating political truth divested of all sectarian bias. For centuries past the genius of the Catholic Church—of all your Bossuets and Massillons, has been sacrificed to upholding a detestable system of political

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tyranny, by lending to it the sacred protection of religious influence. What a desecration—to pervert the benevolent dogmas of Christianity into the support of governments that were at war with the interests and happiness of mankind. This error and this wickedness, which was seen and censured by Fenelon, and by many other good and wise men, before and since, has, in our day found two men, at least, ready to denounce it—Lamenais and Mitraud. To these distinguished prelates, as bold as they are able—as sagacious as they are learned, I might add one not less illustrious—the Abbe Lacordaire. These three remarkable men will form a combination that neither tyrants nor jesuits can resist. They are destined to effect a Reformation in the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century as great as Luther's in the sixteenth, and which, happily, will be far more beneficial to the world. They see the necessity of bringing Catholicism back to its pristine purity in the early ages of the Church, or of beholding its downfall. Nor is it from motives of expediency, or from apprehensions, alone, of the ultimate loss of sacerdotal power, that they take their cue. No; from my personal knowledge of them all, it was easy to recognise that, from a deep sense of justice, as well as from a pure love of their fellow-men, they were anxious to co-operate, and strive, night and day, in the good, the grand, and solemn work of reconstituting Catholicism on the broad foundations of democratic liberty and equality, and of saving it from the longer stigma of its alliance with monarchical privilege and oppression.

But the following letter of the Abbe Mitraud will reveal the spirit and noble ends of these modern Fathers of the New Church in far clearer and loftier expressions than any of mine; and fearful in any degree to impair its merits, I give it entire, though I cannot but regret that he has mingled with his fine sentiments, opinions so kindly extravagant of myself.

The letter is sufficiently marred already by its translation, for it is quite impossible to convey the force and precision of thought, or the smallest idea of the felicitous language of the original.

Billom, April 16, 1849.

"Sir: I am really happy to have made your acquaintance. You unite great intelligence to a noble heart. You search for truth. You are a great citizen. Law which proceeds from truth alone can chain the passions, conquer party obstinacy, subjugate the mass, and save the world. You have an admirable government; and is it Providence who has sent you to France to inoculate in the bosom of my country some of the principles under the shadow of which you live happy and independent? I believe it. You have studied all these questions; you have consulted all the great minds, and where have you found the truth? Nowhere. France, noble France, destined to march at the head of civilization, staggers like a drunken man, and everywhere frightened—the terrible image of a limit is ever present to her, against which she must at last, in falling, be dashed in pieces. See! Mr. Emile de Girardin would give immediately the half of what he possesses, to insure the other half. Hence, he must foresee great perturbations in the social order. These perturbations are inevitable, if, as M. Genie says, "in Politics all endeavor to pervert Logic." In the harmonies of the universe the laws are always in accord with the intentions of God; that is to say, with logic, unless we pretend that God also is wanting in logic; and if sometimes, in particular cases, there is a deviation, the deviation produces a monstrosity. But how many deviations in human legislatures; in social constitutions; and how many monstrosities! Those even,

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who direct society, are struck with terror; and where do they look for the re-establishment of order? In the rectification of error? Far from it. Let us falsify logic, says one, and we shall make good politics. Let us violate the laws of nature, says another. Let us set bounds to the increase of man, and we shall thus give ease to the restricted population. This is the way they endeavor to get into port. Amongst these there are great men. I admire their genius. I admire M. de Girardin. No one more than I do. But their doctrines—do they appear to you true, or false? I have never been able, in the social order especially, to separate truth from usefulness. So I felt my admiration arise for you, and increase in proportion to your repulsion of these doctrines. No, they are not true. No, they cannot be useful. You feel it; you comprehend it, and you have conceived the desire of raising an echoing voice which would tell the truth to the whole of France. France hungers and thirsts for justice and truth, as I have said in the profession of faith which you will find here enclosed. It is only justice and truth that can save France. From the moment that I had your sympathies upon these points, I felt my heart beat. I honored, esteemed, and cherished you as one cherishes a fellow-citizen. For truth and justice unite all men. Why, then, should they not unite men born upon the same soil? Terror and oppression, which are injustice, disunite them. Need I to prove it? You speak of the divisions of our unhappy France. I consider them as very important, and as very glorious for you, the hour when you spoke to me. In the provinces genius does not inflame itself from contact with the focus of the universe, as in the capitals; but reflection, there, ripens thought and gives it depth. Nothing, however, will prevent me from going, sometimes, to look for activity in the great centre of movement, and your courage will always animate mine. You will perceive that I have only incompetently stated my ideas in the "profession of faith" which I published too late last year. I yielded only to the invitation of my friends, and should have *frightened the intelligent electors in telling the whole truth.* These, at present, are afraid of the truth—it alone can save them. They struggle against it, as the patient rejects the salutary remedy. I will, however, make it shine sometimes, to indicate my plan to intelligent men. Those men have given me six thousand voices. Natural pride, or rather my contempt for intrigue, no longer permits me to place myself in the ranks of deputation. I shall not be sorry in default of the Tribune to find a journal where I can express the thoughts which I feel within me. I will never belong to any particular party; I will appropriate all that I find good in any party, and will contend against all that I find blameable. There is no party that has not some truths—there is not one which is free from all error. To disengage ourselves from error, shall be the end of all our aspirations; and if we succeed in establishing the greatest degree of truth, we shall arrive at a triumph. For truth is God, and like him it is immortal. To you, sir, I wish a name really immortal. That name truth alone can give. I renew to you the assurance of my esteem mixed with admiration, and I am,

Sir, your very humble and devoted servant,

CHARLES MITRAUD,

Principal of the College of Billom, Puy-de-Dome.

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THE KING OF RIVERS.

The Mississippi is mighty in his imperial dignity, but more mighty in his lessons of unity and confederation. That matchless tide is the magic cestus which ensures the harmony of the sovereign sisters of the Union, and no peevish eruption of unsisterly jealousy can dispart the silver zone that so firmly and graciously binds their varied climes and products into one common interest. The Mississippi is the most persuasive mediator, the most energetic arbiter, and the most vigilant defender of the federal compact, linking into one chain of communication fourteen powerful states, and nearly half our entire population. Gathering to one outlet uncomputed thousands of miles of navigable waters; holding in a condition of facile interchange a vast series of diverse, yet mutually dependent, agricultural, manufacturing, mining and commercial interests, there is no fraction of the wide territory enfolded in the embrace of the hundred armed river, that could cut itself from the rest of the body, without destroying the growth and vigor of its own fair proportions. Free-soil Iowa and Illinois may chide the heresies of slave-holding Kentucky and Louisiana, but not the less must wheat-growing and lead-producing Iowa and Illinois vend their wares, and buy their sugar and cotton in the markets of their southern sisters, while their highway river holds open invitation to come and go in unrestrained profit and good will, and rebukes the intemperate folly of sectional aggression.

In ascending the Mississippi, you pass through all the climates of the temperate zone; through a countless variety of production; through infinite changes of scenery, and through every phase of sectional prejudice. Leaving behind, on the fertile, but hot and unhealthy sugar plains, the darkest and most tenacious shades of African servitude, the tints lighten step by step, and state by state, up to the lofty, health-inspiring shores of genial Kentucky and adventurous Missouri, where slavery visibly relaxes its grasp; and onward, to the romantic and enchanting heights of Iowa and Wisconsin, where it never had a hold, until finally, at Minesota, the beautiful cradle of this marvellous stream, and two thousand miles above, where its waves salute the sea in sullen grandeur, you hear the brief and proud declaration of territorial freedom. "Every state *must*, and every territory *ought*, decide for itself, and by itself, whether it will admit or exclude slavery."

In the month of June, 1849, I stood on the island that cleaves asunder the wild chaos of amber-hued waters, forming the cataract of St. Anthony, that second Niagara, whose overwhelming sublimity silences the mortal beholder; and before that heaven-reared altar, with its veil of diamonds, and its rainbow crown, I almost vainly essayed to remember there was another world outside of this stupendous whirl and elemental warfare—a world of petty efforts and pigmy human strifes. Yet there, with nature ringing her high eternal anthem in cadence with the plaint, a daughter of the Dacotas detailed the wrongs of the red race, and completed a lesson which I had half-learned at the other extremity of that far-reaching river.

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"There the torrent is colored with the tears of the red man, for the red man's tear is blood," she said, as she extended her graceful arm towards a rift in the falls where a clear column gleamed coral bright through the parted drapery of pearl white spray. "Far away, where the snow-hills are forgotten under a burning sky, these waters wear another stain—the stain of the black man's tears of dust and sweat."

A sad truth is shrouded in the Indian girl's wild poetry. Minesota, Iowa and Wisconsin, grieves over the woes of the African slave a thousand miles off, while with every art of diplomacy and war, they chase the poor Indian beyond their border, and take counsel, openly, how to despoil him of his hunting grounds, and exile him forever from the graves of his ancestors, and the dear haunts of his boyish sport and manly daring.

Louisiana and Mississippi thrill with indignation at the sufferings of the Indian, as he recedes before the eager march of civilization, or dies in her embrace; but they look calmly on the bondage of the African. Each compassionates largely the sin that is not of its own neighborhood, and reconciles itself to the pressure of the evil at home, until conscience and convenience can meet to adjust a settlement, and agree upon the remedy.

The older states hunted down the red men, and enslaved the black ones, until the land was all in white hands, and free servants became more profitable than purchased ones, and then conscience immediately opened her slumbering eyes and raised her head from her gold embroidered pillow to pray for the repose of the slaughtered Indians, and emancipate her useless Africans.

Those states which have thoroughly exterminated and dispossessed the Indians, and who have no large Native American land reserves to bar the speed of the axe and the plough within their limits, are tranquil and tender-hearted on Indian matters, just as those who have escaped from the cares and incumbrances of a redundant negro population, are at leisure to censure those still yoked to the burthen.

In those border states, where they are even now receiving their baptism of blood and fire in Indian forays, and where every white person counts for the full worth and value of a human being in the muster roll of civilization, they do not dwell so heavily on a red man shot, or a black one over-tasked, but they turn pale with horror when they read of the stern serfdom of chain and lash in which sailors are crushed in our commercial cities, or the hard servitude of poverty which binds thousands of young maidens to the harsh hours and tasks of our eastern factories. States like Kentucky, that have no troublesome Indians in their household—that have drained off their superfluous Africans, and are about exchanging slave labor for more economical hired service, and who are making encouraging advances in mines and manufactures, contemplate with serene hopefulness, all the prosperous and legalized forms of servitude that flourish in their bounds; but their indulgent moderation aims, nevertheless, at future amendments. They lead the van from their position in the career of amelioration; but it is only by this favored position they are enabled to be such clear exemplars, and so far ahead in the school of fraternity. In time, the dwellers in more ungenial latitudes, will come up to the point these leaders now occupy, for freedom and light are urging all their children on the upward course. In the glance backward over the path they have travelled, the foremost pretenders to

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supreme humanity must confess the lesson taught by the desert-born, but educated daughter of the Dacota chief at St. Anthony's Falls.

Oppressors and oppressed dwell everywhere; but it is only the unfamiliar form that moves general and active abhorrence. This impulse against African servitude which agitates the northern states—to whom it is unknown—and exasperates in its defence the south, who declares it a stringent necessity of self-preservation to the whites—is at least, with the masses, but a geographical morality—a humanity of latitude and longitude, modified by climate, relaxing under the moist heats of the south, and intensifying in the cold winters of New-England.

In three short weeks I had touched the extremes of southern and northern oppression. On the same river, under the same religion, government and language, I had seen the African in hereditary bondage, hopeless of freedom for himself or children, and daily driven to his task by bodily fear, yet careless and content in his glossy well-fed health, and making the sunny plains resound with his songs, until the most resolute abolitionists doubted whether this child of an undeveloped race, still in the imbecility of its unprepared animal credulity, did not require the social polity that gives him a master to tend his wants and compel him to learn the use of his hands and mind. On the upper waters of the river I saw the home of Black Hawk and his braves in the occupation of the whites, and heard the broken-hearted remnant of his tribe relate in a cold despair, too deep for tears and complaints, that the barren desert assigned them by a mocking treaty was whitening with the bones of half their women and children. They did not lament—but they did not smile—when they told that beside every lodge was a grave. I saw the Dacotas, who have of their kindred many educated persons of mixed blood intermarried with their plunderers, yielding up in stern and silent gloom their chosen hunting grounds, and their sacred altar stones, hallowed by immemorial tradition of martial rites and Dacota glory; and none could look upon this decaying race, and upon the stony, joyless composure with which they face the path of exile and death, and say as we do of the laughing, dancing slaves—"This is a happy race." The dweller on the Upper Mississippi puts his foot on the neck of the expiring Indian and exclaims, "Behold the cruelty of the slave-holder." The dweller on the Lower Mississippi raises the lash over the African, and exclaims, "Behold the injustice of the Indian-oppressor." Missouri and Kentucky, who have tasted both evils and yielded to both temptations, turn to the north and to the south and say, "Judge ye gently one of the other, for ye know not the weight of your brother's cross."

THE LAND OF THE SUGAR CANE.

Louisiana is the sugar plantation of the Union, and no soil in its limits yields a more generous return to the cultivator, but in entering the state from the gulf it gives no such promise of wealth and fertility. We left the lovely banks of Corpus Christi, where the flowers never cease to bloom, and the fresh breeze never forgets to play in the fairy groves that dot, like emeralds of deeper tint, the green savannas, and it was a chilling contrast to meet at the mouth of the river the dreary waste of turbid waters cutting their sullen way through the still more dreary expanse of black mud. All the southern border of Louisiana is a labyrinth

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of wide shallow lakes, interlaced by sluggish bayous, and surrounded by interminable marshes, seamed at intervals with veins of higher land along the water-courses. Forts Jackson and St. Philip stand on the dividing line, between the domain of man and reptiles, for it is just at the head of the vast peninsula of mud, created by the river sediment, and not yet solid enough to bear trees in which the wide current divides itself and seeks the sea by several channels. Above, cultivation begins to be possible; below, only the alligators can find a home. An isolated pilot village—an anchorage of handsome white houses—has started up at the Balize, and greets the eye like a cluster of lilies in a dark marsh; but that is a commercial, not an agricultural growth.

After passing the forts the "coast" soon becomes radiant with verdure and beauty. The voices of busy men come from the field, the plantation houses glance brightly out of their bowers of foliage, and every sight and sound is redolent of luxuriant fertility. This "coast" is nevertheless a proverb of fear to the slave. Its sugar plantations accept for their severe toil the stupid, vicious and refractory slave drainage of all the states, and here exists the harshest discipline and the least kindly bonds between slave and master. Yet the negro population thrives more gaily under even these disadvantages than in the mildest of the free states. They have no heed for the future, and are not loaded with the cares of self-government. Let it be understood that I touch not the justice or injustice of slavery. I deal simply with the facts within my sphere of observation, and leave what is above my handling to divines and philosophers. The slave population of Louisiana seems to be in that primary stage of developement in which the animal nature predominates; and if the animal wants are satisfied, and the feebler mental capacities not overtaxed, they are happy. This whole region is so noxious to white constitutions that it would lie undrained and useless; and we should have to resign altogether the production of sugar and rice, until we had reared in starving poverty a Paria caste to undertake it, if we had not a race of African laborers to whom it is more genial. The redemption of five millions of acres, now subject to overflow, but capable of rich returns in rice and sugar, will add immensely to the health and beauty of Louisiana, as well as to the productive wealth of the Union; but under existing circumstances it could only be done by whites at an outlay of life and suffering far beyond all the blacks endure. The acquisition, in 1803, of the Mississippi Valley and its noble highway, doubled the territory of the states, and greatly increased the power and standing of the nation, by giving it the control of the cotton supply in the markets of Europe. This sudden and gigantic step in annexation struck terror into the hearts of all the timid patriots in the Union. They predicted the disruption of such an unwieldy, overgrown republic, and declared it to be impossible to govern and defend such an extent of thinly populated territory. Above all, the anti-slavery men, who were not then a sectional party, but scattered lightly all over the country, north and south, inquired anxiously how the accession of a new twentieth to the number of slaves was to effect the course of emancipation. Time has answered all these questions.

In 1800 the immense valley, watered by the King of Rivers and his tributaries, had less than four hundred thousand civilized inhabitants—about one-fourteenth part of the population—now it has seven millions, and counts one-third of the votes of the Union. Then the colored population made one-fifth of the whole, now it is reduced to a seventh.

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Of the states formed out of this territory five are free-soil and six are slave-holding; but of the latter, two are preparing to emancipate before 1660, and another—Minesota—will come in a free-soil state, so that this region, at the present rate of progress, will number, in a very short time, eight free states to four that are slave-holding, and this early result I impute chiefly to the extension of slave limits. The introduction of a new and enormously profitable cultivation, which, from the peculiar nature of the soil and climate, was unwholesome for the whites, created a rapid demand for negroes on the sugar-cane fields of Louisiana, and raised the price of slaves throughout the Union. Tobacco was still a highly encouraging crop, and cotton was about to become one of our most precious staples, so that the older southern states had a home demand that aided to enhance the rising value of slaves, and, in a parallel degree, the wages of free labor. The northern states felt the advance in the wages of their hired servants, and the corresponding high standard of dress, food and comforts for their slaves, which public opinion and the example of white laborers enforced on the masters. The rearing and maintenance of slaves became, on the average, more than their services were worth, and the most robust workers were gradually sent towards the south, which also became the punishment of the heavy-headed and unmanageable. Their place was supplied by emigrants from Europe, who were attracted by the large wages and cheap lands of the young republic before they learned to appreciate its institutions. The character of the colored population in the northern states, thus purified of its roughest dross, soon attained the level of self-government. Emigration more than filled the blank left by the retiring blacks, and labor kept its balance with capital. If there had been no addition to our cotton lands, and if sugar had not come to demand new laborers at any price, wages would have crept up more slowly, and there would have been less inducement for foreigners to come to this country. The impetus from the canebrakes of Louisiana vibrated to the shores of Ireland. The long file of toilers that marched into the fertile but fever-reeking plains of the Mississippi was not broken, until, at New-York, the last departing rank saw itself crowded away, and its place taken by a sturdier and more intelligent European band. The servitude of wages had supplanted the servitude of purchase. It is not a palatable truth, but it *is* a truth, nevertheless. No state has emancipated until the colored population was inferior in numbers to the laboring class of whites, and at that point slavery becomes a burthen, and it is gently put to death. Thus the apparent gain to slavery of a vast territory really set free as many states at the north, and even the addition of resident slaves it made at one extremity of the Union was more than balanced by the number emancipated at the other. In the great valley itself, the call of slaves towards the south opened a speedier day of entire freedom, by diluting and thinning that class of servants, and inviting in, with the temptation of ready work and wages, a higher order of white service. Slaves never were profitable in New-England, because the quality and quantity of clothing, bedding and housing required in their long, cold winters, was an over-balancing item. There is so much care, thrift, and intelligence demanded in the usua routine of labor in that hard-featured land that a heedless and improvident race was rather a burden than a profit—taken, as slaves must be, from the cradle to the grave—and New-England generally sold to milder

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latitudes the Africans her ships brought to America. She was an importer, not an employer of negroes; and when the slave trade was abolished she forthwith washed her hands of the whole business, and set down conscience clean to lecture her neighbors on their slow-paced morality.

THE CRESCENT CITY.

In ascending the Mississippi, it is well to pause and observe, in its very citadel, the workings of slavery. It is the fashion to say, that the mere presence of slavery stagnates the flow of industry and impedes ruinously, the prosperous advance of any country; and there is a certain amount of truth in this—as there is in all popular errors; for they must have a little breath of vitality to live—but it is a partial and distorted truth.

It is true, that educated and self-governing industrial classes are the ablest supporters of the state.

Of all the cities in the Union, New-Orleans is the only one that doubled its population in two successive census decades, ending in 1840, though Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Louisville, did nearly the same thing. In each case this miraculous prosperity has the same magnificent source—a free water transit by river, lake and canal, of well nigh twenty thousand miles. The character and resources of the country in tribute to the respective cities will, if studied with other local causes, explain perfectly the variations in their present and future career, independent of the question, whether the bone and sinew expended there were strained under the urgings of hunger or of the lash. With a free commerce, at home and abroad, and the natural mart of the fifteen degrees of climate and latitude, for which the Mississippi is the conducter of trade, New-Orleans must be rich and powerful. Her straight, well-paved, nobly built streets, with their colonnades of beautiful trees, her stately edifices, her splendid charities, her river embankments of almost fabulous cost, her railroads, her canals, her suburb towns, that are themselves fair and prosperous cities, were all redeemed from a pestilential morass; and like the capitol of Rome and the temples of Greece it is the labor of slave hands. The slave markets of those illustrious republics, stood in the midst of their forums and palaces, while one taught and the other conquered the world; but it is not a necessary sequence that the lords of ancient civilization were sinless in forgetting the rights of toil, any more than the modern planter or manufacturer who imitate their oversight. The noblest men and the proudest nations of all ages have been more or less thralled in defective systems, and only the Supremely Wise, who sees all the antecedents and all the environments of the case, can decide how far they are the masters, and how far the victims of their lot. The majestic steamers that border the Crescent City like a forest, seem full of life and power, but they can only move on the element on which they find themselves, and blindly obey the small and simple wheel that appears so insignificant in the general mass. Man's interest is the governing wheel, and circumstances, born before he saw the light, compose the elements of his action. Almost divine must be the nature that can altogether shape these influences to his aspirations.

The progress of the amelioration of the African family is witnessed at New-Orleans with more distinctness than anywhere else. Leaving aside those of mixed blood, the blacks who have been four or five de-

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scents in contact with civilization, and who have been taught, though by the rude apprenticeship of slavery, to exert their energies, have unfolded into a much higher people than the original Africans. The developement of moral and intellectual powers has strikingly improved the form and expression of their features; and from a hideous tribe, capable only of animal incentives, gratifications and attachments, they have been brought up to the standard of moral capability. From this vantage ground, the race among us will go rapidly forward, whether in freedom or servitude. With the intrinsic elevation of the colored population, and with the introduction of white servants, who mark out the pattern, custom is commanding for them a system of kinder treatment and more generous indulgences from their masters. It is a generally conceded fact, that the laboring classes of Europe are not so well fed and clothed, nor so lightly tasked as the southern slaves; nor is there in most countries of the old world more attention paid to present instruction than in Louisiana and Mississippi, who have the worst and most uncouth colored population in the Union; and, what is an interesting collateral fact, it is also the most indifferent to freedom. I have known many instances of slave mothers—of the better order too—such as hair-dressers, lady's maids, *marchandes* (those who go about to sell goods) and seamstresses, refuse to make very moderate sacrifices to purchase their own and their children's freedom. Whoever has lived much in southern cities is aware that large numbers of the brightest slaves hire their time of their masters, at a fixed price, and work out at their trades to great advantage for themselves. Almost any of these could buy their freedom by practising, for a few years, the industry and economy which a free-born man of the north must practice all his life, to win a decent independence; yet it seldom happens that one of them will make the necessary self-denial. There are noble exceptions, but they are rare. The race is not yet cultivated up to the point at which intellectual aspirations overcome animal propensities; and it is a question with some, whether that point can possibly be attained in slavery. The whites have attained it in other countries, under equal or greater disadvantages, and the yoke of serfdom fell from their necks. Let us hope everything therefore for the blacks.

The northern states, when lightened of the guardianship of a numerous class, aliens to them by prejudice and striking physical differences, provided liberally for the education of the colored children still remaining among them, and in those branches of study which require memory and imitation, rather than research and laborious comparison, they have succeeded precisely as well as the whites. In the full and continued developement of the race still higher results will follow. The same results, though more imperfect and partial in their scope, are visible at New-Orleans, and more particularly in the mixed bloods. That class are polite and graceful imitators of the most polished examples they see; they all sing and dance with a certain proficiency, and observe and learn whatever falls within the limits of the senses, but they eschew mental effort. They are developing under rough tuition, but it so far suits their necessities that the improvement is perceptible. The white foreigners, employed in offices one shade above them, are their aptest and most efficient teachers; and this description of persons are flowing rapidly into all the cities of the South When I last landed at New-Orleans, a white hackman conveyed us to the St. Charles, the white porter of that princely es-

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tablishment received the baggage, and white chambermaids attended me in my apartment. These are the avant couriers of emancipation. Slavery has spread over so large a surface that its weakened ranks cannot shut out competition, and white competition is the grave of slave labor. Whenever and wherever the white man begins to contend for employment with the African, he does not fail to draw reinforcements from the crowded armies of his kindred, who await his call; but the negro cannot recruit on this continent. He can only thin the states that are drawing close their lines for emancipation, and hasten for them the day that must eventually dawn for every state that opens its gates to emigration.

THE NECESSARY ULTIMATE OF SLAVERY.

It is conceded that slavery cannot retrogade to the realms it has left behind, nor can it ever obtain any effective foothold westward or northward of its present limits, however it might be tolerated by law. The whole nature of the country and its productions, and the increasing momentum of the emigrant power, join to forbid the possibility. We have in this vast domain space for forty of the largest states, and we have emigrants landing on our shores at a rate to settle half a dozen of them in a year. If those laboring foreigners do not instantly urge before them into the unsettled territories the population requisite to entitle those territories to a name and place among the sovereignties of the Confederation, they remain in the older states to crowd forward our native born masses to higher aims in newer fields, and to hurry away the lingering obstacle of slave preponderance in the transition states.

Already in the three-quarters just closed, of this year of 1849, it is computed that 300,000 strangers have come to our soil for fortune or refuge; and if this number were evenly divided among five territories demanding admittance to the national councils, they could not be refused—if the constitution is valid. It is not an act of condescension and free-grace in Congress to *accept* a state when it presents itself under the conditions prescribed by the constitution—it is an imperative duty. It is for the state in the attributes of her sovereign power, of which she cannot divest herself, and which cannot be bartered away in her territorial minority, to arrange her own provisoes, and govern, like all her peers, her own domestic institutions, in her own independent manner. Yet there is, every year, less and less possibility of creating slave states, for the simple and definite lack of slave material.

The map of this union of states offers a cooling balm to whoever has a feverish dread of "extending slavery." It proves it a distinct impossibility, unless we borrow a new population from Africa to people them. When our Revolutionary sires swore to the Federal compact on the altar they had reared to liberty, they and the states they represented were all slave-holding. There was not a spot of free-soil in Christian possession on this continent when they proclaimed the Charter of Independence and Confederation. Then all the great powers of Christendom were slave-traders, and endless were the disputes and diplomacy between most Catholic Spain, most Christian France, and England, "the example of nations," for a monopoly of its honors and profits. They claimed it between them and wrangled for the largest share, as they divided and monopolized this continent. American colonies received the slave-trafficking vices with the

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language and laws of their mother-country; yet the Old Thirteen, of their own free-will and judgment, estopped the importation of slaves, though their wide extent of sparsely-settled territory cried aloud for more laborers. Of the brave Old Thirteen, half of the states (for Delaware is on the fence) have withdrawn from slavery, and far more than half of the population and of the acquired territory is with them; and half the area and people of the remaining states are preparing to follow this illustrious example.

How can a statesman so trifle with his reputation for sagacity as to speak of *apprehensions* of the "extension of slavery," when he knows the very children of this land of light can prove their fallacy by a reference to a chart of the republic—that true and noble guide in which they are rarely uninstructed. The first sprightly boy of twelve he meets from our public schools, will run his finger up Delaware Bay, along the south line of Pennsylvania, then down the Ohio and up the Mississippi until he touches the north line of Missouri, and again along that line and down the western limits of that state and Arkansas to the Red River, and this child will tell him that all these fifteen largest states of the Union north and west of this line, and all the immense domain beyond them, and all their eleven or twelve millions of inhabitants, are non-slaveholding; and every one of them, from old Massachusetts to young Iowa, by their unbiassed act, for no pre-engagements—if they existed—*could* bind the will of an independent state. If the grave statesman doubts, this child will also assure him that every one of the forty states yet to arise in this outside domain must inherit the same rights of sovereignty, yet from the circumstances of latitude and production, every one of them will step into Congress a non-slaveholder, as one after the other they receive baptism and confirmation in the congregation of republics.

Again, this youthful finger, anxious to re-assure the old man who dares not trust the Republic and her children, will trace the south line of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri—those states now visibly moving from slave to free cultivation, and who have been, and are the bulwarks, and nursing mothers of the younger states—and then this stripling of twelve, full of the confidence and enthusiasm of a nursling of the Union, will say, "When, in 1860, I cast my first vote, all these states will have passed through their transition trials, and this whole area, three times as large as all New-England, and even now having a greater population, will be free-soil and belted with other free-soil states not yet marked out or named in the maps of civilization, besides Nebrasca and Minesota." The eloquent politician takes counsel with his fears and perchance with his ambition, how to retain an excuse for his resounding lamentations on the "immoral and destructive extension of slave limits;" but he cannot impress them on the boy of the common schools, for there he is taught to understand the map, the history, and the constitution of his mother-land, and nothing can shake his loving faith in her wisdom and equity. For all reply to the vehement declarations of the gray-beard, that she is slow, false, corrupt, imperfect and unsatisfactory—the hopeful and trusting boy will turn to the second class of transition states, and dashing along the south margin of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, and on until he is lost in the unexplored Centralia of the west, he will add, "In 1860 there will be in those states more free white emigrants than slaves; and in ten years, or less, throughout the whole Union,

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if foreign emigration remains but at its present rate, the entire black population, free and slave, will be outnumbered by the Europeans who come here for work, and then all this region will be engaged in dismissing their slaves. These facts are taught in our schools; are they deceitful, sir?" The statesman still hesitates to believe in the advancement and integrity of the Confederation, and he asks:

"Where then do you children of to-day, who are to be men and voters in 1860, expect to find the limits and proportions of the positively slave-holding states, when a little later you shall come to the active guardianship of the Republic?"

"It will be confined to South Carolina and Georgia of the original thirteen, and the five states on the Gulf of Mexico—to less than an eighth of the territory, and less than a sixth of the population of the United States."

Well might the rebuked declaimer against the repose and existing policy of the Union pause to enquire why he would arrest the mighty wheel of progress, and endanger the noble machinery of the Federal compact, to brush away a speck of dust that clings to its band of wisdom-tempered steel.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HORACE—ODE XIX.

TO GLYCERA.

Thou Cupid's cruel mother,
  And thou, bold Bacchus, ye awaken
In me the lust of passions
  And loves my soul had quite forsaken.
I love Glycera's whiteness,
  More splendid than the Parian hue;
I love her winning boldness,
  Her face so dangerous to view.

To conquer me has Venus
  Left Cyprus, she forbids my muse
To sing of distant Scythians,
  Or flying Parthians' dreaded ruse,
Or aught but her dominion.
  Then bring fresh turf, incense and wine;
We may appease the Goddess
  By off'ring incense on her shrine.

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THE TRUE HISTORY OF ALCIBIADES SCRIBO,

CONTRIBUTOR, CONCOCTOR, ET CETERA.

CHAPTER I.

DUM IN FIERI.

As I happen to be the hero of my own story, I will begin according to the most approved method of hatching flash novels. With the least possible pittance of egotism, I will sketch the portrait of myself.

Let the imaginative reader figure out in his brain a tall, slender, languid, feminine-looking form, with a rich profusion of coarse reddish hair, tortured by hot irons and a world of pains into curls, or, more properly, frizzle; a pale transparency of complexion, darkish under the eyes; eyes of blue and white, with dilating pupils; a scattered crop of *moustache*, and whiskers of indeterminate hue; teeth of ivory, and lips of sunny coral—lips always smiling, to show the ivory teeth; small snowy hands, unutterably delicate; and feet that wear number six. If the reader has figured all this with the requisite force and fire of imagination, then he must have quite a vivid and favorable idea of Alcibiades Scribo—that is to say, *myself*.

This much may suffice for my *personnel*. Of my intellectual and moral *material*, modesty forbids me to speak; and, besides, as I may hopefully trust, that will become demonstratively evident in the sequel of the story. I may state, however, without incurring the charge of obtrusive vanity, that my brain has long been overburdened with a prodigious load of *mathesis* and *metaphysique*. As a specimen of this heavy incubus, you may take, *instar omnium*, the following: I have in my mind's eye, as well as written out in faultless chirography, all ready for the press, fifty different methods of squaring the circle, and a hundred sliding-scales, for the measurement of the infinite; besides three dozen theorems for the reduction of the transcendental to the *status* of human intelligibility!

Such was the capital stock with which I started my literary life-trade, and I deem it more than enough to render the name of Alcibiades Scribo an illustrious watch-word of glory among the nations to the end of the earth—a hereditament of brilliant renown, and imperishable to all posterity. But unfortunately for my aspirations winging their flight into the far future, *un*fortunately for my appetite clamorously demanding a few slices out of the pressing present, it so chanced that my ponderous *supply* both of antiquated and new-fangled lore, met with no corresponding *demand* in the book-market of New-Orleans, the city where I first had the honor of telluric vivification. All my acute quadratures of the circle would not so much as cut me a crust of bread, though I protested, hungrily, my willingness to accept it buttered on one side only, and spread thin as hoarfrost at that!

Here, then, was a perilous problem at the very outset of my valiant career—a problem utterly insolvable by any of the prescribed formula in algebra or the higher fluxions. It was to get a quantity of meat betwixt my

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ivory grinders sufficient to egnate the sum total of gastric fluid in my stomach. I gauged the infinite, stewed down the transcendental to the sirrup of nectar, pumped the well of metaphysics dry, but all would not do: I could not breakfast on rainbows, dine on the geometry of sunbeams, or make a hearty supper out of the shadows of moonshine; and as a natural result, I was in great danger of becoming a shadow myself. At length, the thought struck me that, perhaps, I had mistaken my vocation, since I had always been thoroughly persuaded that nature produces no abortions, never creates one of her children to starve, if they will but follow the bent and curvature of his genius Determining to test the matter as to what I was fitted for, by some infallible means, and my coat being excessively *seedy*, and consequently ripe for such an operation, I planted it in the windows of a pawnbroker's shop, and realized the round sum of fifty cents. With this, I hastened to the office of Doctor Powell, the famous South-western phrenologist, and boldly asked him to run his fingers over, my cranial *bumps*, and pronounce what I was made for! "Read those organs like a book," I exclaimed, "and then tell me what the whole volume is worth!"

"As the print is rather small," remarked the Doctor, "I will put on my finest glasses." He did so, and proceeded to the examination which was to decide the course of my future destiny.

As I had only demanded a general result, he worked away on my head, for the most part in silence, muttering, now and then, involuntary exclamations, as some strong point arrested his attention.

I could hear the worthy and erudite professor whisper, as if in soliloquy: "Powers of external perception feeble! Comparison enormous! Causality miserably deficient! Fancy large, but true imagination little! Imitation immense, and wonder boundless—would make a glorious humbug! The pole-organ, self-esteem, infinite. Combativeness, precarious! Conscientiousness totally *minus*!"

My agony was indescribable till the analyst paused, and I inquired with tremulous lips: "Well, Doctor, speak it out; what am I good for?" I was afraid he would answer, "nothing."

"But he replied, with a smile: "My dear fellow, nature intended you for a magnificent humbug. Go to New-York, or Boston—turn reformer; exchange all the crotchets within that cranium for gold, and your fortune is made."

"I have no money to pay my passage," I rejoined with a sigh.

"Never mind," said the Doctor; I will lend you fifty dollars, and although I am certain never to get it back again, I can afford to lose that much for the benefit of such an experiment in science."

Accordingly, my new friend counted me out the money necessary to consummate my passage to the north; gave me a letter to the editor of "The Omni-Versus," in New-York, and shaking a cordial farewell on my not ungrateful hand, enjoined me to write him monthly reports detailing minutely the success of my enterprise. I took a berth on board of the brig Fairy Wave, and propitious winds soon wafted me into the desired haven.

I hurried ashore, and lost no time in presenting my epistle of introduction at the office of the Omni-Versus. Unfortunately, however, the editor was just then making the tour of New-England, lecturing for the benefit of the blacks of Senegambia. This was the more to be regretted,

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as I learned that the pages of the Omni-Versus were devoted exclusively to the connection of the numerous *errata*, which the Deity, it was believed, had perpetrated in stereotyping the Book of Nature. Such a work of emendation, I fancied was exactly suited to my superlative talents; but the editor was absent, and the foreman had no authority to employ me. Accordingly, I was about to retire in despair. when one of the imps, probably moved to pity by the lugubrious, ravenous expression of my countenance, interposed the opportune advice—to offer my services as *literatus* to "The Daily Patent Puffer," one of the wealthiest periodicals in the city of New-York.

Five minutes afterwards, I found myself face to face with the redoubtable Patent Puffer. He was a curt, burly, middle-aged man, with a dull, leaden eye, but a sharp, snappish voice. My heart got loose from its place, flew up into my throat, and choked me, as I gesticulated half a hundred superfluous bows, without finding the nerve to utter a single word.

"What do you want, young man?" snarled Puffer, with an ominous glare in his leaden-colored orbs.

"I am a *literatus*, and have some manuscripts to dispose of," I faltered, fumbling at the same time desperately among the papers in my pocket.

"What is your name?" Puffer interrogated in a milder snarl.

"Alcibiades Scribo, at your service." The enunciation of my own name re-assured me. I felt my figure suddenly stretch to the extent of full three inches in perpendicular height.

"Hum!" ejaculated Puffer, "let me see your manuscripts."

I handed him, at a venture, my fiftieth quadrature of the circle. He glanced his eye rapidly over my darling *chef-d'œuvre* in geometry, and his surly look changed to one of ineffable scorn. "How do you like it?" I asked, in a voice dying with suspense.

"It is good for culinary conveniences, and nothing else!" was his brutal answer; "have you no more?"

I presented my sliding-scale for the measurement of the infinite; he dashed through it, like a mad race-horse, helter-skelter, and remarked: "This will do for post-culinary purposes!"

I then permitted all my hopes of salvation on my grand theorem, for the reduction of the transcendental to the *status* of human intelligibility.

"O, this is nauseating stuff," Puffer almost howled, as he pushed the unlucky manuscripts towards me with a finger. I seized my hat with a groan of hungry agony, when my tormentor interrupted my departure: "You have a fine flowing style—why do you not devote your ready pen to subjects of practical utility."

"I would be most happy to do so," I replied, eagerly catching at the suggestion, as a drowning sailor catches at a rope of the wreck: "Yes," I continued; "only tell me what you want, and I'll dispatch it with a velocity to eclipse time, distance lightning, and astound steam-engines; I write with amazing speed, because I never stop to think, but dash ahead by the process of spontaneous intuition!"

My enthusiasm seemed to delight the editor very much; the lead of his eye sparkled like pinchbeck, and in tones mellow and melting as honey, he declared: "I will give you a capital job. My European correspondent has lately received a terrible cow-hiding, from the effects of which, he is at present *hors du combat:* you shall take his place."

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"Your European correspondent?" I exclaimed, in the bewilderment of ignorant surprise.

"Yes, you shall write me letters political, critical, and miscellaneous, from Europe, with epistles of occasional excursions to Africa, Asia, and the isles of Oceanica."

My astonishment increased. "Why, it will consume half a lifetime to make the tour!" I rejoined, with a cold shudder.

"Make the tour! I don't mean to pay you for making any such tour," snarled Patent-Puffer.

"Then, how the devil am I to write the letters?"

"Shut yourself up in your own room; call it, if you like, London, Paris, or Vienna; refer to Malte Brun and the foreign journals, for indefinite *data*, and you must be a born fool if you cannot quickly forge the most brilliant correspondence out of the fire and *furor* of your seething brain!"

"O, now I understand!" I cried, transported with the marvellous ingenuity of the idea; and we forthwith concluded the bargain at five dollars per letter.

I labored *in Europe* all the following night, and the next morning, carried six long "communications from *abroad*," to the office of the Patent-Puffer. Being stuffed thickly with German and French words, and containing especially the mellifluent term, *emeute*," three score and ten times, my achievement gave boundless satisfaction to the editor; he paid me down in yellow gold, and confirmed my own cherished opinion of my powers by assuring me, that I was a great genius!

In returning to my garret, I did not walk, or touch the bare, low-lying earth. I glided—floated on wings; flew in starry azure. The golden gates of fortune and everlasting fame seem suddenly to have opened before me. I would be a Sue, a Bulwer, a Byron; I would rush on the broad pinions of the Patent-Puffer to the end of the world; I would sweep the arc of the most distant posterity! Such were the dreams of the "Home" correspondent from Europe.

But this was only the first fruit of my hasty tree of renown. The letters of Alcibiades Scribo, dated from parts unknown, continued to appear daily in the closely crowded columns of the Puffer, effecting a most tremendous sensation. The successive publications, as to "*emeutes*," insurrections, earthquakes, volcanic erruptions, hurricanes of war, and whirlwinds of diplomacy, fell startling on the ear of the great city, like one perpetual roll of heavy artillery. The impression was heightened by a number of brief notes from anonymous communicators, expressing wonder and delight at Scribo's epistles. These light missiles were hurled into the pages of the Puffer by the pen of your humble servant, *Monsieur* Scribo himself! It was a *ruse de guerre* to insure notoriety. O, Scribo, Scribo! those were golden days never to be forgotten! Thou doest well, Scribo, to treasure them up in the "amber of memory" now, since all thou hast left of them is their memory alone!

But a storm at length came, and from a most unexpected quarter of the sky. I went one morning, as usual, to carry my batch of foreign letters, when, to my horror and dismay, I perceived, on entrance, a frightful frown scowling in the grey brows of the Patent-Puffer!"

"You need not bring any more of your idiotic effusions to this office," he snarled, furiously waving me away with his hand.

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"Why? what's the matter now?" I asked, gasping for breath.

"Look here!" he shouted, holding up before my stupified optics, a paragraph in that day's paper. The paragraph was headed in large capitals:—A FRESH EMEUTE IN HELL!"

"Isn't that your work, you brainless blockhead?" cried Puffer, grinding his teeth in a paroxysm of impotent rage. "That," he proceeded, will lose me five thousand subscribers; and besides, it has spoiled the forgery of foreign correspondence forever. It has torn out by the roots the right wing of the Patent-Puffer, and reduced it to a state of hopeless nihility."

I remonstrated: "The devils have made a mistake in setting it up. It read in the manuscript—'a fresh *emeute* in Hungary,' not hell."

"The body of the paragraph proves your falsehood."

I glanced again, and sure enough there was a circumstantial detail of a most awful insurrection in his Satanic Majesty's dominions, with a particular report of the killed and wounded, and a note of *addenda* news, just received by the infernal telegraph, announcing the deposition of Lucifer, and a transitionary republic, under the presidency *de facto* of the ghost of Napoleon Bonaparte!

My knees shook, my teeth chattered, and I made a charge on the door; but I was too much blinded by mortification to discern the knob, and vainly essayed to creep out through the key-hole; when, fortunately, as I supposed, the foreman interposed for my relief, opened the door, and kindly kicked me down stairs. I then recollected too late the cause of the fatal accident. By writing of so many "*emeutes*," I had contracted a habitual love from it in the abstract as well as concrete; and so to amuse my fancy one day, I had fabricated a model for the climate of the sulphur lake country; and by mistake had inserted it among my regular Patent-Puffer files! Alas! alas!

Covered with disgrace, and struggling with spectres of despair, I applied once more at the office of the Omni-Versus; but the editor was still absent on his crusade against the enemies of the blacks of Senegambia. The same officious little imp who had directed me before to the Puffer, now advised me to try my luck with "the Virtuous Avenger."

No sooner said than done. In a trice I stood in the presence of the great Avenger.

He was a man of powerful bone and sinew, and so far justified one half of his title—the epithet of *Avenger;* he looked one! But then his pallid face, huge whiskers, keen-rolling eyes, and air of boundless bravado, seemed to render the other half—the word *virtuous*—a very problematical appellative.

"What do you want?" asked the Avenger, as he caught a glimpse of my incomparable red *moustache*, projecting timidly through the partially opened door of his office in Broadway.

"I want to become a contributor, if you please," was my hesitating answer.

"Who are you?"

"Alcibiades Scribo," I pronounced, proudly, bridling up with the bright reminiscences attached to my name.

The enunciation had the effect of magic on the Avenger. "What!" he exclaimed, in tones of joyful surprise—"have I the honor to receive a visit from the renowned author of the *emeutes* in the Patent-Puffer?"

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"The same," I pronounced, with a low obeisance.

"Come in—be seated; I wish to engage you immediately in the criminal line. Can you steal? rob? murder? and commit adultery?—eh?"

"What do you mean?" I inquired, shuddering with horror and astonishment.

"I mean," replied the Avenger, with a grim smile, "can you create crimes of the catalogue I have indicated? Can you shower them off the point of your pen with the ink thick as hail, and black as hades?"

"O, if that's what you are after," I rejoined, with burning enthusiasm, "I'm your man. With my wizard's wand of a goose quill, I can convert all the maids and matrons of New-York into *amorosas* in a single week; and if you will give me only a month, I will make of this great city such a second Sodom that it shall take fire and burn up of its own accord by a swift process of spontaneous combustion!"

We then hastily arranged the following graduated scale of prices to be paid for my contributions:

A horrible case of Burglary,	$5	00
Do. of Robbery,	5	75
Do. of Murder,	10	00
Do. of Rape,	20	25
A Thrilling Seduction in low life,	25	00
Do. in Upper Ten-Dom,	50	00
Fornicated malefeasance in a Bishop,	100	00

CHAPTER II.

DUM FERVENS.

My engagement with the Virtuous Avenger proved to be a matchless mint. My letters had an unprecedented run, and my incredible facility in composition enabled me to keep an ample supply in the market. What effect those ethical effusions produced in the hearts of their host of readers, it is impossible for me to assert with absolute dogmatism · I can only infer the fact, analogically, from their impression and action in the depths of my own bosom. By feasting my imagination daily on scenes of *paphian* vice, I began to feel an ardent *penchant* from the reality. I yearned especially to be the hero of a romance in fashionable life; to concoct an elopement with some gay, gorgeous creature of the upper elements, whose form should be a model for French novels—whose thoughts must be as pictures of fairy dreams.

Accordingly, to attain the zenith of my new ambition, I took a fashionable boarding house in one of the most aristocratic places of the city. I changed my name to the sonorous and classical appellative of "Doctor Anastasius Greenmeadow," and passed myself off as a young physician of independent fortune, recently arrived from the south. To aid the illusion, I hired me an African servant of the most unexceptionable sable, and by dealing a handsome *douceur*, secured his zealous co-operation in the *manœuvres* of my grand campaign against the universe of soft heads and susceptible hearts! While, to avoid all danger

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of detection and exposure, I observed the precaution not to drop the faintest hint in the circle of my literary friends as to my domestication in the sphere of blue ether.

The first inventions worked admirably. *Fatuma* as well as *Cupido* seemed to smile on my heroic endeavors. There was a certain gray-haired gentleman of some sixty winters, residing at my boarding-house, This sexagenarian, known in the world of Wall-street, as "Broker John Millionado," was excessively ponderous both in purse and person; and what delighted me far more, had a youthful wife without children. Eldelia Fancidia—such was the angelic name—was a light, airy creature, graceful as a sylph, joyous as a child, thoughtless as a butterfly; in short, she was the *ideal* of beauty, innocence, and bliss embodied. The music, light and loveliness of a dream organized!

For such a god-send I thanked my stars, and set my traps! I found, however, an unconquerable obstacle to a direct assault on this fair citadel, in her infantile simplicity and purity from every thought and taint of passion; she appeared incapable of love as a sunbeam or flower. Hence, as I could not hope to take her by storm, I resorted to stratagem.

Eldelia Fancidia was devoted to novel-reading—not on account of its voluptuous lures, but for the sake of its brilliant dramatic combinations. So I made my approaches on this weaker side. I brought her the newest and most dazzling. I even went so far as to translate tales from the French and German, for her especial amusement; and we soon became the best of friends. In our long conversations, I *improvisated* brief stories of love, war, and chivalry. The improvisation was not, to me, a process of any labor; since, without vanity, I may felicitate myself on having been born with a natural talent for lying. I never, in the whole course of my life, could copulate two thoughts without perpetrating some monstrous fib!

Having thus, as I conceived, fully prepared my beautiful Fancidia for the first trial, I proposed "that we two, as a mere matter of sportive jest, should go through with the dramatic evolutions of a fashionable novel: we would interchange *billets doux*, pretending the most ardent attachment in all its different stages of developement, from the first coy notes breathing the chaste perfumes of fancy, on to the last planning epistles of passion, projecting the winged elopement: in the meantime, I would escort her to public places, and act the *inamorato* to perfection: and then, at the conclusion of the wild play, we would show the correspondence to the husband, Broker *Millionado*, extinguish him and ourselves with merry laughter, and end by burning the letters!" Such was my insidious proposition; and Eldelia Fancidia accepted it with transports of enthusiasm. We hastened to put it in execution.

Oh! Alcibiades Scribo—Anastasius Greenmeadow, or whatsoever indeed be thy true title—for amidst thy multitudinary *aliases*, I fear me thou hast lost thy nominative identity—say, thou discrowned king, *now*, were not those delicious hours? days when every flash of sunlight was a fling of gold? and nights, when every gem of dew was a drop of honey from the granary of Paradise? Dost remember, Scribo, those sweet-prattling promenades in Broadway with that blue-eyed angel on thine arm, while the wind blew her shining ringlets about thy cheek, like the plumes of some happy bird? Dost remember those waftings on the sunny waters, while the snowy sails of the yacht flew on high, or the steam his-

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sed in its iron tubes, as the thundering paddles boomed on to bear thee away to triumph? Dost remember the soft, silken minutes of *tete-a-tete* in the private boxes of the Astor, when thou madest love in earnest, and alas! thy Fancidia in jest? Or those evening walks to Hoboken, when every zephyr kissed its own whispering leaf, and every flower seemed sighing its soul out in voluptuous odors? Dost remember, Scribo Anastasius, or as thou now art called—plebeian "John Smith?" Ah! me! I remember nothing else!

It was during the interlude of this dramatic love-play, that the editor of the Omni-Versus, having accomplished the salvation of the blacks of Senegambia, returned to New-York, and hearing of my literary achievments, sought me out. I found him to be a man of universal genius, as, indeed, one who had assumed the emendation of the divine *erata* in the Book of Nature, should be. According to the Omni-Versus, the Deity had committed five capital mistakes: 1. In endowing man with the appetite for individual property: 2. In giving him the absurd passion for familism: 3. In clothing him with the ridiculous attribute of conscience, that fertile source of fear and superstition: 4. In implanting deep within the soil of his nature the desire for permanent marriage and a fixed aversion to the "free series;" and, 5. In the creating the children of Africa and the sun, with black skins, perfumed to excess!

The remedy proposed to extirpate these radical evils, was to consist in casting all the varieties of the human species, of every color, shade and character—all creeds—all politics—all ideas—all institutions—into one huge crucible of social chemistry, and there melt them down, and intermingle them in a common mass—stir them well with pokers of moonshine; submit them to slow distillation at a pale-red heat; and then rake them out in rich *amalgam* purer than heaven's ether, and brighter than all earth's gold.

As Omni-Versus propounded these sublime conceptions with astonishing eloquence, I yielded my assent most cordially; and the consequence was a warm invitation to attend a *soiree* of world-Reformers, the ensuing night.

Accordingly, at the hour designated, I proceeded to Mrs. P.'s, and was introduced by my new friend, Omni-Versus. After a few preparatory flourishes, the conversation began in earnest. The question for discussion was characteristic: "What is the mathematical and social formula for constructing the great Archimedean lever which is to turn the world upside down?"

"The huge crucible," pronounced Omni-Versus, magisterially: "melt the solid globe down: stir the molten mass well with pokers of pale moonshine, and then you will experience little trouble in turning the *amalgam* bottom upwards! I have said it." As this edict was delivered *ex cathedra*, the imperial editor did not deem it necessary to amplify by details or to adduce arguments. A murmur of applause followed.

The next oracle was "Phonogra-fatuus," the renowned editor of "The Hieroglyphon," a reform journal, printed in Chinese, Trigrams, and Hexagrams. He was a little red-faced, dumpy Anglo-Saxon, remarkable for the singular curling sneer of his under-lip—a sneer of world-scorn—and for the bold expression of self-conceit on his low brow—that inimitable air, which only can be described by the new compound of "I-know-it-all."

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"To consummate a thorough retroversion," enunciated Phonogra-fatuus; "we must commence with the alphabet. It is idle for you, noble Omni-Versus, to talk about amalgamations in social chemistry, while we are all wrong in our A-B-C.'s! Whatever the lever may be, that is destined to turn the world topsy-turvy, rest assured that natural orthography is the only *fulcrum* on which your lever can work. Our books are all lies: the letters have one sound and the words another. As an example, take the term 'frock-coat;' there are nine letters, according to the usual method of printing. Now, suppose we spell it thus: f-r-o-k-u-t,—here we have only *six*, and these are all true to nature. I adopt this illustration. I make it my signal and watchword: others may choose any motto they prefer; but I, for one, will manfully charge the host of conservatism, shouting the battle-cry of *frokut* forever!"

At the conclusion of this logical harangue, there was a fresh murmur of applause, accompanied by the under-song of a suppressed hiss from the partisans of Omni-Versus.

The next speaker was Miss Mary Jane Matilda Indigofera, a maiden lady of the purest tint of azure. She began with tones sweet as the warble of lute-strings, and the music of soft recorders: "Break the chains from the hands of woman! Abolish the distinctions of sex! George-Sand-ize the universe, and lo! your labor would already have achieved its legitimate result. You shall need no Archimedean levers then. When woman shall soar to the zenith, and man sink to the nadir, the equator and poles will stand reversed, and the world will be bottom upwards! Is it not so, Omni-Versus?"

Omni-Versus retorted with a shrug of the shoulders: "My wife has long been topmost in the family, and I say it with sorrow, from that isolated specimen of female rule, I should hesitate to trust the ship of human progress to the pilotage of petticoats, though of the most unquestionable sky-blue."

This sally produced a laugh, when Doctor Parado Pantheos—a pale model of Boston manufacture—delivered himself: "Brown bread is the lever of Archimedes. Abolish cannibalism; cease to fatten on the agonies of your brethren of the flood and field, and"—

But the orator was already exhausted; the brown bread regimen, in his case, seemed to have been efficacious for one purpose, at least; it had effected a very interesting asthma.

The Rev. Philo-Sable followed with a voice of thunder, and furious gesticulation: "Let the star of empire complete its cardinal circle. Asia had her day of dominion: Europe replaced her throne: America came afterwards: now let Africa culminate. You seek to turn the world topsy-turvy: commit it to the hands of the children of Congo; they will do it in a trice: how can you doubt it, with the case of St. Domingo, and the recent experiments in so many of the West Indies, present before your eyes?"

Then came Professor Homo Bumperion, the incomparable handler of empty heads. In a voice piercing as the scream of a steam-whistle, he shrilled: "To construct your lever, you must have the organ of constructiveness yourselves in a state of immense developement, whereas I discover on all the heads here, it is miserably diminutive, as indeed are most of the other organs, excepting only the pole-star of self-esteem: hence, I am compelled to pronounce the whole scheme a failure; for

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protest and asseverate as vehemently as you please, you will never succeed well in any enterprise without brains!"

That was the most sensible remark made during the session of the *soiree;* but it threw the entire hive into angry consternation; and they began to vociferate their cherished war-cries, all together in a breath: "Social Crucible! Frokut! Woman and the Breeches! Brown Bread! Congo—Senegambia! Amalgamation! Brains!" Such was the discordant chorus to the grand *ballet* of Reform. It was a Babel of heterogeneous, shrieking sounds—din wild enough to wake the dead! or deafen the d——l!

I stopped my ears with my fingers; endeavored to implore mercy, but found articulation impossible; my teeth were set on edge, so as to thrill with torture at a touch of air! In a fit of desperation, I clutched my hat, shot the arch of the door-way, and happily gained the stoop. But I was not allowed to repose even there; the clamor of the disputants in the *soiree* was audible in the public street. I still recognised the separate watch-words: "Crucible! Amalgam! Frokuts! Woman's Breeches! Congo! Brown Bread! Brains!" Then I fled away, as if a hundred devils had been treading on my heels!

In cool reflection, afterwards, as to this strange convention of Reformers, what struck me as the most astonishing thing of all, was the fact that no two of the projectors agreed in a single opinion!

The following day I was doomed to receive a terrible blow. On visiting the office of the Virtuous Avenger, I was astonished to find the editor in a horrible state of physical anguish. The blood was streaming from his head to his feet: his face was cut into gory ribbons. The truth was, he had just endured a dreadful cowhiding for having published an article of mine, in his paper of the previous Saturday! He was foaming, furious, rabid; his eyes were red with rage as a mad dog's with poison: and as he caught a twinkle of my incomparable *moustache* through the door, he grasped his cane and made at me with a yell of vengeance.

I may as well here inform the reader, that nature had perpetrated an unaccountable blunder in my organization; she had denied my head the smallest *modicum* of combativeness; but yet for this enormous defect, perhaps I ought not really to complain, for the prudent mother of the world, as if by way of making me ample amends, had endowed my heels with the most marvellous powers of fugacity! Let but a cane hustle, or a cowhide sing one of its spirit-stirring tunes in my *rear*, and I undertake to distance any locomotive that ever *hummed* on its iron race-track! This wonderful fugacity has often served me in sudden emergencies, and, *Deo volente*, it shall continue to serve me till the end of my days. And so for every forward leap of Virtuous Avenger, I submitted a rapid retrograde. He proved, however, to be a perfect blood-hound himself, both in speed and bottom. The chase extended up Broadway, and away we went, to the infinite amusement of the torrent of passing pedestrians. I could hear the Avenger puffing behind me, like a whole host of steamboats; but it soon became evident that he had miscalculated the quantity of lightning in his joints and muscles, when contrasted with mine: he began to drop rods astern, when he bethought of an artifice which well nigh insured my ruin.

He shouted at the top of his lungs, "Head him! catch him! It is the villian Scribo—my criminal correspondent!"

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The word *Scribo* burst like a thunder-clap on the excited crowd. Every fifth man, that day, as indeed any other day, in Broadway, had been slandered by *Scribo*, while every second woman had been denounced for a courtesan. Hence the tumult may be conceived. Cowhides started out of pockets by the score, as I flew. The unlucky name, "Scribo," rolled on the air, in a long, wild, maddened malediction! My hair stood on end, and I gave up all for lost. But then intervened the recollection of my innumerable miraculous escapes in the teeth of similar perils, to encourage me: I put forth my last grain of fugacity, shot like a winged arrow into a cross-street, darted swifter than a dolphin through a narrow alley, and finally achieved my salvation!

Nevertheless, I had suffered irreparable disaster; I had lost the patronage of the Virtuous Avenger. Then I determined to play my last trumps; to test my progress with the dear Eldelia Fancidia Millionado. Accordingly, I hastened home; shaved, washed, perfumed, and donned my rarest suit: then sought the parlor of the beautiful enchantress. Our dramatic correspondence had already terminated in the usual epistolary arrangements for an immediate elopement.

I found my Fancidia alone: she was perusing my recent letter. Never before had I seen her look half so beautiful. The fire in her beaming blue eyes, the tint of rich vermillion on her rosy cheeks, more than justified the poetic epithet, "divine." As I took my seat on the sofa beside her, she remarked, merrily, "Well, Mr. Greenmeadow, we have played out our comedy, and nothing remains but to read my husband the copies, enjoy a hearty laugh, and then let the flames do their part."

"Hem!" I ejaculated timidly; "I am sorry for so fine a beginning to end thus abruptly."

"So am I," she rejoined, *naively*.

The simple rejoinder raised my drooping resolution. I ventured out: "If you are willing, it shall have a more brilliant *denouement*."

"What!" she asked with some surprise; "do you wish to go over the drama again?"

"No," I faltered, desperately; "I would make the drama a reality!"

She turned pale as a corpse, and was silent. Then it must have been the devil that suggested the old adage to my stupid imagination, as to silence giving consent; and I proceeded in a torrent of enthusiastic eloquence: "O, adorable Fancidia, have you not perceived it?" Hem! Have you not read it in my longing eyes? Have you not heard it in many a burning sigh? Hem! hem! Have you not dreamed it—hem!—when my spirit—hem! hem!—hovered around your sleeping—hem!—pillow? Hem! hem!"

The interjectional *hems*, so thickly interpolated in the foreging address, were squeezed out of my soul by the look of unutterable astonishment which I noticed in Fancidia's blue eyes. At the last *hem!* she interrupted me: "Anastasius, are you crazy?"

"Yes," I answered despairingly, making a final charge, like Ney and the old guard at Waterloo: "Yes, adorable Eldelia Fancidia Millionado, I am crazy with love!"

Once more she grew pale and was silent. Then I plunged into drowning water. "O, ethereal, ineffable Fancidia," I exclaimed, falling on my knees—"O! Oh! Alas! How I love you!"

She bounded to ring the bell; but I seized her by the skirt and detained her.

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"Wretch! give me up my letters," she commanded, scornfully.

"Not unless you pay me two thousand dollars for them!" I stammered. These were my last trumps!

"What are you going to do with my letters?" she asked, in tones of alarm.

"Publish them in the Virtuous Avenger," I retorted with a triumphant smile—I felt, like Rob Roy, that I had my foot on my own hill of heather now: "publish them in the Virtuous Avenger; have them placarded on every foul wall; cried by all the ragged news-boys in New-York; trumpeted abroad to the four quarters of the globe; scattered on the wings of every wind under heaven! I will write a new novel, and make those epistles the basis; I will dramatise them, and have the subject acted in all the theatres: for, hear it and tremble, O scornful Eldelia Fancidia, I am Alcibiades Scribo, the famous forger of foreign '*emeutes*,' and the dire concocter of all domestic mischief!"

She uttered three piercing shrieks, as if every heart-string were breaking in her heaving bosom. "O," I thought, "the two thousand dollars will come now!" And something did come then—sudden as thought—swift as lightning—stinging as the poisoned needle in the tail of a hornet! It was the thrash—thrash—thrash; ling—ling—cullarup" of a cowhide on my doomed shoulders. I turned, and the ponderous person of Broker John Millionado fronted within three inches of my nose. Then I essayed the fugacity of my heels in vain; for a hand of iron grasped my throat and held me as with the jaws of a vice; and still the cow-hide sung its rich song, now over my face and eyes—"thrash!—thrash—ling—ling—cullarup!"

Ah! well was the beast named Millionado; for he certainly gave me the largest possible slice of a million cuts. In the end I delivered up the accursed letters, and shot the door, receiving as a parting salute a kick, unmentionable as to *locality*, that sent me headlong to the bottom of the stairs, where my face struck against a d——d flower-pot, which spoiled the bridge of my smelling organ forever!

I learned afterwards that Millionado had been concealed in a closet, within audible distance, during the whole of my interview with Fancidia. Horrible! horrible woman!

That was a farewell—a long farewell to all my greatness. As plebeian John Smith, I now vegetate in the noisome atmosphere of old Orange; and *how* I continue to vegetate is the business of nobody but the star-police.

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SONGS FOR THE PEOPLE.

I.

STAND your ground, by efforts holy,
  Bravely battle against wrong.
For the weak, and for the lowly,
  'Gainst the wealthy and the strong;
Though your dearest friends upbraid you,
  Though as foes they gather round!
Be secure, for God will aid you—
  Fearless spirits, stand your ground.

II.

Hold your own, and never falter,
  God remembers well the vow
That you swore on Freedom's altar,
  Never more 'neath chains to bow;
When you pledged your faith to sever
  Ev'ry fetter o'er you thrown;
If you're changelings, cursed be ever,
  If you're true men hold your own.

III.

Dare the worst, howe'er assaulted,
  With unbending iron will;
Truth, on pinions strong exalted,
  Heavenward will soar up still;
Though a tempest gather o'er you,
  On your path full soon to burst,
Heav'n will cast a shield before you—
  Onward, scatheless, dare the worst.

IV

Fight your fight, and purchase glory,
  With unflinching heart and hand,
Stirring youth and old age hoary
  With the spell-word—Fatherland;
Preach the worth of Self-Reliance—
  Preach a banded people's might,
Give to despots your defiance—
  Onward, forward, fight the fight.

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THE MOSQUITO KING AND THE BRITISH QUEEN.

(Concluded.)

"A King, Tom, crown him."—*Checquer Play.*

In 1825 the fifty years' lease granted by Spain to the British traders at Balize, was about expiring, and some of them became a little fearful lest it should not be renewed on as favorable terms as they wished. To provide against such contingency, they conceived the design of reviving the old connexion with the Mosquito Indians, which we have seen had long ago been expressly stipulated against. They went so far as to send to the coast, and catch and crown a Mosquito, performing the ceremony at Balize; but as the British government did not scruple to seize and hold Balize by force, nothing further was done, except that in 1840 they again carried the same Indian (King Frederic) to Balize, got him drunk, of course, and made him put his cross to a will written by some of them, which purported to confide his nation to the protection of England, and his children to the charge of the good friends whose liquor he had drunk; it also made those same good friends a regency to rule during his eldest child's minority. As in these unimportant and obscurely carried on proceedings, there was no overt act to call for defensive action on the part of the Central Americans, or to give claim of prescription on the other part, they are of no importance except to illustrate what follows.

Great Britain is a great nation. It is the province of greatness to accomplish great results with simple means. To annex so large and valuable a country as Mosquitia is claimed to be to the British crown, were a great and most desirable end. The Mosquitos are a very simple people. The late king, Frederic, was so simple, that once upon a time, being elated with ideas of his extensive dominion, the grandeur of his nation, the deeds of his forefathers—being intoxicated with his brilliant position, his new red coat and cocked hat, with British protection and Jamaica rum—he actually executed a deed whereby he granted to an Englishman named Shepherd, in fee simple, *every inch of all his dominions!* But, thanks to British magnanimity, and to the folly of Shepherd, in refusing to share his ample plunder with Consul Christie, the deed was, by some body or other, cancelled, on the ground that his majesty *was not in his right mind when he made it.*

When, in 1844, Walker was sent out to begin work in earnest, he found that nothing had been done under the testamentary regency, though five or six years had elapsed since the death of Frederic. The Mosquitos, however, did not seem to feel at all the need of king or regency; though being so long without one, they had found themselves none the worse for it, but had continued living and dying, eating and drinking, hunting and fishing, itching and scratching, lounging and sleeping, quite suitably to their taste and fancy, and flourishing or degenerating as well, for aught they knew, as if kicked and cuffed, ruled and taxed by council or king. But this state of things would not suit Walker's purpose. He

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needed some sort of government to treat with—some national head to be taken by the nose. To have called together a constituent assembly would have been an useless trouble, and a waste of rum. To transport one of the Mosquitos to Balize, and there crown him, was much easier. He found at Blewfields a son of the dead king, a lad of fifteen, who was at that time, in the language of Major O'Connor, "without an establishment, suit, or attendants—a kind of Punch and Judy Majesty;" his royal father was a rum punch Majesty—"brought out on particular occasions, but generally employed in offices degrading to the little personage in whose veins flowed the royal blood of free and unconquered sovereigns, traceable for full three centuries or more." What disloyal scamps were those Mosquitos thus to abuse their prince of excellent blood!—and how very far he must have descended from those free and unconquered kings!

Her Majesty's Consul General, after blushing a little for the wicked Mosquitos, took charge of the royal scion; thoroughly scrubbed his skin with soap and water; with a scissors cropped his long hair, and with a comb relieved him of his hereditary enemies; supplied him with a suit—of clothes, and told him he was a prince. He was then taken to Balize, and the ceremony of coronation performed, the Reverend Mr. somebody doing that work, and going through it with a long face, for anything we are told to the contrary, though our informant, the major, hardly says more than that "the whole was conducted in a most imposing and impressive manner, and the arduous duties of the youthful monarch ably explained in a clear and comprehensive sermon" by the same parson.

Certainly our young fellow had reason to think himself in luck that day. As his eye glanced downward to his brave "toggery" of red and gold, and as he felt the consequential shirt collar sawing beneath his ears, how must he have been repaid for all the contumelious treatment of his bad subjects at home, and accounted himself over compensated for the profuse sweat produced by his unwonted covering, as well as the uneasy sensation his pantaloons gave at their upward bearings, and which he tried often to alleviate by occasionally "hitching" them downward? Unconscionable indeed would he have been not to feel satisfied with *his* part in the performance; though what the Mosquitos might say at their young king being taken away and crowned at Balize, where they could not be present either to view the pageantry or to drink the rum—as well as at not being allowed a voice in appointing the regency by which they were to be governed, and which was then instituted wholly by Englishmen, and consisted wholly of Englishmen—is quite another thing. But we are told that the Mosquitos are a very "docile" as well as a very "thirsty" people, and they were probably easily appeased.

This regency have then claimed to be the government of Mosquitia, and it is to them Consul Barclay would have Messrs. Vanderbilt and others apply for their right of way. They have gone so far as to establish the laws of England over all Mosquitia, so far as it could be done by proclamation, confessing, however, in a recent letter from Chrystie, the acting man of the government, that they were wholly without means to enforce those laws beyond their post at St. Juan. They have also levied a duty, collectable at Balize, on all mahogany brought them from Mosquitia. This proclamation of English law does not, however, at all disturb the Mosquitos; they have not felt either the blessings or burthens

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of their new government, any more than it cares for them, and to them it is tantamount to nothing what Blackstone says on the point of polygamy. or what 1st Victoria, Cap. —— says on the subject of vagrancy.

The young king is kept at Blewfields, where he lives with Chrystie, and is subjected to efforts for his education and civilization as painful to himself as to his preceptors; being, in fact, the only Indian in all Mosquitia that feels the burdens of government. It is there, while restricted of his natural liberty to play in the dirt, and go a turtle hunting with the other boys—while made to turn out his toes, wash and comb, blow his nose, and wear breeches, and particularly when he is ordered to make a given, and large number of bows, for the double end of keeping him out of mischief and mending his manners at risk of breaking his back—that he realizes, if he does not comprehend, that portion of the parson's sermon relating to "the arduous duties of the young monarch."

What says the Mosquitian constitution to all this? Every state, however rude, has *some* fundamental custom whence its rulers derive their authority. Can we believe that the constitution of Mosquitia admits of a regency of self-elected foreigners, or even of one appointed by last will and testament, or that it contemplates the introduction of a new system of laws by the sole act of that regency? Probably the constitution invoked says nothing at all on these subjects—nor on any other.

But what says the United States' government to all this? Has it nothing to interpose, when the famous protest of President Monroe against the setting up of American monarchies by European powers is thus glaringly disregarded? Whatever it might say; however dignifiedly or angrily it might remonstrate; the reply of her Majesty's government would probably be like that of the unfortunate frail one, when rebuked by the magistrate for having a bastard within the parish—"Please your worship, it was such a very—*very* little one!"

In the November number it was shown, and made sufficiently plain, that *of themselves* the Mosquitos are nothing: poor, ignorant, few, feeble, dirty, drunken nothings, all; that, during no portion of the time since the Spaniards settled Central America, have they held any portion of the soil in adverse sovereignty, except only so far as, in very remote times, the British have held portions of it, partly in Mosquitia's name, and wholly for their own benefit; that from 1796, as Major O'Connor has it, but in fact as the treaties show, from 1785, * and down to 1845, Eng-

* The treaty of 1785 contains the following:

"Art. I. His Britannic majesty's subjects, and the other colonists who have hitherto enjoyed the protection of England, shall evacuate the country of the Mosquitos, as well as the continent in general, and the islands adjacent, without exception, situated beyond the line hereinafter described."

"Art. VII. *All the restrictions specified in the last treaty of* 1783 *for the entire preservation of the rights of the Spanish sovereignty over the country,* in which is granted to the English *only* the privilege of making use of the wood of different kinds, the fruits, and other produce in their natural state, are confirmed."

"Art. XI. Their Britannic and Catholic majesties, in order to remove every kind of doubt with regard to the true construction of the present convention, think it necessary to declare, that the conditions of the said convention ought to be observed according to their sincere intention to insure and improve the harmony and good understanding which so happily subsists between their said majesties."

"In this view, his Britannic majesty engages to give the most positive orders for the evacuation of the countries above mentioned, by all his subjects, of whatever denomination; but if, contrary to such declaration, there should still remain any persons, so daring as to presume, by retiring into the interior country, to endeavor to obstruct the entire evacuation already agreed upon, his Britannic majesty, so far from affording them the least suc-

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land faithfully observed her treaty stipulation by which she was explicitly bound not to meddle with the Mosquitos nor occupy Mosquitia, during all which lapse of sixty years, the Indians remained in complete subjection. So that in point of time, Mosquitia's claim to sovereignty must be confined to the few years subsequent to 1845. In point of territory too, it must be narrowed down to the single locality of St. Juan; for that is the only place which the Anglo-Mosquitian force have, since the last date, sought to seize or hold: even Blewfields is without armed occupancy, and Chrystie, the Englishman who governs Mosquitia, in a very recent official promulgation to those claiming his protection against the marauding Indians of the interior, declares that, although true it is that he has established English laws through the whole nation, yet that he is wholly without means to enforce them beyond the limits of St. Juan and the immediately surrounding district. As to every other part of the country, it yet remains for the red-coated, or red-legged forces to take the first step towards its actual conquest, reclamation, or occupancy; of course its possession remains still in Nicaragua and Honduras.

It has been shown that, except two or three landings of boat's crews to perform the puerile farce of running up the boy-king's flag, and the installation of three Englishmen in sham offices—the flag to be torn down, and the officials to be thrown into prison immediately afterwards, nothing was done till February, 1848, when Serapiqui was stormed, a treaty stipulation made with the government of the state, and St. Juan occupied. It has been shown, too, that this stipulation, while it saved the rights of all parties, and protested against the existence of such a thing as a Mosquitian nation, provided for the temporary holding of St. Juan by the British forces, as depositories, for the purpose of an arbitrament and award by the home government at London, as to who were the true owners of the place. For this purpose, then—and no other—was the port allowed to be peaceably held, and having availed themselves of the benefit of this stipulation, they must be considered as acting under it, and their possession must be measured and qualified by it, until such time as, by some open act, they change and give another character to it. This has not been done; and we must consider England as still holding by virtue of that stipulation alone, for it is our right as well as their's that they should be presumed to do right, until they plainly avow their intention to do wrong.

By force of all this, and in view of the importance of the question, it became the duty of the British government to proceed speedily to a full and fair hearing of the question, and to make decision accordingly. Nicaragua was not backward on her part, in preparing her proofs, and forwarding them by Castel Leon. But, although nearly two years have elapsed, the ministry have not yet heard, nor decided the question; and in fact, through the medium of Palmerston horse-laugh, have declared

oor, or even protection, will disavow them in the most solemn manner, as he will equally do those who may hereafter attempt to settle upon the territory of the Spanish dominion."

"Art. XIV. His Catholic majesty, prompted solely by motives of humanity, promises to the king of England, that he will not exercise any act of severity against the Mosquitos inhabiting in part the countries which are to be evacuated by virtue of the present convention, on account of the connection which may have subsisted between the said Indians and the English; and his Britannic majesty on his part will strictly prohibit all his subjects from furnishing arms, or warlike stores, to the Indians in general, situated upon the frontiers of the Spanish possessions."

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plainly enough that they will not hear it. Without a hearing there can be no decision, and it therefore only remains for England to accomplish the further duty, now fully devolving and fully due to be performed, of delivering back to those from whose hands she took it, the territory in dispute, the rights of the claimants to which, she declines to hear and determine—the horse-laugh to the contrary notwithstanding.

The tenure by which England has held St. Juan, has thus become attenuated to a bare holding, for the simple purpose of restoring it back to Nicaragua. Pending this holding, Nicaragua grants a franchise over the territory, to American citizens, which franchise vests, subject only to this tenure by England; but, saving and excepting that, vests for the full term of the grant, against all subsequent sovereignties arising there, as effectually as it does against the very government granting it, and so as not to be divested, even were the place to be to-morrow conquered and held by any power whatsoever.

As these grantees are our citizens—without noticing the simultaneous treaty of the United States with Nicaragua, by which our nation is made a party to the grant, or the national character of the undertaking—it becomes the right and duty of our government to require of England to forthwith re-deliver the territory in question. In doing this it is not requisite that we take any other view of the matter than that which England herself presents us with, nor to ask her to recede from any claims she has thus far tangibly and publicly preferred. Having a right to presume that she intends no bad faith, we may with all respectfulness require of her to withdraw her forces from an occupancy of a qualified and temporary character, which has by her acts ceased to be needful or proper, and which the important interests of our citizens require should be now determined.

If England had seized and held St. Juan for the king of Mosquitia, it would have been a different thing. In that case, the grant to our citizens being made while in her view of the case that August Monarch was *de facto* the sovereign there, might have been considered void. But the holding was expressly not in Mosquitia's name. Had England, on the other hand, taken possession in her own name and right, *that* would have been quite a different affair. But neither of these were done. Or had she proceeded to perform her duty as arbitrator, and, after fairly hearing the case, decided for Mosquitia, and made delivery to her, it would have been another thing again; but as this would have been too broad a farce for Lord Palmerston to enact at London, however it might have suited at the Mosquito shore with Mr. Patrick Walker for actor, it was thought wise to wind up the affair with a horse-laugh. Thus, while her forces have been occupying St. Juan, England has by that very occupancy not only precluded Mosquitia from gaining the rights of *de facto* sovereignty, but has actually prevented herself from doing so; and the result has been shown to be that meanwhile the rights of the American grantees have effectually and indefeasibly vested.

In this view of the case, the government of the United States were entitled to make upon that of Great Britain, the respectful claim it is understood to have made, namely, the withdrawal of the forces at St. Juan, without needing to assume the, to it, new attitude of intervention. It remained for England to decide whether, by refusing this request, so reasonable if she is sincere, we are to be forced into taking a different

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position, and the queer doings down at St. Juan to be regarded and investigated in another light.

From the inklings we have of the diplomatic intercommunication now progressing, it would seem that such answer has been made to our claim, and that finally the flimsy and transparent veil of this Mosquito pretext which has herein been, with all possible gravity, examined and measured, being now torn aside, the parties to this most important question are now facing the subject, and facing one another in the unimpeded light of the naked and honest (or dishonest) truth.

The bare and naked truth is this—England, not content with her present empire, nor with her present facilities of communicating with its wide reaching members; not content with Gibraltar, the key to the Mediterranean—with Good-Hope, the key to the Indian Ocean—with the Falkland Isles, the key to the Pacific; not content with sending expeditions either to find a north-west passage, or to demonstrate, by the freezing-in process, that it can be found by no one else; nor with a right of way across Suez; but being prompted by a large conceit, and impelled by a destiny that has not yet found its terminus, has resolved to possess herself of the presently to be opened portals to the Pacific, and, well ascertaining the practicable point for such an opening, has, by force of arms, and with coolness aforethought, seized upon the port of St. Juan, with firm intent to hold it, if she can. Whatever may have been the calculations of English statesmen as to the amount of opposition or resistance to come from the United States government; whether they anticipated that the whole movement would be carried at the cost of merely the rum drank at Mosquitia, and the powder burnt at Serapiqui, or whether they expected an opposition from this quarter that should render necessary an indefinitely large expenditure of money, men and means, in order to attain their end, we cannot well know; but of this much we may be sure, they considered that whatever came of it, "it could do them no harm" just to lay hands on St. Juan and occupy it a little, for, at the worst, the possession of the place would be a good basis for *a compromise.*

And so the English public seem to think, if we can judge by the tone of their press; for, having witnessed the working of the scheme on the popular temper here, a working amounting to quite a fermentation, we find the journals on the other side completely unanimous for a compromise. And some of our own people too, more placable in spirit than far-seeing in mind, join in the recommendation.

Unfortunately for this scheme, all the compromise which the nature of the case admits has already been made, for by the terms of the canal grant, as well as of the treaty simultaneously made, rendering the government of this country and of Nicaragua parties to the compact, the use of the projected work is guarantied to be free to all nations on terms of simple equality. Can any nation ask for more? If abstaining from securing any special advantage for ouselves, is what England wants, it is what she already has, not wrung by compromise, but conceded of our own motion. If she would seek any other sort of compromise, she cannot have it. Without arrogance, but on the contrary with all humility be it said, she cannot be gratified in this thing, for it is wholly out of our power to make further concession. Our peculiar position would render it suicidal to do so. Self-preservation forbids the thought of it.

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We would not say that our government should object to admit the great commercial powers to become parties to the negotiations respecting the free and equal use of the new passage, for the purpose of giving greater sanction to the arrangement, yet it is certain that England, while she maintains her present position, with her forces occupying the territory to be cut through, is decidedly *not* in the condition to entitle her to ask to become such a party. But this is not what England wants. She would hardly have dirtied herself from head to foot in this Mosquito business for such a result. It has not been for this that the Mosquitos have been plied with rum, and the defenders of Serapiqui plied with bullets, the Nicaraguans bullied, their custom-house man starved, their treaty violated. and their envoy laughed at. No, England wants to keep some sort of foot-hold down there at Mosquitia and St. Juan. Can we allow such a thing? Look at it.

If we regarded the seizure of St. Juan as merely a little piece of land-stealing, perpetrated against a weak power, pursuant to an old and inveterate national habit, which from long practice has become quite "constitutional" with the English, it would not at all disturb our repose of mind. Nor would it, probably, alter the case, to superadd the injured country's being one of our weak American neighbors, whose calls for protection we have become quite accustomed to hear, without heeding. (Witness our stolid quietude respecting the gross intervention at the River Platte.) If, beside all this, our interference were called for by the fact that a grave injury was being worked to our own citizens, a strong remonstrance would probably be drawn forth, and a sufficient indemnity satisfy us. But the case in hand is widely different from any of these, and is one that confronts us with a state of things challenging our attention with all the faculties we possess, and demanding action with all the might we have.

Look at it. Excepting only Suez—when, if ever, it shall be cut through—the conformations of the globe can show no one passage to be compared with this one that is soon to wed the oceans—through whose jaws the fleets of all Europe must pass—where the east and the west of the old world will meet, and where commerce will join—if not in the warm embrace of friendship exactly, yet in the hand-shake of mutual profit—those so long separated by prejudice and diversity of creed, by barbarism and bad roads; and where the fond dream of Columbus will be accomplished, and a direct western route to the Indies be found. We are interested in all this, for if we are not to-day, then to-morrow, or the next day we shall be, the greatest of commercial nations. The shores of Asia are our neighbors over the way—the smooth and easily traversed way—and convenient to our hand and tempting to our enterprise are the ports of the east and the wealth of the Indies. But not in this respect does our chief interest lie. This isthmus canal must be the avenue of communication between the wealthiest and most closely peopled members of our own country—our *own country*, not our colonies. The rich cities and dense states of our Atlantic and Pacific shores must hereafter, by this avenue, conduct their immense and mutually enriching commerce. It must become the grand via of our internal trade and inter-sectional communication of every sort; the Mississippi itself hardly exceeding its importance as a means of communication from one part of the country to another, and of uniting and consolidating the remote portions in one whole.

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Now look at it. It is along the fertile borders of this oceacniceanal, and over forty thousand square miles of already claimed country, that England proposes to spread her settlements, laws and languag—to extend on every side by those evenly circling waves of conquest, usurpation and "protection," which widen wherever she treads as inevitably as fate. It is where the river's mouth opens to the ocean and to the commerce of the world, that she is resolved to erect *her* city, to become a new Tyre for the trade of the Indies to enrich. It is there that she prepares to unfurl the bright cross of St. George, to be saluted by the ships of all nations, while the weekly or daily lines of American steamers, on their course from one state of the Union to another, must answer to the summons of red-coated sentinels, and pass and return within most convenient range of cannon of heavy calibre, grinning black-mouthed from embrasures of the *British* DARDANELLES!

Look at it! Think of it!

In truth it will not bear thinking of at all. It will not do at all. It may very well do for Great Britain. It may be a very pleasant thing for that maritime island to set up her tabernacle where the morning and evening breezes of wedded oceans, sighing to each other, will lift and kiss her ample flag;—very profitable for her to seize upon the gates of a globe, and become toll-taker on the highway of nations;—grateful to pride, no doubt, to lay her grasp upon the waist of a continent, and fetter with actual control waters mightier than Xerxes ever dreamed of. It were a most fit crowning to her assumed empire of the seas—a matchless prize for an unexampled career—nay, if in the attempt, she be destined to fail, yet failure in grasping after such an object were a worthy limit to such a career, and her gigantic ambition could no where else find so glorious a death-blow. Success or defeat in such a scheme should be enough to fill the aspirations of an island of twice her size, and of a statesman of twice the boldness of him who directs her foreign affairs. And yet, my Lord Palmerston is a bold man, and honestly means to do what he has undertaken.

But for us, this would never do. Better far to lose California and Oregon—better that they remain forever a six month's voyage removed, than that, a nearer path being opened—Britain or any other great power should hold it—to stand in the way between us and our own—in the path leading from our treasury to our granary, and from our fishery to our store-house—striking a blow at the back-bone of our continent—to palsy and render worse than useless one half of our members. No colossus must bestride *that* channel;—no lion arise and stand in *that* path. Nor can we save ourselves from most disastrous results by any compromise that would leave England one square foot of territory in that neighborhood; for well we ought to know, that a speck of her dominion there no larger than a man's hand, would not need long to grow into a cloud that would overshadow the whole isthmus. Down there is no place for her, or such as she to be. Let her canal Suez, or bridge Behring's straits, or dam the Mediterranean—or do what she will—but by no means can we with any safety allow her to preside at *that* meeting of the waters.

But Nicaragua, the weak and spoliated state, with whom we have made such a treaty—most liberal on her part—as would be grossly infracted by a compromise, by which we should receive from her spoliator any privileges in territory, which by its terms, we confess to be in her;

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is she to be forgotten? Can we compromise without compromising her and compromising our own honor too? As in more cases than a few, it will be here found that expediency and the best good of all lie in the same way with justice and honor.

Not denying, but insisting, that if any great power is to hold the territory bordering the canal, that power should be the United States—and, furthermore, protesting that this way of necessity so vital to us in peace and war, may lawfully be controlled by our nation in priority to all others—let this principle be proclaimed, as the basis of every step we take in a business where false steps are dangerous,—that the channel between the oceans should be as free as the oceans themselves, with only sufficient reservation from common right to induce enterprizers to the work, and reward their pains in keeping it up. To ensure this freedom of way, no great nation should be allowed a freehold or foothold there, for none can keep those locks and gates without perturbation, as the diplomatists say, being occasioned to the others. And here it seems providential that the country to be intersected should be held by a small state, a fragment of even the small union of the late Guatemala, and one whose abuse of the custody and of its great accruing advantages can never be reasonably feared by any. Let the great nations do justice to her—let Britain abstain from a spoliation as cruel in effect as it is ridiculous in pretext, and let America adhere to the most dignified and just principle laid down, and the grand undertaking can be speedily consummated, and its magnificent and beneficent results be enjoyed by the whole world, without danger or impediment to any.

Let it be witnessed here, however, that though we have taken no advantage of our position to acquire any peculiar benefit for ourselves; though *we* have not, either through the exigencies of Nicaragua, or by bullying or cheating a weak people, sought to become the gate-keepers of the ocean, to make a close sea of the Pacific—yet if a collision should unhappily arise in consequence of the attempt to do so on the part of our powerful neighbor across the way, it can hardly result otherwise than in one or the other becoming the exclusive holder of the bone of contention.

And when we consider how deliberately England has taken her position on this question, how grand a prize she is grasping for, how fully she has committed herself, and how humiliating would be a relinquishment of her claims, especially such a total relinquishment of all the usurped territory as our position compels us to require, and, finally, how bold and how belligerent towards this country is her manager of foreign affairs, it seems most faintly possible that she will retrace all her steps.

And can we give up our point, of justice and imperative necessity? To request England to depart from Nicaragua and all parts of Mosquitia—to insist on her departure, if she refuse—to use all the power we are endowed with, to eject her, if she will not peaceable go; seem to be, not the result of a hostile feeling and war-making conceit, but the requirements of imperative necessity—the impulses of self-defence, and self-preservation. We are backed to the wall, and whether with courage or with terror, in such a sad case, we must fight. Though full well impressed with the gravity of an encounter with the island of a thousand ships, and feeling full sure of being seriously hurt before she is through with us, yet our *devoir* must be done. With what heart we may, and what preparation we shall be wise enough to make, we must go into the contest—and

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come out of it as we can; for while the English are at Mosquitia, we are not safe at New York, and an invasion of our way to and from our proper premises is not less an invasion than an attack on those premises themselves.

Many other considerations arise on this subject, which the already over-stepped limits of this article exclude here—and some of them that are important in view of the foolish, but characteristic attempt to throw blame on an out-going administration, for not acting at a time before there was anything definite for action to take hold of, but must be left to others.

In conclusion, if it be not an improper question—where are the Mosquitos?

FLOGGING IN THE NAVY.

Part IV.—Substitutes Detailed.

(Concluded.)

With regard to the freights upon gold, silver and jewels, we hope we do not err in assuming, that its appropriation in the second article will not be objected to by the grades who have hitherto profited by them. In the English navy one-third of such freight money goes to the Greenwich Hospital, one-third to the admiral, and one-third is retained by the captain. With us, the commander-in-chief receives one-third, and the captain the balance. Now, we contend, notwithstanding the venerable authority of England, that it is clearly wrong in principle for the commander-in-chief to receive one cent. No responsibility devolves upon him for its safety, and he is put to no trouble in regard to it, or certainly ought not to be. But look at the evils that may, and we fear too often have resulted from this custom. What a temptation it offers to the commander-in-chief to keep his force employed, not upon cruising ground where the general interest may require their presence, but lying in ports where the freights of specie may be obtained. It thus might happen that the Pacific squadron be kept at San Francisco, on false pleas, in order to secure freights, leaving the vast commerce of a widely extended cruising ground unprotected. Whatever disposition, therefore, is made of freight money, Congress ought to declare that no part of it shall go to the commander-in-chief. One-half is little enough to be appropriated to the naval fund; and we are quite sure that the gallant and generous among our officers, feeling how disreputable is the imputation cast upon an honorable profession, by even a suspicion of diverting a national vessel from her legitimate purposes to selfish and mercenary objects, will hail with gratification the appropriation of freight money to an end designed to elevate the bone and sinew of the service. National vessels should never have the appearance of administering to individual advantage, whether

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the advantage be the gratification of vanity, or of cupidity. The first, we have said, that the present use of the slush fund is calculated to engender: the last is the inevitable result of allowing public ships to be constantly employed in search of freight. Nothing creates greater dissatisfaction among both officers and crew, than to have imposed on them disagreeable duties for the private advantage of those having no claims upon their services: this consideration alone is entitled to great weight in legislating upon the subject. We have seen the average of freight money received by English men-of-war for a series of years, stated to be fifty thousand pounds annually. It has not, probably, been proportionably so large in our navy; but it will, undoubtedly, be increased in future by the discovery of the California gold mines.

Our estimates of both of the two last sources of income could not be founded upon any reliable data. The other sources are still more difficult to estimate: those are fines, forfeitures, wages due from deserters, and heirless intestates, private donations, and bequests. Managed with vigilance, they altogether might be sufficient, with the former, to bring the annual income of the Naval Fund to $100,000. If so large, it might be deemed expedient to have, under the Secretary of the Navy, a commissioner for its exclusive management; but his salary the fund itself should pay.

The articles referring to mutiny, desertion, and duelling, are intended to illustrate the feasibility of defining with precision offences in the Navy. It would be desirable to carry out this method in all cases, and especially those of most common occurrence—as neglect of duty, disobedience of orders, &c., which now are subject to the most arbitrary rules.

The following remarks of Col. O'Brien apply with equal force to the navy as to the army.

"The great and prominent defect of our present articles of war is the uncertainty of the punishment for any specific offence. This causes great evil. Two men are tried at short intervals for precisely the same offence, under the same circumstances. The one receives a punishment two, three, or four times as great as the other. This is not justice, and destroys the confidence of soldiery in courts-martial. Again, it is an admitted fact in all criminal jurisprudence, that it is the certainty and not the severity of punishment that deters from crime. But by our code there is no certainty, and consequently our code is badly calculated to prevent offences."

"It is true, that in very many cases of military offences, it may be difficult, if not impossible, to classify them. Still, in many other cases, a classification offers no insupportable difficulties, and so far as it can be effected, so far is an advantage gained." *

In the French army, the criminal code is believed to be more closely assimilated to the precision considered requisite in civil legislation, by defining a specific punishment for each offence. "When on the passage of some of these laws," observes O'Brien,† "it was proposed to give a right of commutation, or a right to award discretionary punishments to military tribunals, the proposal was negatived, principally on the following grounds: That it would introduce into the criminal jurisprudence of the army the most frightful arbitrary rule, the most dangerous versatility,

*American Military Law, page 437. †Ibid, page 406.

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if counsels of war could vary the punishment at their discretion. There would be no stability. The same crime would sometimes be punished with severity, sometimes with levity. The power of being sometimes indulgent would either necessitate indulgence in all cases, or it would expose the tribunals to the hatred of the soldier, ever ready to detest a severity which they could legally mitigate. In fine, it would produce a laxity of discipline, the culprit always expecting to escape the full rigor of the penalty, if not the penalty itself. It was also stated that, nevertheless, the members of the tribunals, as jurymen, may consider the question of intention, as there can be no crime without the will to commit it.

However desirable it would be to discard discretionary punishments in our navy—a consummation we feel assured by no means impracticable—we must leave to more skilful hands the draft of such a plan of classification of crimes as would be required in place of this. That our detail of substitutes for the act of 1800 may be more full, we will state in the succinct style of the British army articles, all the crimes mentioned in our articles (with the exceptions otherwise provided for) and various others besides. Although vast discretionary power would still remain by our plan, yet there is considerable restriction imposed in it, by the limitation heretofore affixed to the degree of punishment to be inflicted by different tribunals. Thus it would no longer be competent for a court-martial to convict a powerful offender of a serious crime, and subject him to a nominal punishment. The lightest sentence a court-martial can award, affects seriously the condition of the convict.

The 16th and 17th articles suggest a plan for a retired list, which may possibly be more acceptable to Congress than those which have been heretofore proposed.

Section VI.—Crimes and Penalties.

Art. 1. Any officer, or private, who shall hold correspondence with, or give intelligence to, an enemy, or rebel, directly or indirectly, or relieve with money, victuals, or ammunition, or knowingly harbor or protect them; or,

Art. 2. Who shall misbehave himself in battle, or on the probability of an engagement, or shall not encourage others to fight courageously, or shall not properly observe the orders of his commanding officer, or shall not use his utmost exertions to carry them into execution, when ordered to prepare for, join in, or actually engage in battle; or shall at such times basely desert his duty, or station, either then, or while in sight of the enemy, or shall induce others to do so; or,

Art. 3. Who shall through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection in time of action, withdraw from or keep out of battle, or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every vessel which it is his duty to encounter, or shall not do his utmost to afford relief to ships in distress belonging to the United States; or,

Art. 4. Who shall strike his superior officer, or draw, or offer to draw, or lift up any weapon, or offer any violence against him, being in the execution of his office, or shall disobey his lawful commands; or,

Art. 5. Who shall sleep upon his watch, or negligently perform the duty assigned him, or leave his station before being regularly relieved; or,

Art. 6. Who shall be guilty of murder; or,

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Art. 7. Who shall be guilty of arson, shall suffer Death, or shall be liable to such lesser punishment as a competent authority may award within its legal limit.

Art. 8. Any officer who shall behave in a manner unbecoming the character of an officer, or gentleman, or if a private be guilty of disgraceful or vicious conduct; or,

Art. 9. Who being in command of a squadron, station, or ship, or being officially connected therewith in any manner, shall connive at the exaction of exorbitant prices for articles purchased for government, or take any fee or advantage, or be in any way interested pecuniarily in the purchase or sale of any article sold or purchased for the navy; or,

Art. 10. Any person in the navy who shall embezzle, or misapply monies with which he may have been entrusted for any naval purposes, or who shall unlawfully sell, embezzle, misapply, or wilfully and negligently suffer to be injured or lost, any property belonging to the government of the United States; or,

Art. 11. Any officer, or other person, who shall knowingly make a false return, or report to the Secretary of the Navy, or to any of his superior officers authorized to call for such return or report; or who shall, through design or culpable neglect, omit to make or send the same, it being his duty so to do; or who shall conceal or omit the true facts directed to be stated; or,

Art. 12. Who shall make or sign, or shall abet, direct, or procure the making, or signing, of any false muster; or shall execute, or attempt, or countenance any fraud against the United States; or,

Art. 13. Who shall, by any false statement, certificate, or document, or omission of the true statement, attempt to obtain for any officer, or other person whatsoever, any pension, sick leave, or other advantage; or,

Art. 14. Who shall be guilty of oppression, or cruelty; or,

Art. 15. Who shall be found drunk when on any duty; or,

Art. 16. Any commander who shall, through negligence, or inattention, or any other fault, suffer any vessel of the navy to be stranded, or run upon rocks or shoals, or hazarded: or,

Art. 17. Who shall receive, or permit to be received on board any vessel of war, any goods, or merchandize, other than for the sole use of the ship he commands, except gold, silver, and jewels; and except the goods and merchandize of vessels which may be in distress, or shipwrecked, or in danger of being shipwrecked, in order to preserve them for their owner, without orders from the Navy Department; or,

Art. 18. Any officer, or private, who shall unlawfully destroy any public property, not then in the possession of an enemy, pirate, or rebel, and shall not use his best exertions to prevent the destruction thereof by others; or,

Art. 19. Who shall be guilty of theft, or robbery; or,

Art. 20. Who shall, when on shore, plunder and abuse, or maltreat any inhabitant, or injure his property in any way; or,

Art. 21. Any master at arms, or other person, who shall, without proper authority, release any prisoner committed to his charge, and shall suffer him to escape, either through negligence, or wilfully; or,

Art. 22. Any commanding officer who shall unnecessarily detain any prisoner in confinement; or,

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Art. 23. Any person in the navy who shall neglect to obey any general order, or regulation, issued from proper authority; or,

Art. 24. Who shall not report, and use all proper means to bring to punishment all who violate these articles; or,

Art. 25. Who shall by any concealment, or wilful omission, attempt to evade the true spirit of this act, shall Be Cashiered, or be liable to such lesser punishment as a competent authority may adjudge on due conviction, within the limitations heretofore imposed; but no part of this sixth section shall be so construed as to annul or modify any of the provisions contained in the preceding sections.

Remarks.—With this section terminates our suggestions for the improvement of existing naval laws, in view of providing disciplinary means to take the place of those now employed. It may be said, that in this Fourth Part we have nearly lost sight of the subject upon which we originally entered. This view, however, is only apparent upon the surface. The lash, as now exercised, carries with it the detestable abuses due its monarchical paternity—arbitrary and resistless powers to a privileged class—remediless injustice and wrong to an unprivileged class. When flogging in the navy is abolished, these evils must be corrected. The necessity of going beyond the simple delineation of a penal code, is, therefore, obvious; and hence, we have drawn out the sections and articles in such a manner as that it may contribute in an humble way to form the basis of an act to take the place of the existing statute.

In a few weeks Congress will convene and have their attention called to the subject of Naval Reform, by petitions from seamen and their friends, asking that flogging and the spirit ration be discontinued. The democratic members, who hitherto may not have been especially interested in naval affairs, and imagine that such an appeal will induce those of their fellow-members who pride themselves upon being the peculiar friends of the navy, to relieve the sailor from the tyranny they complain of, have something yet to learn. The friends of privilege, at the eleventh hour, may consent to a partial change, if the public disapprobation is clearly expressed; but in so doing they will cling to as many of their cherished English customs as possible. The navy is so thoroughly aristocratic in its origin, growth and habitudes, as to command the steady affection of those who cling to the relics of the past; and any attempt to break the aristocratic charm of its character will meet with their envenomed resistance. The obvious policy of the whigs (who have taken the navy under their especial care, and which the democracy have too readily yielded) is to maintain its present unbridled despotism in order to perpetuate the present vast distinction between the privileged and unprivileged classes. English laws, and English sea usages have hitherto served as our sole model. During the administration of John Adams, the federalists, intent upon fastening as many monarchical features upon our form of government as practicable, adopted for the navy a code, which, if compared with the English Navy law of 1660, will be found to be often literal to an absurdity. At the same time they succeeded in separating the management of the Navy from the Department of War, that its head might be placed under a more exclusive control. Under a policy thus craftily invented, and steadfastly adhered to, the Navy has become an anomaly in our republican system. Where has been the Secretary

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who has manifested the least sympathy with any portion of the service not included within the pale of privilege, without exciting against himself a clamor of opposition and abuse, which few have the moral courage to contend against? No matter what party is in power, an influence is at work about the department to oppose anything like progress—anything looking to a security of the rights of the defenceless. In Congress, the same influences have prevailed. Whatever may be the constitution of the committees, at least one federalist (perhaps under some other party name) will be found upon the Naval Committee of either House, who is *par excellence* a "navy man," which, in its proper acceptation, means a man who has less respect for, and attachment to, the republican principles of his country, than the aristocratic system of the navy. For all this, the democracy are not faultless. Instead of investigating for themselves the condition of the navy, they have too long listened to the syren voice of privilege, and too implicitly trusted to its selfish dictates; nay, some we fear have been bewitched by its spells. But the time has now arrived to turn over a new leaf, or rather to open a new set of books on naval affairs. Let the party of progress then start with a proposition, which, from the days of Charles II., the conservative would have regarded as a nautical solecism, that navy officers are not archangels, and that sailors are not devils, but that all are MEN.

NOTE.—An objection to the abolition of flogging in the Navy, which the friends of the lash never fail to adduce, is the alleged necessity there would then be of resorting to more sanguinary measures in order to preserve discipline. The following account of the administration of military law in France in 1838 and 1839, compiled from the *Moniteur*, and found in Marshall's Military Miscellany, p. 237, et seq., goes far to disprove the correctness of such reasoning. The rarity of capital executions may be favorably compared with any other military body, not excepting the U. S. Navy. These facts would have been produced in Part II. had Mr. Marshall's work been known to us when that was written.

A. D. 1838.—Mean strength of the French army, 314,919. Prosecutions, 4638, (being one in sixty-eight) and of these 3169, or one to ninety-nine of the strength were convicted, and sentenced, namely:

To death, 69; to transportation, 3; to hard-labor, 972; to labor and imprisonment, 109; to imprisonment, 2007; to dimissal from service, 9;—Total, 3169.

Of the sixty-nine capitally convicted, ten were executed; one in France for murder, and nine others in Africa: three of the latter were Arabs serving in the French army.

Of the 4638 individuals brought to trial, 2468 could read and write, and 2170 were completely illiterate.

A. D. 1839.—Mean strength of the army 317,578 men—4367 of whom were brought to trial, or one out of seventy-three. Twenty-eight were tried by the civil tribunal, 1310 were acquitted, and 3029 condemned; the proportion of the latter being 1 to 105 of the effective force of the army.

These condemnations were as follows:

To death—French army, 98; natives of Algeria, 14—112; to imprisonment, 2028; to hard-labor, or imprisonment in irons, 243; to the *boulet*, (Log,) 220; to public works, 419; to be reduced to the ranks, 3; to fine, 4;—Total, 3029.

Of the 112 capitally convicted, only five were executed, all belonging to the Army in Algeria—namely, one Frenchman for murder, and four natives of the Regency for the same crime.

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CRIMES.	TRIED.	CONVICTED.
Desertion,	606	407
Recruits who fail to join,	881	471
Illegal absence for three months,	4	3
Treason, Espionage and Seduction,	12	7
Insubordination,	379	252
Robbery—breach of trust,	4	4
Robbery of public funds,	33	15
Robbing their hosts,	10	5
Robbing public property,	443	317
Robbing articles of clothing,	244	209
Robbing similar articles of less value,	905	791
Incendiarism,	2	—
Extorting provisions by violence,	14	8
Extorting provisions without threat or violence,	58	44
Forgery,	31	17
Desertion from military work-houses,	41	35
Other military offences,	41	17
Coining,	6	5
Forcibly breaking prison,	12	12
Damaging public monuments,	29	22
Murder,	17	11
Cutting and maiming,	23	5
Inflicting wounds voluntarily,	83	41
Violation of public morals,	7	5
Rape,	6	3
False evidence,	6	1
Robbery—Petty larceny—Swindling,	312	114
Abuse of confidence,	52	42
Damaging private property,	3	3
Other minor offences,	98	62

It is gratifying to observe that the sentence of death is not frequently carried into effect in the French army, and in general only for the crime of murder. During the years 1838 and 1839, the mean annual number of convictions in the French army amounted to about one per cent. (0.97); and it appears, from the mean of the last three years of the return of corporal punishments in the British army, that the annual ratio of men flogged was about one per cent. (1.04) the punishments other than corporal inflictions, for the same period, being nearly eight per cent. (7.8.) Consequently about nine men per 100 are annually punished in the British army, and one man per 100 in the French army. Again, in the British army, where the lash is greatly relied upon to maintain discipline, the mean proportion of men tried annually by court-martial during a period of ten years, amounted to one in seventeen; whereas it appears by the French returns, that in 1838 the prosecutions amounted to one in sixty-eight, and the convictions to one in ninety-nine of the strength of the army; and in 1839, the prosecutions were one out of seventy-three, and the condemned one to 105 of the force employed.

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PRINCIPLES OF ZOOLOGY.

READ TO THE MONTGOMERY (ORANGE COUNTY) LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY, ON SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1849.

I THINK it will be confessed by naturalists, that the great Cuvier, in his classification of the animal kingdom, has adopted arbitrary, rather than natural characteristics, to distinguish his divisions below departments. This is manifest from the fact, that it is impossible to define the terms Class, Order, Genus, and Species, which would not be the case if each superior division contained its inferiors, and the inferiors were always insulated by distinct characteristics.

A science is evidently not on a natural basis, if the terms necessarily employed in it cannot be defined. If a science is—the deduction of general principles from a number of facts, by means of which the subjects of it may be systematically arranged in appropriate divisions by appropriate terms accurately defined,—a branch of human knowledge, however artfully arranged, does not rise to the dignity of a science, if the terms will not admit of accurate definitions.

The gradation of nature is a perfect system—a circle, or, rather, an infinity of relations, each following another in serial importance, by a necessary sequence. These relations are the essential conditions of distinct existence; consequently, systematic Zoology requires a description of these relations, by a subordination of characters, so that each inferior is not only contained in its immediate superior, but stands prominently out, insulated by a distinct character, to mark its position.

If the science of zoology were now on this solid foundation, we should not find such proficients as Agassiz and Gould,* in a work expressly written "to furnish an Epitome of the leading principles of Zoology," confess that the terms genus and species, "although the most common of all others, are not the easiest to be clearly understood;" and then, although they previously said—"it is very important, therefore, to have a clear idea of what is meant by the terms Genus and Species,"—the utmost they could do to comply with this important requisition, was to tell the student, that "the genus is founded on some of the *minor* peculiarities of anatomical structure," and that "the species is founded on *less* important distinctions."—*Principles of Zoology*, p. 14.

Their valuable little work is not to be censured for not containing definitions; because the difficulty arises from a fundamental error in the science, not in them. They were compelled to use the very indefinite words, *minor* and *less*, because no distinct characteristic applicable to each division has been agreed upon by zoologists. A characteristic is attached to each division; but, below the department, its value fluctuates in each, and frequently in the same division, being at one time of classic, and at another, of ordinal, or even of generic value, by an arbitrary, rather than a natural measure. For example, refer again to Agassiz and Gould's "Principles of Zoology," p. 15, *et seq:* and it will be seen, that no distinct principle is a ruling characteristic in the classes and orders

* Principles of Zoology. By L. Agassiz and A. A. Gould. Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, Boston.

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of the same department, and much less of the different departments; which shows that the value of characteristics is not natural and intrinsic, but variable and arbitrary. It is precisely as if, in commerce, a dollar should be of the value of 100 cents, for the purchase of bread; of 75 cents for coffee; of fifty cents for tea; and of no value for sugar.

This confusion of the value of characteristics may be made more manifest by an attempt to define Class and Order, by which it will be seen that most of them are used indiscriminately for both divisions.

A class is a division of a department of animals, founded on the mode of nourishing the young, *the mode of life of the animals, the presence, absence, or peculiar formation of the heart, the head, the respiratory apparatus, the locomotive organs, or incapability of locomotion, &c.*

An order is a division of a class of animals. characterised *by their mode of life*, the presence, absence, composition or form of the scales, the jaws, trunk, *respiratory apparatus*, external covering, *locomotive organs*, or *incapability of locomotion, &c.*

It is evident, that no distinct characteristic exclusively belongs to either division; but a variety of characteristics common to both, and consequently of different values, must be enumerated, to convey even an imperfect idea of the division. A reference to Cuvier's "Animal Kingdom," would still more embarrass the student, because the more detailed enumerations involve a greater confusion of characteristics.

Professed naturalists, in the course of practice and study, acquire an indistinct, though tolerably just idea of zoological divisions; but the beginning student, especially without an instructor, is exceedingly embarrassed by the variable value of characteristics. Nay, it frequently happens, that proficients in the science widely disagree in the classification of particular subjects by reason of them. Man is a striking example of this truth.

It is one thing to find fault, and another to propose a remedy. I will now apply myself to this branch of the subject, in which I will be as brief as possible.

The zoologist need not be embarrassed with the vexed question of life, the vital principle. It has nothing to do with zoology, beyond the designation of the subjects to be treated of. Animal Kingdom—the word *animal* implies everything relating to the abstract principle of life connected with his subject.

As the system I will presently propose is based on a rigid adherence to exclusive dominant and subordinate anatomical and physiological characteristics, it is important, as a preliminary, to determine whether the value of these characteristics is to be estimated from embryonic development, or from manifestations of animal life. The investigation of this subject will also assist to discover the dominant principle of classification, which will be the characteristic of the primary divisions of the animal kingdom into departments. This principle being obtained, it will only be necessary to observe a strict adherence to anatomical and physiological science, to obtain for each division of classification an appropriate characteristic, or characteristics which will be subordinate to its immediate superior, and dominant to its inferiors throughout the series.

Messrs. Agassiz and Gould, in their recent very valuable work on the "Principles of Zoology," pages 122, 3, 4, speaking of the "zoological importance of embryology" to classification, state it to be a law of na-

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ture—" that the organs of the body are successively formed in the order of their organic importance, the most essential being always the first to appear" in the embryo; consequently, that as the organs of "animal life" make their appearance in the embryo prior to "the organs of vegetative life," they "should be considered of higher value" "in classification."

These gentlemen have inferred a universal law from the exclusive contemplation of the development of the embryo of vertebrated animals. In this department the spinal column constitutes *the foundation* of animal structure. There is, therefore, a *mechanical* necessity for its priority of development in the embryo, exclusive of its importance as an organ of animal life. The means adopted to accomplish an object are subordinate to its attainment. There is no mechanical necessity for the prior, or early development of the ganglionic system of nerves, or those which preside over vegetative life. This system is deposited in the trunk with the organs it is designed to govern; consequently, although it is of the very highest importance to the animal economy, there is no necessity for its development prior to the trunk and visceral organs.

No relations surround the embryo similar to those which surround the produced animal, to make it necessary that any particular set of organs should be developed in the embryo prior to any other; consequently, no set of organs has any organic importance superior to any others developed in the embryo, to give it value in classification,—*at least not until circulation has commenced*, which necessarily implies a development of the organs of vegetative life in all animals above acrita; and in these by analogy.

Physiologists assert that the cerebro-spinal system of nerves presides over the functions of animal, or voluntary life; and the great sympathetic, more properly the ganglionic system of nerves, presides over the involuntary functions of organic life. This can only be true of vertebrata; because articulates, mollusks, and radiates, are destitute of a cerebro-spinal system, and possess only the ganglionic system, less and less systematic, and more and more filamentous as the scale descends, until, at last, it is lost in the acrita. Hence, it follows, that, so far as these animals perform voluntary functions, they must be performed by the ganglionic system of nerves. The ganglionic system, therefore, in a very large majority of the animal creation, performs both the voluntary and involuntary functions of life, *without assistance from the cerebro-spinal system;* but in no animal does the cerebro-spinal system perform any function, *without the constant support of the ganglionic system*—facts which appear to be conclusive in respect to the priority of importance of the ganglionic system.

It may be proper also to say, that although all vertebrates possess the compound nervous system indicated by the cerebro-ganglionic organization, yet it is only in man that the voluntary functions of relation are clearly and prominently distinguished from those of animals possessing only ganglionic systems of nerves. No line can be drawn to sever other vertebrates from articulates by any peculiar manifestation of mental or instinctive superiority. Hence, although in the department of vertebrata, the cerebro-spinal system is developed in the embryo prior to the ganglionic system, in every vertebrate, man only excepted, it acts in subordination to the ganglionic system, precisely as if the cerebro-spinal system were absent.

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Lastly: The involuntary functions, or those of nutrition, *are active before* the voluntary functions, or those of animal life. It is true, the spinal and cranial forms, and a fluid which afterwards becomes medullary matter, appear before the ganglia and viscera in the embryo vertebrate; but the pulsation of the heart, and circulation, are the two vital functions first perceptible. Prior to the development of these, the developments of the embryo are carried on by a law relating to the embryonic, not the animal condition;—by a law *exterior* not *interior*, to the embryo. Besides, new-born animals are supplied by nature, internally, with food sufficient for a space of time, varying in different animals according to the immaturity of their voluntary organs at birth; consequently, their voluntary organs are not called into activity, until the involuntary organs have disposed of the nourishment thus provided.

The conclusion stated by Messrs. Agassiz and Gould, viz.—"Thus those peculiarities that first appear (in the embryo) should be considered of higher value than those that appear later. In this respect *the division of the animal kingdom into four types*, the vertebrates, the articulates, the mollusks, and radiates, corresponds perfectly with the gradations displayed by embryology," appears to be incorrect.—*Principles of Zoology*, page 123.

If the law they have stated be granted, it is easy to see why the division of vertebrates should be correct, viz: because the cerebro-spinal system is developed before the ganglionic system and viscera. But is this true in regard to articulates, mollusks, and radiates? Which part of their nervous systems relates to the organs of animal, and which to vegetative life? If they can be distinguished, which is first developed? Unless these questions can be answered to correspond with the rule, the divisions of articulates, mollusks, and radiates will not correspond "perfectly with the gradation displayed by embryology."

Two points are gained by this discussion. 1st. That embryology cannot importantly control classification. 2d. That the organs and functions of nutrition, those of organic life, are of higher importance to classification, than the organs and functions of animal life, or those of relation.

Two difficulties remain to be noticed before I proceed to the primary divisions of the animal kingdom into departments, for the purpose of obtaining the highest characteristics. 1st. Is the nervous system of higher importance than the other animal organs? 2d. A classification based on the nervous system can only embrace the acrita by analogy.

In regard to the first: I have already said, that the zoologist has nothing to do with the vital principle, because functions constitute life—at least the manifestation of life, in a zoological sense. A function requires an agent to direct the performance of a duty, and an instrument to execute it. Nerves are the only visible agents of the animal body which direct the performance of duties; and bones, muscles, &c., are the only instruments by which their commands are executed. Both are equally important. It is just, however, to give precedence to the power which influences actions, rather than the instruments by which they are executed; which fairly yields to the nervous system the priority of importance.

In respect to the second: It is remarkable, that, at both ends of the animal kingdom, we are met with similar difficulties. Man is the only

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vertebral animal that requires an unknown principle superadded to nervous influences, to make him what he is—a psychical animal; and acrita are the only radiate animals in which instinctive animation is, so far as we know, carried on without nervous influences. The first are as far above as the last are below apparent nervous stimulations. It would be so contrary to all analogy, however, to suppose these acrita to perform vital functions without the agency of nerves, that it will require strong proof to be entitled to belief. It is more reasonable to believe they have yet escaped detection. Acting on this belief, I may pass this apparent difficulty without qualifying the geneal features of my plan.

According to these views, I have adopted the nervous system as the dominant principle of animal life, which present divisions of the animal kingdom coinciding with the four primary groups of the celebrated Cuvier. There is, however, this important difference between the principles I propose for classification and those of Cuvier, and all other naturalists, viz: That as animal life consists in the performance, or activity of functions, which requires nerves to stimulate, and an organ or organs to be stimulated to activity, these two principles respectively constitute the characteristics of different divisions of classification; the nervous systems being the characteristics of departments, and the organs on which they act, or the functions they perform, become the immediate subordinate characteristic, or characteristics of the next in the series, viz. classes. But the involuntary organs and functions, those of nutrition, as I have said, have a higher importance than, and are entitled to precedence in classification, to the voluntary organs and functions, or those of relation; consequently the characteristics of classes must be exclusively taken from the involuntary organs or functions, as the lungs, the heart, digestion, &c.

Thus we obtain the two highest characteristics for the two highest divisions of classification, so distinct that they admit of very easy application and definitions. No necessity exists for an enumeration of various inferior characteristics to define either division. Nor will it be necessary, in a systematic work on these principles, to describe the animal, as all the characteristics from department to species, would necessarily present a perfect description of him.

The definition of a department would be—The division of the animal kingdom into groups, the individuals of each group of which agree in the character of the nervous system. As cerebro-gangliata vel vertebrata; diplo-gangliata vel articulata; hetero-gangliata vel mollusca; cyclo-neura vel radiata.

The definition of a class would be—The division of a department of animals into groups, the individuals of each group of which agree in the involuntary organs and functions of organic life, as the respiratory apparatus, organs of circulation, digestion, &c.

In these two divisions I have disposed of the nervous system, and the involuntary organs and functions of vegetative or involuntary life. These constitute vitality, and are the bases of the voluntary organs and functions, or those of relation. The skeleton is the basis of power for the activity of the voluntary functions, and consequently presents the characteristic for orders. It is true, that nervous influences stimulate the voluntary muscles to activity, and, through them, the skeleton; consequently there are voluntary as well as involuntary nerves. But a vast majority of the functions of relation of the animal kingdom are performed by instinct—

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impulses prompted by the involuntary functions. To such an extent is this true, that, if we reject the creatures of our imaginations, and discard speculation, we must acknowledge, that to *one animal alone* belongs the singular power of performing a majority of the functions of relation, by the instrumentality of the voluntary nerves, without, and often contrary to, the impulses of instinct, the functions of the involuntary nerves. It is in reference to this single animal, man, that the voluntary, or cerebro-spinal system of nerves, presents a feature of sufficient importance to compete with the skeleton for priority as a characteristic in classification. In all other animals it plays a subordinate part—is absorbed in the functions of nutrition, and is only of generic value by the character it bestows on them. This peculiarity in man is so strongly marked, that I regard it of higher value than any ordinal characteristic, and have made it the subject of a division of the class, in which man is placed in the first and highest section. It is his natural position, as well from his extraordinarily distinguished characteristics, as from being the great type of nature, the "breath," the "image" of God on earth. Having so disposed of this single example in nature, which confers a higher value on the nerves of relation than on the skeleton, this obtains exclusive value as the characteristic of orders.

The definition of an Order is—A division of a class of animals into groups, the individuals of each group of which agree in the prominent characters of the skeleton, indicating an agreement of the totality of their functions of relation: as Bimana, from the osseous formation of the hands compared with the feet; Carnivora, Edentata, Rodentia, from the teeth, &c.

Following the same principle which guided me in the division of departments and classes, viz., to give to the organ influencing or originating a function the highest value in classification, and the organ, or immediate instrument of function a subordinate value, the characteristics of genera are as numerous as the different senses, limbs, teguments,—in short, all the organs and functions of relation of the animal kingdom.

The definition of a Genus is—A division of an order of animals into groups, the individuals of each group of which agree in the organs and functions of relation to the external world. As Felis, Canis, Equus, &c.

The preceding anatomical and physiological divisions have appropriated the prominent characteristics of animal nature. But a vast field of anatomical and physiological organization and functions remain to be disposed of, which are either too minute for the higher divisions of zoology, or the *modus operandi* of which are unknown, except by their effects, but which must be appropriated to a division. It is these which distinguish the particular animal prompted by his specific impulses, garnished with his colors and markings, and displaying the modifications of generic character which constitute individuality. It is no longer at the group we look, as in the previous divisions; but at the individual manifesting a homogenity of nature, a unity, resulting from a sympathetic association of all the organs in a common bond of union.

It is not my design to inflict on this Society a dissertation on this interesting subject, as some of the members are probably more familiar with functional and sympathetic relations and connections than I am; but merely to call your attention to the very important agencies of these influences to form specific character. I also ask your attention to the fact,

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that the ganglial nerves, (the organs presiding over the involuntary functions,) preside over these functional and sympathetic influences, exhibiting and confirming the fact, that, except in man, if he should be excepted, the ganglionic nerves take precedence of the cerebro-spinal system, not only in vital energy and functions, but in every thing relating to the *direct* sympathies of animal nature which bestow individuality.

So, also, the greater or less specific distribution of vital energy to particular organs in different species, makes a corresponding difference of natures strongly manifested in their characters, although the cause which produces it may be inappreciable by the anatomist and physiologist. I have often thought that this may be one of the chief causes of difference between the species of men, as well as between men and other cerebro-gangliata.

Slight differences in the organs and functions of particular animals, not of sufficient value for generic characteristics, produce differences of character permanently impassable by generation, and therefore highly important in zoology. When I add to these the various modifications of animal nature produced by even slight modifications of the functions of absorption, secretion, capillary circulation, &c., abundant materials are presented for specific characteristics, some of which can be exhibited, and others are only known by their effects in color, instincts, and sexual aversions.

I will now recapitulate and condense the specific characteristics. 1st. Slight anatomical and physiological modifications of generic character, consisting of less or more in size, shape, or consistence. 2nd. Inappreciable anatomical, and physiological differences in the secerments, capillaries, &c., of the system, manifested in color, texture of the teguments, or instincts. 3d. The greater or less distribution of vital energy to particular organs, manifested by habits and instincts. 4th. Functional and sympathetic relations and connections; or the results of the actions and reactions of the organs and functions of the animal economy (from the relations and connections subsisting between them) to establish a unity and harmony of being, also manifested by habits and instincts. 5th. Permanence of the specific characteristics from generation to generation. However slight any difference may be, if it consists of a single spot of color marking one race and not another; if it is known to be permanent in the race, it is God's mark of distinction, which the systematic naturalist cannot disregard.

Dr. Morton's valuable paper on "Hybridity of Animals and Plants," in "The American Journal of Sciences and Arts," vol. 3, second series, 1847, is so conclusive against this condition being an element of species, that I omit to notice it.

The definition of species is, substantially, what I stated in my "Natural History of Man," p. 275, viz.—A division of a genus of animals into groups, the individuals of each group of which agree in modifications of generic characteristics, instincts, sexual aversions or preferences, size, form, or color, and which, there is good reason to believe, is permanently native in the race.

The terms Family and Variety require notice.

The term Family should have been earlier noticed according to the position it occupies in classification; but as it has no *natural* place in classification, being only a group of genera by proximate traits, I postponed the definition rather than interrupt the regular order of the natural

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divisions. It has no distinct character of its own, but borrows from genera a sum of traits, exhibiting a family relation or likeness. Instead of being the division of a higher, it is the grouping of the members of a lower division, by traits common to the group, although each member disagrees with all the others in the family in the particular which constitutes it a genus.

The definition of a Family is—A group of genera, the members of which agree in numerous traits of generic value, but disagree in the particular characteristic, or characteristics, which constitute each a genus.

The word Variety is always referrable to a species, of which it is a trait of character, not a division: consequently it is not a term of classification, but denotes that the particular species is subject to changes from its ordinary character, to which it returns.

I have thus presented to the Society an outline of the labor in which I am engaged. It is impossible for me to predict any probable time when it will be accomplished, if ever. You all know the difficulties which embarrass me, and which can only be overcome by patience and perseverance. That the science of Zoology requires a reformation, by which certain and fixed principles, instead of mixed, confused, and variable characteristics may be applied to each division of classification, must be apparent to every student of nature. Whether the principles I have sketched in this paper would effect the desired improvement, must be left to others to determine. I place them before you to invite attention and scrutiny, in the hope that my errors may be corrected. Instead of deprecating, I invite opposition; because it is more my desire to arrive at just principles, by whomsoever they may be advanced, than to obtain the reputation of having discovered them.

I know not now, nor can I know until I shall have systematically arranged the animals according to the proposed principles, to what extent the present classification would require re-arrangement. It cannot be extensive, and yet every division must be closely examined.

Nomenclature must also be made to conform to it. It is desirable that as little change in the names current in the science should be made as possible; consequently, only such should be made as are incompatible with the proposed system. As, for example, the names Vertebrata, Articulata, Mollusca, and Radiata, indicate facts contrary to the characteristics I propose for departments; therefore I would propose to substitute the terms Cerebro-gangliata, Diplo-gangliata, Hetero-gangliata, and Cycloneura, which indicate the characteristics belonging to each. So, also, the word Mammalia is founded on mammæ, which are organs of relation, not characteristics of a class. The term *Lactantia* would be better; but it might be more proper to make two classes of the present mammalia, distinguished by the names proposed by Professor Owen, viz., Placentalia and Implacentalia, and subdivide the Placentalia into two sections, Psychical and Instinctive, to separate man from other animals.

It is impossible to say to what extent nomenclature would be changed, without having made a systematic arrangement of the animal kingdom, according to the proposed principles. The most numerous changes would occur in the higher divisions of classification, as it is apparent that the necessity for alterations must diminish at each descent in the series, so that very few would be required in genera, and scarcely any in species.

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EARNING A LIVING;

A COMEDY IN FIVE ACTS.

ACT IV.—(*Concluded.*)

SCENE X.—DUPERU'S *Counting-house.* DUPERU *alone.* (*Enter* HAY *and* HARTINGTON.)

Hay and H'n. Good morning, Mr. Duperu.

D. Good morning, gentlemen. A bad business this, I sent to you about.

H'n. How bad is it? Have all the bills come back?

D. Every one.

H'n. Have we money enough to take them up?

D. Not if we pay our notes.

H'n. Of course; but if not?

D. Just enough.

H'n. I think the bills are entitled to a preference over the notes. The notes are for goods we bought, and on which we paid the sellers a profit. It seems fairer that they should take the risks of commerce.

D. I think so, too.

H'n. The people who bought our bills did not expect profit; they only wanted to remit their money; and their amounts are larger to each one, are they not?

D. Much larger. And there is another reason yet, which concerns us. If the notes lie over, they only draw interest; but if we don't pay the bills, they will come upon us for the damages.

H'n. Why, they can do that, at any rate; can they not?

D. Yes; but they will not. If we pay promptly, everybody will waive damages.

H'n. Well, that is one more reason certainly.

Hay. It is a terrible situation we have got ourselves into. We might better have let ships and voyages alone.

H'n. Why, Hay? except on Mr. Duperu's account, we are not so badly off. The voyage will make this loss good, and more; but the difficulty is, our notes are all given by Mr. Duperu, in his own name; and his credit will be destroyed if they are not paid.

Hay. Ninety thousand dollars to pay, and nothing to pay with.

D. How! ninety?

Hay. Thirty in notes, thirty in bills, and thirty we borrowed of Mr. Hollybush.

D. Yes; but that we have in bank, to kill off the notes or bills. The pressure is for thirty—not ninety.

Hay. Well, how are we to raise it?

D. I have but one dependance.

Hay. Mr. Hollybush?

D. Even him.

Hay. He won't raise his finger. He suspects that we are concerned in this

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affair, and he has taken so violent a prejudice against us, that he would be glad to break you, for our sakes.

D. I hope not. I shall make out a statement of my affairs to show him; and I can convince him that he will be safe in lending me a hand. I can secure him, too, in a great measure.

Hay. Well; you can try. If he refuses, we are but where we were.

H'n. Do your letters give you any idea how Chapman's house is likely to wind up?

D. Not the least. They stopped on these bills first. The failure is just announced, and my friends have heard no particulars.

Hay. And the drawers?

D. Oh, the drawers were their own house, in Calcutta. That goes for nothing. Well, then, you think with me, that I should pay off the bills, and do as I can with the notes.

H'n. I think so, decidedly.

Hay. And so do I.

D. Very well. Now I'll prepare my statement, and when it is done, I'll send a note to Mr. Hollybush. [*Exeunt. Scene closes.*

SCENE XI.—THOMPSON & WELLER'S *shop. The four ladies taking chocolate.*

Miss D. Your fifteen minutes are nearly out, Mary.

M. I know they are. What can it possibly mean?

Minetta. Oh, don't be nervous. It seems very strange indeed, now. But when the explanation comes, it will be some very simple matter.

C. I cannot imagine anything to excuse them all for failing. One might come at least, to tell us what is the matter.

Miss D. Do you think they are taking their revenge, because they were kept waiting here yesterday?

Minetta. What an idea! Why we would tear their eyes out.

M. They would deserve it, indeed.

(*Enter* BOY *with* HARTINGTON'S *note; looks about him, and kicks against the counter to summon the Shopwoman. Enter* SHOPWOMAN.)

Shopwoman. What do you want?

Boy. Is Mr. Glumly here?

Shopwoman. No—don't you see he isn't?

Boy. His man said he would be here, he guessed.

C. What man said that, my boy?

Boy. The waiter down here where he boards. He said as how he heard him tell Mr. Hollybush that it was time they should come down to Thompson & Weller's.

C. Is that note for him?

Boy. Yes, ma-am.

C. (*looking at it.*) From Mr. Hartington?

Boy. Yes, ma-am.

C. Give it to me. I will see that he gets it. Here is a shilling.

Boy. Thankee, ma-am. (*Exit.*) [*Exit Shopwoman.*

C. (*reads the note.*) "Sir—A very serious disaster to a friend of ours requires the instant attendance of Mr. Hay and myself down town. The matter is so important that the ladies will fully excuse us, I am certain, when we can see them and explain. Will you hasten down to them and show them this. Your's, &c. J. HARTINGTON."

What can this mean?

M. I don't know, but I am glad the disaster is not their own.

Minetta. But where are Mr. Hollybush and Mr. Glumly?

Miss D. (*looking out.*) They are now coming down the street.

C. Let us go home, we have nothing further to do here.

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Miss D. This shop isn't lucky for elopements. There is a spell upon it.

Minetta. Eloping seems to me very like the night-mare; we go on, but we make no progress. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE XII.—MRS. CAMPION'S. (*Enter* MINETTA *and* MISS DUBARRE.)

Minetta. They certainly saw us. Did they not?

Miss D. Oh, certainly. They will be here in five minutes.

Minetta. Poor Charlotte! Did you see how distressed she looked?

Miss D. Yes; and Mary too. Mary did not speak, but she was very much alarmed. What disaster can this be?

Minetta. Oh, I don't know. It is only a misfortune to a friend, you know; so Mr. Hartington's note said. That is not as if one met with a misfortune one's self, you know.

Miss D. Some people profess to think it is.

Minetta. Some people profess too much. My dear Nancy, I love you very well; and if you should burn your fingers in the candle, I should be very sorry. But I should not squeal—I could not feel it as you would.

Miss D. No; that is certain. But, Minetta, I hope you don't think that I am just now in a fair way to burn my fingers.

Minetta. No, dear. But who can tell? We know just as much of the real characters of these men now——

Miss D. As they do about ours. Is it not so?

Minetta. Pretty nearly. But here come our two runagates.

(*Enter* JACOB HOLLYBUSH *and* GLUMLY.)

Minetta. Oh, oh, oh, oh, Mr. Hollybush!

Miss D. Ah, ah, ah, ah, Mr. Glumly!

Minetta. So, ladies that are ready to elope are not worth coming after?

Miss D. No; we put them on the shelf in some shop, and go walking Broadway, to make more conquests.

G. and J. H. But, ladies—ladies.

Minetta. Rather late in life for you two to be dancing the cheat.

Miss D. Rather early to be trying these caprices upon *us;* and playing at fast and loose. Fast will come loose, but loose will not always come fast again.

J. H. But, dear ladies, hear us.

Minetta. That's as much as to say, you don't like to hear *us.* Well, if you'd rather hear yourselves, proceed. Now for your defence.

Glumly. Why, Miss Minetta, we were ready at twelve o'clock, and anxiously waiting.

Minetta. Waiting for the clock to strike one.

Glumly. Indeed, lady, we were waiting for Hay and Hartington; and Miss Mary had given us all notice that you would, none of you, wait for us below there over a quarter of an hour.

Minetta. She showed good sense and forethought that time.

Glumly. Well, we waited five minutes, and these gentlemen did not appear.

Miss D. And so you disappeared in your turn.

G. And so we went up to Hay's room to look for them, leaving word that we were gone to Thompson & Weller's.

Miss D. Where you were not gone.

G. On the contrary—where we did go, as soon as we had called at Hay's rooms. He and Hartington had just gone out. We thought we had missed them in the street, and should find you all together.

Miss D. Well, that's a plausible story, and you shall be received into conditional forgiveness—temporary forgiveness that is—until we find out that its all fudge. Then you don't know what has happened since?

J. H. Not at all.

G. Our wits are quite adrift. We're as puzzled as men can be.

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Miss D. Hartington wrote you a note, which we received and opened. A great disaster has befallen a friend of his and Hay, requiring their immediate attention. And so they couldn't come.

Minetta. And so the elopement is put off.

J. H. What disaster can that be? No hint as to its nature—pecuniary or personal—a grief or a loss?

Minetta. None.

G. But, dear ladies, are we to dance attendance forever on Mr. Hay's destinies and Mr. Hartington's, and all the destinies of their friends beside? If they have a large circle they may furnish a fresh disaster every day; and our eloping party will become as proverbial as Monsieur Tonson.

Minetta. Mr. Glumly, you speak like a real man; as if the men were the important part of this performance. Our destinies are united to those of Charlotte and Mary, and you will do well to hook yours on too, and smile, and say nothing.

G. I am rebuked.—When does the curtain rise again?

Minetta. Not till this mystery is cleared up.—Mr. Hollybush, do you know, or suspect, or conjecture anything about it?

J. H. No, Minetta, I do not.

Minetta. Well, now, won't you go at once and ascertain? Find out all you can, and come back and tell us; and then if you can help them, go and do it.

J. H. You shall be obeyed. (*Exit.*) [*Scene closes.*

SCENE XIII.—OLD HOLLYBUSH'S *house.* CHARLOTTE *and* MARY.

C. What did you do with Hay's letter, Mary?

M. Left it up stairs.

C. Did you understand all that about bills of exchange, and notes of hand and things.

M. No, not very well. I had an idea what the result of it all was.

C. What is a bill of exchange?

M. It's some kind of an obligation to pay money. I believe it is also called a bill of lading.

C. And what is protesting?

M. It seems to be a sort of substitute they have sometimes, for paying the money.

C. The great trouble now seems to be about Duperu.

M. Yes; Hay says his notes are due to-morrow, and if they are protested he says it will almost ruin him.

C. That must be because the creditor gets a great deal more, somehow, when notes are protested.

M. I suppose so. Here's papa.

(*Enter* OLD HOLLYBUSH.)

O. H. Well, my daughters, have you been out to-day.

M. Yes, papa, we have been in Broadway a little while.

O. H. I'm glad of it. I've been very busy to-day; but I have thought a great deal about you—more than about my business.

M. Why so, papa?

O. H. I'm getting very old, my daughters. I feel fatigue much more than I used to do; and when I grow tired my thoughts turn to my home and my repose. Yes; and sometimes to my long home and my long repose.

C. and M. Oh, father! father!

O. H. Yes, I'm an old man, and I cannot be with you long. It's not my place now to be stern and give commands. I cannot control your actions, and if I drive you from my side, what will become of me?

M. Oh, father! we will never leave you. Nothing shall drive us from you.

O. H. I was unkind last night—I was foolish and violent; but I have

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thought about it since. Do what you please, my daughters; receive what company you prefer; but do not actually marry without your father's knowledge—if possible not without his consent.

C. Oh, Mary! what a blessing that we are here to-night. (*They take his hands and kneel by his side weeping.*)

O. H. (*quietly*) Come girls, enough of this. We are friends now, and you must show me cheerful faces. (*They rise and compose themselves.*)

(*Enter* JOHN.)

John. A note from Mr. Duperu, sir. The boy is waiting for an answer.

O. H. (*after reading.*) Call the boy in. (*Boy comes in.*) Tell Mr. Duperu I'm very sorry. To-morrow I'm engaged early. He says he shall not be ready for me this evening. Tell him I'm very sorry I can't get to his office before twelve, but at that hour I will be there.

Boy. Yes, sir. (*Exit.*) [*Scene closes.*

SCENE XIV.—MRS. CAMPION'S. MR. CAMPION *in his dressing gown and slippers, a glass of toddy before him, a handkerchief round his head.* (*Enter* MRS. C.)

Mrs. C. Aha, Mr. Campion! what have you got there?

C. Dochan dorrish?

Mrs. C. Doch and what?

C. Dochan dorrish, the stirup cup, my dear, or cup of departure. I'm off for bed shortly.

Mrs. C. (*sitting down.*) In English, you would call it a night-cap.

C. Yes, perhaps so.

Mrs. C. I wish you wouldn't be so learned. And I wish you wouldn't stir your toddy that way, it makes me nervous.

C. Makes you nervuos! The devil! Shall I stir it this way, then?

Mrs. C. No. If you must stir it, stir it round and round.

C. Well, really, Mrs. Campion, you are getting such a quantity of damned whims, that it is difficult to live with you. Where's Minetta?

Mrs. C. Up in her room. I've just come from there

C. Where you have had a long woman's talk, about ribbons, and dressmakers, and the opera, and what not?

Mrs. C. No, indeed. We have been talking about her adventure in the morning.

C. That was more sensible. Well, I would'nt let her run such rigs with many people, but she's safe with Jacob Hollybush.

Mrs. C. Yes, I think she is, perfectly.

C. Jacob is come to a good, sound, safe, mature age.

Mrs. C. Age, indeed! Why Mr. Campion, he is not older than I am.

C. No need of that, my dear. But Jacob is forty, and you, as you say—

Mrs. C. I said nothing about it.

C. Well as you hinted then, you are now forty-five.

Mrs. C. How can you assert such a thing? Suppose it were true, does it do you any good to put me in mind of it? And how should you know if it was true or not?

C. Oh, my dear, I have kept tally, like those captives that cut notches in sticks to signify the years of their captivity.

Mrs. C. Poor captive, how you must have suffered! And have you really notched a stick for my age?

C. No, my dear—all this is figurative. You are the stick, and time has cut the notches. I see them, but you can't without a looking-glass

Mrs. C. Mr. Campion, what satisfaction is it to you to reproach me in this way about my age!

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C. Mrs. Campion, what sense or reason is there in your humbugging with me about your age? You ought to have more sense.

Mrs. C. It is nobody's business but my own, supposing I do feel sensitive about it; and you need not insult me.

C. It is not your busines, at all. It is my business, and if I like you as well as you are, you have no right to wish yourself younger.

Mrs. C. If you like me as well? But I know you don't.

C. My dear Madeline, it is not your age I would change if I had the power; but a streak or two of your temper. Thank Heaven for that, because it is possible, and the other isn't. Now I will make you a night-cap, and when you've taken it, if you're not in a better humor—why, the best thing that I can do, will be to stay here and take night-caps till morning.

[*Scene closes.*

ACT V.

SCENE I.—DUPERU'S *Counting-room.* DUPERU, OLD HOLLYBUSH.

D. Have you examined that paper, Mr. Hollybush?

O. H. Yes, sir.

D. That, sir, is a complete statement of all my own affairs in all their ramifications.

O. H. I see it is.

D. You see, sir, that by that statement, I am completely independent—able to pay everybody and have a round surplus.

O. H. Yes, sir.

D. Very well, sir. Now be pleased to look at this paper, for this contains my difficulty.

O. H. This is the India voyage business.

D. Yes, sir. This is a good affair enough, but it is not my own. I have had the agency; but only on commission. I have no interest in the profits or losses.

O. H. But you bought the cargo in your own name, and for your own paper.

D. That is just the trouble. Thirty thousand dollars of that paper falls due to-day, and my principals cannot put me in funds.

O. H. It is a large amount.

D. I know it. They received a remittance from Calcutta, in bills on London. These bills they sold, and paid the first batch of notes with the proceeds; then they made that loan from you to pay those that are due to-day.

O. H. Well, and why don't they pay them?

D. Because their bills came back yesterday, and they had to take them up to save damages. That took all the money.

O. H. It's a bad case. On whom were the bills?

D. Chapmans.

O. H. Oh, I know. Calcutta bills, drawn by his own house there, most likely.

D. Exactly. No drawer to come back upon.

O. H. Well, sir, and what do you propose?

D. Why, Mr. Hollybush, its very hard for me to propose anything. You cannot but see that my object in laying all this before you is to get assistance. If you will not pull me through, I must suspend payment till this ship arrives.

O. H. Two or three months yet?

D. Probably.

O. H. Have you anything more to pay in the meantime?

D. Not a dollar.

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O. H. How much can you raise towards the thirty thousand?

D. About ten thousand; but it will cut into my own business badly.

O. H. And if I make you a loan, what security?

D. Why, the ship, you know, and all that, is pledged to you already. I might give you a mortgage on a vessel or two. I could make out. I think, to secure you.

O. H. But your principals—why do they keep so much in the background?—Is their personal security not available.

D. Oh, you know who they are. You showed that you knew that, when you gave us the other loan.

O. H. I assure you, Mr. Duperu, I know nothing about it.

D Nevertheless, sir, you mentioned them to Vansittart at the time.

O. H. There is some mistake in that matter. I had not the slightest idea who they were. What did I say to Vansittart?

D. Oh, Mr. Hollybush, we are past keeping secrets with you now. My principals are Rupert Hay and John Hartington. You asked Vansittart if they were not borrowers of money—and we supposed that you understood that they borrowed that.

O. H. Hay and Hartington! is that thing possible? Did they plan this voyage?

D. Yes, sir.

O. H. And execute it thus far—assort the cargo, give the orders about the ports to be visited, and all that?

D. Yes, sir.

O. H. You surprise me very much. Are those your bank notices?

D. Yes, sir.

O. H. Let me see them. (*Looking over the amounts and making memorandum*) A pretty heavy amount, Mr. Duperu. I cannot determine in a moment what I will do. You have been rather imprudent to commit yourself so largely, looking to the returns of a voyage to meet your payments, your principals not being capitalists to help you out at a pinch.

D. I feel that now, sir, plainly enough.

O. H. I cannot promise you an answer till the last moment of bank hours. If you intend applying anywhere else—

D. I do not, sir.

O. H. Very well, about three o'clock you shall hear from me. (*Exit.*)

(*Enter* HAY *and* HARTINGTON.)

D. About three o'clock—and in the meantime I am to be on this rack of uncertainty. He will do nothing—did you hear what he said?

Hay. Yes. It is very surprising. What the devil did he mean then by his questions to Vansittart about our borrowing money?

H'n. He has forgot himself. what he meant, He certainly did suspect us at the time.

D. But he forbade you his house, as it seemed, in consequence.

H'n. I don't know. That interdict is now taken off. Charlotte has sent to have us come over, and says, expressly, it is by her father's permission.

D. Well, go over then, and leave me in my tenterhooks.

Hay. We may as well. We can do nothing here.

D. No, nor anybody else, I fear. It is a bitter pill—but do not you stay now: only come back about three.

Hay and H'n. We will. (*Exeunt.*) [*Scene closes.*

SCENE II.—VANSITTART'S *Room.* VANSITTART, JACOB HOLLYBUSH.

V. Will your brother be here to-day, Mr. Hollybush?

J. H. I don't know—perhaps so.

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V. I settled that Brooklyn business for him yesterday, and got the money. I wish you'd tell him if you see him.

J. H. I will. He's vastly amiable to-day, and I suppose this will make him more so.

V. I don't think he need concern himself about four hundred dollars.

J. H. He need not, perhaps, but he does.

(*Enter* GLUMLY.)

G. Good morning, gentlemen.

J. H. and V. Good morning.

G. Shall we have an elopement to-day, as usual, Mr. Hollybush?

J. H. No. I believe that game is all up.

G. How so?

J. H. The ringleaders have deserted us.

G. Which are they?

J. H. Charlotte and Mary. They have made friends with their father.

G. Do they sacrifice their accomplices?

J. H. Oh no! my brother yields on the main point. Hartington and Hay are to visit at the house as before.

G. Is this the effect of our vigorous demonstration yesterday?

J. H. Oh no! he does not know that yet; it would have worked the other way. He came round of his own accord. Nobody said a word to him.

(To be continued.)

TO THE AUSTRIAN GENERAL HAYNAU,

ON THE MURDER OF THE HUNGARIAN COUNT BATHYANY.

"Murder, but intentional, not wrought
To horrid acts, stands forth the first of crimes.—*Whitehead*

I.

Monster, with what mad intent,
Or on what fiendish purpose bent,
Did'st thou with dark and murderous aim
Strike at a hero chieftain's fame?
Methought thou wert a soldier brave,
I find thee but oppression's slave.

II.

I know not what may be thy fate,
Thou man with soul degenerate;
Apostate from a soldier's faith—
  Why not have met him in the field?
The coward fears a soldier's death;
  But warrior spirits never yield!
Thy sword with martyr's blood is dyed,
  Ignoble weapon for the brave;
He, in his death, is sanctificed!
  But thou shalt fill a traitor's grave;
And Hungary's history shall proclaim
Thy immortality of shame.

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FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

THE money market has continued increasingly abundant, and all those elements which tend to promote a prolonged ease of the market are in activity. The importations of the port of New-York have been large, but have, in common with domestic fabrics, sold well at prices which ruled at the close of fall business much higher than at its commencement. While goods have sold so actively, payment has been made promptly, and specie has accumulated in the bank vaults.

The following statement shows the condition of the banks on the 24th of February, 1849, the 30th of June, 1849, and the 22d September, 1849 :—

BANKS OF NEW-YORK.

	Sep. 30, '48.	Dec. 9, '48.	Feb. 24, '49.	June 30, '49.	Sept. 22, '49
Loans and Discounts,	$73,503,787	$74,998,932	$76,824,565	$82,960,422	$85,814,603
Stocks,	12,513,599	12,476,758	12,454,637	12,800,993	12,362,748
Specie,	5,721,134	6,817,814	5,481,874	10,571,517	9,000,175
Cash items,	5,748,443	5,955,472	6,385,062	6,479,829	7,472,661
Bank notes,	2,592,448	2,460,264	2,344,140	2,679,349	2,233,964
Due from banks,	8,234,166	9,168,610	9,044,254	11,746,279	9,744,377
Capital,	44,173,233	44,330,553	44,362,869	44,929,505	45,588,326
Circulation,	22,601,051	23,206,289	22,509,982	21,912,616	23,686,528
Deposites,	28,835,024	29,205,233	30,816,287	35,604,999	37,342,770
Due to Banks,	12,399,582	13,311,087	13,483,339	20,944,078	17,638,015
Due Canal Fund,	1,501,537	1,005,655	437,169	1,112,298	———

The loans of the banks, it will be observed, are, as compared with last year, at a very high figure, and the means are derived from an increase of deposites in the city banks of $8,100,000, and of bank balances $4,200,000, of which $3,300,000 is in specie, and the remainder in discounts. The amount loaned to brokers in February was $1,424,003. This increased to $1,745,022 in June, and has since diminished to $1,687,809, and has been further diminished since the return. The balances due country banks are very large, arising in some degree from the fact, that the trade having not yet come in, the circulation has not reached the city for redemption—an operation that would reduce the balances considerably.

This state of affairs has enabled the banks to make large profits, and the dividends this year for the city banks will average 9 per ct., most of the small capitals having declared 10 per ct., in addition to which their surplus funds have much increased. This has stimulated an increase of bank capital, and some $2,000,000 has been added to that of the city. That the amount of loans of the banks is much larger than last year is not an evidence of unsoundness. As long as the discount of short active business paper is adhered to, the larger the general amount of business done, the more considerable must be the sum of the loans. It is to be remarked, that in such a state of affairs the quantity of specie on hand continues to accumulate. Towards the close of the fall trade, bills so advanced as to induce an export of specie; but a small amount served to produce a reaction and fall in bills, and to renew importation of specie, of which, to the close of October, there had been received from California, at the mint at Philadelphia, $3,800,000. The rumor of gold abundance has already produced some slight disturbance in exchange. The standard of France is silver exclusively, whereas Holland and Belgium have coined gold. Last year, owing to political disturbances, a demand for silver sprang up in France, and Belgium passed a law legalising English sovereigns, to avoid the inconvenience of the silver drain. That having now subsided, the law to permit sovereigns to circulate

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has been repealed, October 28, and Holland has abolished the use of gold as a currency. The effect of this was to increase the export demand for silver here, but that has now ceased. Under the Independent Treasury specie has increased in abundance. The banks hold now more than ever, and the rate of money is exceedingly low, say 4 *a* 4½ per ct. on call, and 6 per ct. bank rate for 60 *a* 90 day's paper. This state of affairs has now continued for a longer time than before known for very many years. At the same time the revenue tariff has swollen the receipts of the government. The quarterly revenue and expenditure has been as follows, for five quarters:

UNITED STATES REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

Quarter.	Customs.	Lands.	Miscel.	Loans.	Total.
Sep. 30, 1848	8,991,935	482,709	133,271	10,127,200	19,735,114
Dec. 31	5,181,370	494,498	934,369	7,599,950	14,211,348
March 31	8,374,628	389,566	2,181,350	3,734,500	14,680,044
June 30	5,794,256	279,685	63,500	5,004,050	11,141,491
Sep. 30, 1849	11,450,000	370,000	175,000	1,246,500	13,241,500

EXPENDITURES.

	Civil.	War.	Navy.	Interest.	Total.	Loans.
Sep. 1848, 303	371,231	8,064,851	2,979,022	181,176	14,597,254	3,268,850
Dec. 31	3,864,669	3,803,990	2,680,269	1,510,659	11,859,567	2,403,950
March	2,873,033	2,498,259	2,091,291	167,308	7,629,888	3,510,208
June	3,909,143	3,001,428	2,041,912	1,765,224	10,717,707	3,700,523
Sep. 1849, 302	678,760	3,302,315	2,052,435	34,499	8,068,009	842,177

The revenues of the September quarter exceed those of the corresponding quarter of the previous year about 40 per cent., and the current receipts over current expenditure for the quarter, is nearly $4,000,000, equal to about $12,000,000 per annum, with the decreasing war expenditure. The whig administration, have, however, through their letter-writers. thrown out feelers to ascertain the public pulse. It is stated, that nearly $20,000.000 of loans will be wanted to make good deficiencies to that extent for the fiscal years, 1850–51. It is matter of congratulation to the people, that the finance committees of the two houses, have, by the late election, been placed in the control of those who will sift into these contemplated iniquities, and bring down the expenses to their proper level. The regular appropriation bill ought not to exceed $24,000.000. All accounts alledged to be connected with the Mexican war, ought to be separately audited, and placed under the charge of a special commission, and such as may be allowed, presented to Congress entirely apart from the regular treasury accounts, to undergo debate and final action. The probability is, that the years 1850 and 1851 will yield $10,000,000 excess of revenue, and the $20.000,000 asked for will make $30,000.000. which by no manner of means should be allowed to swell the corruption of executive patronage.

The great change in the laws of the United States and Great Britain, which is to take effect on the 1st January next, in respect to navigation, must have a great influence upon the value of that description of property, as well as upon the demand for most descriptions of exportable goods. The navigation laws of England, followed by those of other countries, originated in a desire not to provide merchants and producers with the best and cheapest means of transporting goods, but to build up a military navy which should deprive the Dutch of the marine dominion which they then exercised. The free trade system of the industrious Hollanders had given them the carrying trade of the world. Their merchant marine multiplied because it was the cheapest and most efficient means of transportation. The increase of seamen thus produced, naturally constituted in a military navy that which was resistless. The English navigation act, introduced into the Long Parliament by St. John, a Puritan republican of the Commonwealth, was intended not only to undermine the power of the

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Dutch, but to punish the colonies that had remained faithful to the Stuarts. It was undoubtedly an outrage upon the rights of mankind and on the freedom of trade; but the tendency of all discussion, during that age, of the natural rights of men, was confined to those modes of liberty which bear upon the internal organization of government. While the shipping interest was fostered for a specific purpose and avowed end—viz: to form a navy—there was no other well-developed industrial or commercial interest which could contend against an interest backed by such state reasons. The burdens and oppressions which the commerce and industry of the nation suffered through the monopoly created by the navigation act, were considered as necessary to the national defence. There is no doubt but that the commerce of the world and the progress of civilization were greatly retarded by those enactments. Mr. Huskisson admitted, in 1826, that they were almost the exclusive cause of the dissatisfaction which ultimately caused a separation of the colonies. But it may also be admitted, that it was the jealousy and malignity manifested by the government of Great Britain against the shipping of the New England states, on their independence being established, that drove those States to seek a union with the South, under a federal government that else might not have been formed with sufficient strength to retaliate. The South clearly made a great sacrifice when they assented to confer upon northern ships a monopoly of carrying their produce. Nevertheless, the policy of the federal government, although firm, was liberal. They formed treaties of reciprocity early with the northern states of Europe, and constantly tendered terms of reciprocity and equality, which were haughtily rejected by England, until, as Mr. Huskisson declared, she was "forced by necessity" to adopt them in 1815, in the direct trade with the United States. She, however, obstinately and arrogantly refused to grant what Mr. Canning called "a boon," viz: permission to trade with the colonies. The United States, however, in 1815, passed a law which was embraced in the treaty with Great Britain, in respect to the direct trade, repealing all discriminating duties on foreign ships, to take effect in favor of any nation which should abolish similar duties on United States vessels. In 1817, they passed a law of a more coercive character, to the effect that no goods should be imported into the United States except in American vessels, or those of the nation that produced the goods;—this rule not to extend to nations that had not adopted similar rules in respect of United States vessels. The English would, however, yield nothing in respect to their West India trade, until the United States prohibited British vessels arriving thence. The "necessity" that had manifested itself in 1815, in respect to the direct trade, was by this law made apparent in relation to the colonial trade, and Parliament opened certain ports to American vessels for the admission of certain goods. The vessels, however, could not leave the colony for another, or for England. This regulation has remained in force down to the present time, when the whole fabric of laws thus pertinaciously maintained during a struggle of half a century, is removed altogether. Under the old law, a British ship must have been built in the British dominion. If she was repaired abroad she lost her nationality; also, if sold to a foreigner she could not be repurchased; she must be manned with three-fourths British seamen, and always have a certain number of apprentices to her tonnage. This is now changed. A vessel may be bought of foreigners, and get a British register; foreign repairs will not affect her nationality. She may be sold and repurchased. Asiatic seamen are now deemed British. The requirement of apprentices is removed, and the Queen may waive altogether the requirement of a certain proportion of British seamen. A British ship has advantages only in the coasting trade of the British islands, in which foreigners may not engage. They may, however, trade from one colony to another, or to the mother country; or the colonial legislature may procure permission for them to trade between different ports in the same colony. Tea may be imported from any country, and foreign whalemen may arrive from sea. These are some of the main features of the new law, which, in respect to the foreign trade, permits foreign vessels to do all that British ships may do.

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This vast change which has been wrought in British policy by the enterprise and energy of the United States, developing the eternal truths of free trade, has manifested itself in England through the instrumentality of those great industrial interests that have grown up in the last thirty years. The most remarkable of these is cotton. The following table shows the number of lbs. imported into England, and the quantity of cotton goods exported at two periods :—

	COTTON IMPORTED.		COTTON GOODS EXPORTED.	
	Lbs.	Plain, Yards.	Dyed.	Yarn, Lbs.
1815	58,887,183	66,669,930	90,392,836	9,241,547
1848	727,010,125	600,387,420	399,740,791	127,701,600
Increase,	668,122,942	533,717,490	309,347,905	118,460,053

The aggregate average freights from the South is 1,500 lbs. cotton per ton measurement; hence it required 484,673 tons of shipping to carry England her cotton in 1848, or 445,415 tons more than in 1815. A similar increase in tonnage was required to carry the goods abroad. The number of persons interested in England in this transportation of cotton at the cheapest rates, is 2,500,000, or 2,000,000 more than in 1815; and they procured the abolition of the duty of 12½ per cent. on cotton, and, united with similar interests, procured the abrogation of the India Company monopoly in 1830, more recently an abolition of the corn duties, and now the monopoly of freights. It is to be observed, that while these interests, concerned in cheap freights, have been constantly extending their interests, numbers, and influence, that of the shipping has not progressed. As compared with the United States, the tonnage of Great Britain has been as follows :—

COMPARATIVE TONNAGE—UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.

	Great Britain.				United States.	
	Sailing.		Steam.		Sailing.	Steam.
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1788	11,429	1,278,051	—	—	201,562	—
1814	22,089	2,504,297	1	69	1,368,127	—
1832	19,450	2,224 350	343	35,228	1,439,450	90,632
1848	24,162	3,166,913	1,032	231,008	3,154,041	427,890

It will be remarked, that from 1814 to 1832 there is a decrease in the British tonnage, and a small increase in the American. This arises from the fact, that in the former country, in 1827, and in this in 1829, a complete revision was made of the registers, and lost and condemned vessels struck off the lists. Since that time the account has been regular. In the case of steam tonnage, the quantity owned in the United States apparently exceeds that of Great Britain and Ireland, but it is the English custom not to include in the register the room occupied by machinery. This makes a difference of 80 per cent.; that is, including engine-room, the tonnage of 1848 would be 415,814, or nearly that of the United States. As it stands, however, the fact is apparent, that the mercantile tonnage of the United States has overtaken that of Great Britain. While that of Great Britain has increased 1,888,000 tons since the formation of the United States Government, our own has increased 2,952,479, or 60 per cent. more. In all that period, the United States have constantly striven for freedom of the seas, and Great Britain has constantly resisted the inevitable tendency in that direction. She now throws up her futile policy, abandons opposition to American enterprise, permits her merchants to avail themselves of our great resources and skill in ship-building, invites the agriculture of the world to supply her in food, and the ships of all nations to bring it to her, as well as the raw materials of manufactures. There have been in operation several elements to prevent the extension of the influence of the shipping interests in all countries, in a ratio proportioned to that of opposing interests. Thus, improvements in shipping,

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with the aid of steam, have enabled the same amount of tonnage, by more rapid passages, to perform a greater amount of work, and the magnitude of vessels has greatly increased. Thus, but a few years since, a vessel of 500 tons was a first class: 1,200 to 1,500 ton ships are now quite as frequently to be met with. This has had a tendency to restrict the interest in fewer hands, although perhaps wealthier ones

The immense demand for tonnage to transport food in the famine year 1847, when France, Belgium, and England suspended their navigation acts, added to the United States Government demand for the Mexican war, exceeded the supply, and the exorbitant freights of those years caused an immense increase in the tonnage built. This was as follows :—

	Ships.	Brigs.	Schooners.	Sloops and Canal Boats.	Steamers.	Total.	Tonnage.
1846	100	164	576	355	225	1,420	188,204
1847	141	168	639	392	198	1,538	243,783
1848	254	174	701	547	175	1,851	316,076

The tonnage built in 1846 was larger than ever before, yet it nearly doubled in 1848. The subsidence of the famine demand, with the restoration of the navigation laws, together with the release of the vessels in the United States Government service, threw an enormous supply of tonnage upon the regular markets, and the consequence was low freights, relieved slightly by the California demand. These new and well-built vessels, sailing at the lowest freights, will, in January next, have the carrying trade of England thrown open to them from all ports; and while the West India and South American, as well as East India and European ports, can offer them English freights, they can afford to carry thither American produce and goods on better terms than formerly. Flour and cotton goods may go to the Brazils, where a coffee freight can be taken, thence to England, as well as the north of Europe. The circumstances of the last few years have conspired to prepare the American marine for that new business now opened to them.

The approach of the 1st of January, when free navigation takes effect in England, has induced engagements already to land freights in Liverpool after that date. For this purpose the rates have advanced 60 a 75. Vessels up to land cargoes, under the new act get 2s. for flour and 5d. a 6d. for grain, and rates are a shade better for current engagements. Some of the packets are engaging at free navigation prices. This will cause a movement in foreign goods for England; but, more completely to give our vessels the control of the trade, a more perfect and facile system of warehousing is required. The mercantile interests of the city, having become satisfied of the benefits they derive from a low tariff and the independent treasury, as well as the whole commercial system adopted by the late administration, regard with unmitigated disgust the anti-commercial persecutions to which the trade of the country is subjected in consequence of the tricks of partisans in office. Our shipping having now the privilege of supplying England with any description of goods she may require, no matter where produced, it needs but ample warehouses, where goods can be stored and insured, free of custom-house charges, to make our ports the depot of the products of the world. Whatever clime our ships now visit, they may bring home those goods that they can procure to the best advantage, as the English market is now added to our own for their disposal. Whatever our warehouses may contain saleable in England, our ships may now carry; but if an illiberal and persecuting spirit prevails on the part of our own public officers, all these advantages must be lost.

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POLITICAL MISCELLANY.

SPEECH OF JOHN VAN BUREN, AT FANEUIL HALL.

Mr. Van Buren delivered his speech at Faneuil Hall, on the 8th of November, ultimo. There is nothing in it that we can see to distinguish it from other efforts of its author, made in the Quixotic crusade in which he is engaged. It, perhaps, may compare favorably as an intellectual and literary effort with any heretofore delivered by him. There is, what may be called in New-England phrase, a *smartness* about it—a pertness of diction, and, we are obliged to add, a self-complaisant, and rather swaggering egotism, which distinguishes most of Mr. Van Buren's speeches. The Post, the Albany Atlas, *et id omne genus*, go into raptures over it, *of course*. It is, as usual, the "most brilliant," "the most eloquent,"—"the most masterly,"—"the most transcendent" of all the efforts of "the most gifted" speaker. One would think that such an orator had not been seen since Patrick Henry's days, or, at least, since Pitt, Fox, and Sheridan resigned the tribune in the British Parliament. These superlatives of toadyism—this indiscriminate and most fulsome eulogy, is not only in the worst possible taste, but exceedingly disgusting. No public man of the day, we are inclined to think, has been so belabored and be-puffed into greatness as Mr. John Van Buren. Whatever else he may be, certainly a great orator he is not—and not even a great *speechmaker*. Indeed, the speeches of many of the young men of his own faction, Stanton, Nye, Doolittle, and others, compare in all respects favorably with his best efforts. As a public speaker, he is no match for such a man, for example, as Mr. Seward, and is not to be mentioned in the same breath with him as a writer; and yet with the advantage of Mr. Seward's superior talent and attainments, Thurlow Weed himself has never been able to make so great an orator of him, as the Atlas, Post, &c., have, by dint of superior perseverance and industry, contrived to make of Mr. Van Buren. We do not mean by this, to deny Mr. John Van Buren the possession of highly respectable talents, great acuteness of mind, and much practical information. He certainly has all this—but we think we are doing him no injustice in entering a slight protest against those superlative accomplishments, with which unwise flatterers have endowed him.

We have to do, however, with the Faneuil Hall speech, and not with its author. And first, it seems to us intended as a somewhat laudatory personal vindication of himself and his political and family connexion. The following extract is his vindication of the "nominee of the Buffalo Convention."

"It is a common charge against Mr. Van Buren, that his connection with the free soil movement grew either out of resentment to the south, or to the national Democratic party, or to Mr. Cass; and suggestions of this sort are so constantly made *for the sake of embarrassing the cause*, chiefly, that I feel at liberty to allude to them. The facts of history are sufficient to refute each of these theories. In 1840, Mr. Van Buren was a candidate for the Presidency, and received the votes of Virginia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Missouri, all slaveholding states, and giving him, I believe, all the electoral votes he received, except those from New-Hampshire. In 1844, a majority of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention, were instructed to present his name as a candidate for the Presidency. *They took the responsibility of presenting another*, and although he differed with the nominee in regard to the propriety of immediately annexing Texas to the United States, he cordially supported the nomination. Mr. Wright was put upon the ticket for Governor, and thus New-York was carried for Mr. Polk, and his election effected. In 1848, New-

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York had no candidate for the Presidency. The great statesman on whose shoulders Mr. Polk had been elevated to the Presidency, had been removed by the hand of death, and in his grave was buried the ambition of the democracy of the state. It will thus be seen, that in 1840 Mr. Van Buren received the cordial support of the South; *that in* 1844 *he was honored with the preference of the whole republican party of the Union*, and in 1848 *he had publicly declined the democratic nomination before the assembling of the Baltimore Convention*, and the state presented no candidate. There is, therefore, not the slightest foundation, in fact, for the charge so perseveringly urged—that his action was influenced by disappointment, resentment, or revenge."

Most admirably reasoned! Mr. Van Buren is nothing, if not *logical*. Observe the force and conclusiveness of the argument. The irony conveyed in the phrase which we have italicised—that the convention of 1844 "took the responsibility of presenting another" name for a candidate over the man "who was honored with the preference of the whole republican party of the Union," would seem, it is true, to impair the strength of his premises, but it does not stand in the way of his conclusion. His father, he says, publicly "declined" the nomination of the Baltimore Convention of 1848! When? where? how? in what manner? to whom? We pause for a reply. Was it in the letter written two or three years since, to some country newspaper, we believe in Pennsylvania? The son does not inform us. This, if we remember certainly, was the only public "declination" ever made by Mr. Van Buren, the elder. It was couched in more than the habitually dark and incomprehensible phraseology of its author—ambiguous and equivocal as the givings out of the oracle.

"*Aio te, Æciden, Romanus vincere posse.*" One might swear with the son that he declined the Presidency, while another, by the same text, and the same paragraph, might asseverate that he would yield "to the wishes of the people," and consent to stand another canvas;—we happen to know, however, that some of Mr. Van Buren's most intimate friends, if not he himself, were laboring under the delusion that a state of things might exist at the Convention of 1848, by the admission of the Utica delegates, which would secure his nomination as a *compromise* candidate. One of his most confidential, though, perhaps, not most discreet friends, with whom he is in the habit of daily association—a delegate to the Baltimore Convention, openly avowed this in a public meeting, held in his native village. This fact, though perhaps unknown to the Boston audience, could not have been unknown to Mr. John Van Buren, as it was published in the newspapers without contradiction at the time. Mr. Van Buren's public "declination" of the Presidential nomination before it was tendered, was certainly no less equivocal and liable to be construed both ways, than that of John himself, in this same speech. Observe how gracefully he disclaims the *desire* for office, and surrenders himself into the hands of his friends.

"I have no personal object, so far as I know, connected with this subject. I regard public office, freely and voluntarily bestowed, as a gratifying evidence of popular confidence and regard. But it has been my lot to be intimately acquainted with persons holding office, from the highest to the lowest degree. They have ever seemed to me to be subject to care, anxiety and responsibility, for which neither the dignity nor pecuniary rewards seemed to me to afford an adequate compensation.

"I am aware that those who disclaim a desire for office are very apt to be those who are most prompt to seize them when offered. But even at the hazard of incurring this suspicion, I feel called upon to say, that if my wishes are regarded, I shall never hold any office under the state or national government. My sole desire is to see this great question settled according to justice and right."

This disinterested avowal was *cheered*, and very properly, by a Boston audience. In an audience more intimately acquainted with the "hereditary propensities" for office—the cheers might have been mingled with laughter. We cannot help thinking, that this superfluous disinterestedness rings a little too loudly for

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true metal. Honest old Sir Henry Lee, of Ditchley, even in his old-fashioned simplicity, looked with suspicion upon the independent soldier, when he gravely, and, in affected nasal twang, told the old Knight, that men called him "*honest* Joe, and *trusty* Tomkins." Yet this Boston audience could swallow, and even receive with cheers, the declaration of Mr. John Van Buren, that he does not want office, but that his "*sole desire* is to see this great question (*slavery*) settled according to justice, and right!

And how does he prepare to settle it?

"First: By universally acknowledging the exclusive rights of the states in which slavery exists, to deal with the subject in those states, and the duty of those residing elsewhere to refrain from intermeddling with it."

This is very well. We agree with him; and also, so far with the "Buffalo platform," of which he says it forms "a fundamental article"

"Second: Slavery and the slave trade ought to be abolished in the District of Columbia."

Here Mr. Van Buren says he differs with the former opinions of his *father*, and also, with those of Mr. Clay. He thinks the people of the District desire the abolition of slavery there, and that the Southern states would not object to it if this "would terminate the slavery agitation." Perhaps not.

"Third: Slavery ought to be positively prohibited in New-Mexico and California. In answer to this, it is said that these territories are now free, and that slavery cannot legally exist there without laws to establish it."

The argument here is, that admitting the fact to be as stated, to wit—that slavery cannot legally exist there, yet the positive prohibition *can do no harm*, and therefore, Congress ought to pass such prohibitory act. Let us see. That clause in the constitution, under which alone the most liberal as well as the most literal constructionist can find the power in Congress to legislate for the territories, restricts such legislation in express terms to what is necessary. "The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all *needful* rules and regulations respecting the territory, and other property belonging to the United States:" such is the language of the constitution. Yet, while admitting that such legislation is not *needful*, he claims, in the very face of the constitution, that it "can do no harm." He is unwilling, he says, to leave to the people of California "the adjustment of this question"—and yet that very people have just adopted unanimously a constitution, prohibiting slavery in the new state! Mr. Van Buren does not live for office or desire it; but his "sole desire" is to see this great question settled. Here he finds it ready to his hand.

"Fourth: No more slave states ought to be admitted into this Union. The superior representation which slaveholding states, at the adoption of the Constitution, secured over the free states, should be no farther increased."

And this, too, in direct contravention of the act annexing Texas—an act in the nature of a treaty stipulation between two sovereign powers—guaranteeing by a solemn pledge of national faith, in consideration of the voluntary annexation of Texas to this Union, that the new states to be formed out of her territory south of 36° 30′ should be admitted with or without slavery, as the people might desire. Mr. Van Buren, in his sole desire to see this question settled "according to *justice and right*," would violate this solemn pledge of national faith to the people of Texas.

"Fifth: It is desirable that the inter-state slave trade should cease. But I doubt if Congress have the constitutional power to prohibit it. Nearly all the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States deny the existence of such a power, and it would be unwise to exercise an authority over slavery denied by the Supreme Court."

We think Mr. Van Buren's "doubts" and scruples as to Constitutional power under his fifth head, will not trouble him much, if he can get safely over his *thirdly* and *fourthly*. No necessity of qualifying it with a doubt. This is but ridiculous affectation. Better at once coincide with Gerritt Smith, and set Constitutional restraints at defiance. Let the "inter-state slave trade" cease, notwithstanding the Constitution and Supreme Court.

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"Sixth: The Government of the United States should be kept actively and perpetually on the side of human freedom. It would thus keep pace with the other governments of the civilized world."

This is the grand climax—the general summing up of the "free soil" doctrine. We think we fully comprehend its meaning. The words "human freedom," however, should read "the free states," to make it more generally intelligible. Thus amended, we understand Mr. Van Buren to mean that the General Government must be wholly sectional in its character—that it must assume an attitude of hostility to the institutions of one section of the country, and must be the active and perpetual champion of the interests, the measures, and the peculiar views of another. The election and appointment to office of "congressmen and constables, presidents and pound-masters," as he has it, must all be regulated and determined by the strength of their faith in the political corner-stone. What is this but the refinement of demagogueism, and the device of a scheming political agitator?

We have said that this speech is a *smart* one. There are in it some tolerable hits at President Taylor and the Whigs—some very good and some passable touches of humor, and occasionally an old acquaintance of a joke dressed up in new clothes—no very unusual practice, by-the-bye, of the speaker. We regret, however, to find him indulging here and there in a coarseness and vulgarity of allusion, which, to call it by its mildest term, is in the highest degree offensive to good taste. Speaking, for example, of what he said at Utica, prior to the presidential nomination, that it was necessary for the presidential candidate, whoever he might be, to be a "man," he adds:

"When I spoke of the necessity of the candidate's being a 'man,' I probably referred to some of the later presidents, who had not even come up to that moderate standard of qualification for the office."

The memory of President Polk, at whom this ungenerous fling is manifestly made, should have been sacred from any attack from that quarter. It would require a greater degree of vanity, and a cooler complaisance than we think even Mr. Van Buren possesses, to contrast favorably to himself his best conceptions of his own "manhood" with that purity of character, that stern integrity, and that high moral principle, which so eminently characterized the late ex-president. This species of contemptuous sarcasm is a favorite turn of speech with Mr. Van Buren. The late state address of the "free soilers," written by him, is disfigured and belittled with it *ad nauseam*, in allusions to such men as Governor Marcy, Chancellor Walworth, Judge Beardsley, and others, whose high personal characters and virtues are respected by the most ardent political opponent.

We make but one farther extract from this address. It is the deliberate repetition of Mr. Van Buren's abolition pledge, made at Cleaveland, we believe, slightly modified in language, and is reported as follows:

"I have felt called upon to say, and now repeat it, that I shall not, while this question remains open, under any necessity whatever, support for the office of president any man who does not believe human slavery to be an unmixed evil, and who will not use the whole constitutional powers of the government to abolish it."

Mr. Van Buren thus repudiates his connexion with the National Democratic party. Of course he repudiates his connexion with the majority of his own friends in this state, for he is too wise a man to shut his eyes to the fact, however loudly he may talk on the other side of the question, that the union of the party upon one ticket in New-York was effected only upon the understanding that the slavery question should be tacitly passed over—that it should not be considered a test of party faith or a rule of party action. *He himself* was a party to that union; and if he seeks now to violate it, as he openly professes at Faneuil Hall, we doubt not that his *expressed* wishes as to his holding office, at the hands of the Democratic party, at least, will be "regarded." If it be true, as some of his ardent friends more than insinuate, that the late state nominations for one branch of the legislature were made, and in some instances *managed*

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with especial reference to his personal advancement, we would advise him at once to moderate the expectations of these friends by a private assurance of his wishes not to hold office under the state government—which will certainly come with more force than the public declaration. Under such circumstances, with a clear democratic majority in the legislature, the endorsement even of a *caucus* nomination could not avail him. With his own declaration in advance, that he is bound by no convention and the proceedings of no caucus, and that he will support no nomination which he dreams "not fit to be made"—that is, unless such nominee be a pledged abolitionist—what right has he to expect the support of the democracy, and what democrat who professes to act with the National Democratic party would dare to cast for him a vote in the legislature, or anywhere else? "It is clear," he says, employing as usual, an old joke, in this case one of Sidney Smith's, "if they have swallowed me, *I shall disagree with them.*" That point, judging from this address, is certainly clear. Mr. Van Buren, with his incendiary abolition speeches, is too strong a dose for the party. The sooner he is cast forth, Jonah-like, the better perhaps for himself—certainly for the future peace and harmony of the Democratic party.

An effort is being made in Maryland to alter the basis of representation so as to give it a more republican character. That is to say, so as to enable each voter to have his due weight in the choice of officers who are to represent his interests in the legislature. The state of things which result from the present system is ably shown in the following extract from the Baltimore Sun, being a table in which is taken the vote of each county separately, at the presidential and gubernatorial elections of 1844, (as being perhaps the fullest, and presenting the fairest test,) fixing the ratio of representation at one delegate to each 1,100 voters, and an extra one to each county having an unrepresented fraction of 650 or more, conceding of course to *Calvert* one member, although she does not come up to this basis by some 240 votes.

COUNTIES.	Highest popular vote at Presidential and Gubernatorial elections—1844.	No. of delegates to each Co under present system.	Number of voters to each delegate under present odious system.	No delegates under proposed republican basis of 1,100 voters to each mem.	Unrepresented fractions under proposed ratio of 1,100 voters to each member.
Calvert,	857	3	286	1	00
Kent,	1,245	8	415	1	145
St. Mary's,	1,255	3	418	1	155
Caroline,	1,298	3	343	1	198
Charles,	1,321	3	440	1	221
Queen Anne's	1,504	3	501	1	404
Talbot,	1,529	3	509	1	427
Prince George's,	1,776	4	444	1	*676
Montgomery,	1,990	4	498	1	*890
Dorchester,	2,304	4	576	2	104
Somerset,	2,366	4	592	2	166
Worcester,	2,530	4	633	2	330
Harford,	2,904	4	726	2	*704
Allegany,	2,953	4	738	2	*753
Cecil,	3,111	4	778	2	*911
Anne Arundel,	3,383	5	677	3	83
Carroll,	3,562	4	891	3	262
Baltimore,	5,055	5	1,011	4	*655
Washington,	5,218	5	1,043	4	*818
Frederick,	6,237	5	1,245	5	*737
Baltimore city,	17,296	5	3,460	15	*799

Those marked thus, [*] viz: Prince George's, Montgomery, Harford, Allegany, Cecil, Baltimore, Washington and Frederick counties, and the city of

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Baltimore, having each unrepresented fractions of 650 voters, would each have an extra delegate, making 64 members instead of 82, of which the House of Delegates is now composed.

It might be observed, (in addition to other valuable information for truly *republican reformers*,) that Calvert county has now a delegate upon the floor of the state legislature for every 286 voters; while the great city of Baltimore, and from which two-thirds of the state revenue is derived, exhibits a poll of 3,460 voters to each delegate!

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE WESTERN WORLD; or Travels in the United States in 1846–'47; exhibiting them in their latest development, social, political and industrial; including a chapter on California. By Alexander Mackey, Esq., of the Middle Temple. 2 vols., from the 2nd London edition. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

Mr. Mackay appears to have travelled to some advantage in the United States, and to have used his powers of observation with great perseverance and success, and what is rare with an English tourist, free from that malevolent prejudice which runs through by far the majority of English writings upon foreign matters. We are exceedingly pleased that a work so well stored with useful information in relation to the United States, and generally accurate, should have been extensively circulated in England. Its clear descriptions bring to the minds of the English reader the true state of things here, and must aid in doing away with that bitterness of feeling created by the leading English Journals and the spite of such persons as Dickens. Mr. Mackay is a free trader, and has dedicated his book to Mr. Cobden. He therefore enters into the spirit of that commercial freedom, which must be the bond of eternal peace between civilized nations, promoted by a cultivation of kindlier feelings between the people of the two countries, than the scribblings of aristocratic toadies seemed inclined to foster.

GREENWOOD; A DIRECTORY FOR VISITORS.—By N. Cleaveland. Office of the Cemetery, 64 Broadway.

The Cemetery at Greenwood has already become celebrated throughout the country, as well for the extent and beauty of its grounds, and for the skill with which it is laid out, as for the splendor of its "storied urns" and sculptured obelisks. It is also becoming hallowed by age and the comprehensiveness of its associations. Its attractive mounds enclose in their sacred precincts the remains of the good, the beautiful, the learned, the valiant and the meritorious in every walk of life. Each picturesque knoll, in its varied avenues, presents a beautiful work of art, reared in memory of some individual from whose little history the reflective mind draws instruction, and finds a deeper interest awakened in the pursuits and destinies of our common humanity. The *native* simplicity of Do-hum-me, the cultivated intellect of Dixon H. Lewis, Alabama's honored senator, and the erratic genius of McDonald Clarke, each affords a vast field for philosophising upon the fate of the red man, the illusions of wordly honors, and the misfortunes of genius. How the bosom swells at the monuments erected to the memory of those stalwart men who died "under shield," in the performance of their several duties as firemen and pilots! How it burns with patriotic ardor while standing by the remains of the gallant volunteers! How it melts in sympathising sorrow at the memento of paternal love that surmounts the remains of Miss Canda, whose touching story is given with thrilling effect in the little volume before us! Of the several thousand human beings who have passed from among us to repose amid the flowers of Greenwood, this little Directory tells of their whereabouts to the enquiring friend and inquisitive stranger. It contains 116 beautiful cuts, representing the most remarkable monumental scenes on the ground, with a sketch of each. About one-half, composing Part II. of the volume, is occupied with biographical notices of the most noted in this "city of the dead." Hon. Dixon H. Lewis, United States senator from Alabama, David Hale, Esq., of the New-York Journal of Commerce, Jonathan Goodhue, one of the merchant princes of New-York, De Witt Clinton, New-York's great governor, with a number of others. While these afford much instruction and interest, that of Miss Canda will most attract the attention of the general reader. Its moral is the most conspicuous to the mind, as her monument is the most distinguished to the eye. With a highly cultivated mind, evincing great maturity of thought and judgment, the only child of wealthy and indulgent parents, she met her death by being thrown from her carriage, while returning on the evening of her seventeenth birthday from a small party. The story is related with

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great effect, and is accompanied by a picture of the tomb, the plan of which had been partly sketched by herself in honor of a beloved aunt. The volume contains other interesting matter, and is a most desirable companion to those interested in the locality. It is beautifully got up — Messrs. Pudney & Russell, Printers — surpassing in artistic execution, typography, and general appearance, most of the publications of the day; and afforded at the low price of $1 25, at most of the book stores, as well as at the office of the Cemetery.

THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH; including a variety of pieces now first collected. By James Prior, Author of "Life of Burke," &c. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

The patient diligence and research of Mr. James Prior, prompted by national feelings and admiration, after the lapse of half a century, rescued the materials of a life of Goldsmith from oblivion, and for the first time, presented him in full length to his countrymen and the world. The same high qualities on the part of Mr. Prior, pushed in the same direction, recovered and embodied most of the author's earlier productions, and many of these were embraced, with others known, in the work of Mr. Prior, and impart exceeding interest to the edition. As a light critic, a sportive, yet tender and insinuating moralist, and observer of men and manners, Goldsmith had few equals. His admirable style and chaste humour, render his essays and miscellaneous writings a mine of lively thought and pure English. Some of the pieces are in the finest vein of story-telling, tinged with the light of true poetry and imagination. His descriptions are vivid and beautiful, and well calculated to inspire a love of nature. Both the old and the new materials are accompanied with brief notes, clearing up the local temporary allusions in which they abound, but which the lapse of another generation would probably have rendered it impossible for any diligence to explain.

The edition is produced in a neat, attractive, and altogether superior style. The binding is of a new and beautiful variety, from the bindery of Mr. Melbrooke, and does great credit to his taste and execution.

THE NEIGHBOURS.—A Story of Every Day Life. By Frederica Bremer. Translated from the Swedish, by Mary Howitt. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

The arrival of Miss Bremer among us, on a visit to the "Homes of America," has produced much sensation among the admirers of the most popular of Swedish writers, as well as of the belles-lettres in general; and Mr. Putnam, with his usual promptitude, has seized the opportunity to reproduce the choice works of the authoress in a beautiful yet cheap edition. The attention thus paid to a fair and welcome stranger, she thus gracefully acknowledges in her preface, dated Newburg, October, 1849:

"Among the many agreeable things which have met me on my arrival in the United States of America, I count the proposal of Mr. Putnam, to give a new edition of my works, on conditions which cannot but be agreeable to me, since they offer me the privileges of a native author. But if an author has a heart—and authors commonly have—the best reward, by far, that can be offered to them, they will feel to be that of sympathising minds, of cordial hearts and hands; and, as I cannot but feel that Mr. Putnam's proposal reposes on some such basis, it is to me the sign of a fact, to which I cannot but look with heartfelt joy, as well as with a feeling of wonder. For, strange indeed, and wonderful it seems, that a mere stranger, coming from shores far remote, should be received by a great nation as in a dear and loving home."

The edition is uniform with that of Irving's works; and this first volume has a portrait of the author. Perhaps no prior writer ever produced so great a sensation in Sweden, as did those of Miss Bremer; indeed throughout Germany, the translations have enjoyed a popularity equal to that of any German writer; and their introduction to the English reading public by Mrs. Howitt, has been marked by a general response in their favor.

LECTURES ON MODERN HISTORY, FROM THE IRRUPTION OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS TO THE CLOSE OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.—By William Smyth, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Third American edition, revised and corrected. With additions, including a preface, and a list of books on American history. By Jared Sparks, President of Harvard College. 8vo, pp. 738. Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey & Co.

This great work, which has passed through several editions in this country, and become a text-book for the students of history at Harvard College, stands, as it were, as a guide-board at the entrance of the path to historical knowledge, giving to every student full and concise rules and directions as to the path he is to pursue. His object (says President Sparks,) is to teach students and readers generally how to read history

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for themselves; to show them the path, and furnish them the best lights for pursuing it; to enable them to form a just estimate of the principles of authors, and to bring forward in bold relief those prominent parts of history to which their attention should chiefly be directed. What an immensity of time and labor is saved by following the guidance of a sound and accurate judgment, when the student enters upon such a study as that of history, to learn from the mass of authors which to select, in what order they are to be read, and at what season of his progress. This chart is laid down in the lectures of Mr. Smyth, with a precision and clearness, and a felicity of style, that makes his work invaluable to every library.

THE MONUMENTS OF EGYPT; OR, EGYPT A WITNESS FOR THE BIBLE.—By Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D., with Notes of a Voyage up the Nile, by an American. Geo. P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

It has been the fate of almost every discovery in science or the arts since the Christian era, to be received on its first promulgation, as adverse to the truth of the Sacred Writings. Whether this arises from a want of absolute conviction on the part of devotees themselves, or from the exceedingly narrow and bigoted view they take of the power of truth in general, and that of the revealed religion in particular, does not so directly manifest itself; but the fact is apparent, that every new revelation of the wonderful operations of nature seems to excite a nervous apprehension that the authority of the Scriptures is about to be overthrown Like the great discoveries in astronomy and geology, the researches into Egyptian monumental lore, so extensively prosecuted since the sword of Napoleon opened access to them, have developed facts supposed to be inconsistent with the statements of the Bible in relation to Egyptian history. The peculiarly dry atmosphere of Egypt, through which rain may be said never to descend, has the rare property of preserving objects of art through countless centuries almost untouched by the hand of time, or rather the principal agent in destruction, moisture, is absent. It follows that its numerous monuments hand down to us, from the remotest ages, inscriptions and utensils that make us better acquainted with the domestic habits and social condition of that ancient people, than of any other of remote periods. It is only, however, within a few years, that antiquarian science has recovered the art of reading the hieroglyphical inscriptions, and therefore of fixing dates, and explaining the numerous pictures which cover the buildings and adorn the columns. Indeed, this art is not yet fully restored, although it is stated within a few years, that further and great progress has been made, the details of which have not yet appeared. Enough has been done, however, to dispel many illusions, as well as to arm the Christian advocate with the means not only of repelling the suspicion cast upon the truth of the Mosaic history by superficial philosophy, but of eminently corroborating the whole story of the Bible where it touches upon Egypt. This work has been performed by Dr. Hawks in the volume before us, in a most fascinating manner. A short and clear account is given of the wonderful process through which the art of deciphering the hieroglyphics passed until the path was successfully cleared. He then analyses the story of Abraham's visit to Egypt, and of Joseph's; and applies the discoveries made to the testing of the truth of the facts therein stated in respect of the condition and habits of the Egyptians, with perfect success. Among the most remarkable of the confirmations mentioned, is that of the invasion of Judea by Sheshonk, related in the 12th chapter of the 2nd Book of Chronicles. In one of the ancient ruins was found by Champollion, a picture representing a triumph, in which one of the prisoners is "King of the country of Judah," presented by Sheshonk, thus being a direct confirmation of the account in Chronicles.

In the second portion of the volume is given an account of a voyage up and down the Nile, of much interest. The volume is beautifully executed in Mr. Putnam's best style, uniform with "Nineveh and its Remains." Its illustrations are many and valuable, greatly assisting the reader in understanding the progress of the discoveries. It is a work necessary to every library.

ORATIONS AND OCCASIONAL DISCOURSES.—By George W. Bethune, D.D. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

The popularity of the addresses of Dr. Bethune is still of a progressive character; and the selection of his discourses, now given to the public, will command much attention. There are eight of these on literary subjects and those of general interest, comprised in a volume uniform with Putnam's standard edition of Irving's works. The advertisement informs us, that the publication was made in compliance with frequent requests made of the author for their production in their present form.

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ICONOGRAPHIC ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND ART; systematically arranged, by G. Heck. With five hundred steel engravings, by the most distinguished artists of Germany. The text translated and edited by Spencer F. Baird, A.M., M.D., Professor of Natural Sciences in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. Rudolph Garrigue, publisher, 2 Barclay-street, Astor House, New-York.

The second number of this great work has made its appearance punctually, according to announcement, and exhibits a well executed solid work of substantial value, of which those who have not seen the specimens may form a very good idea, by supposing the steel engravings detached from the larger quarto Encyclopædias, Rees' for instance, somewhat modified in detail, to present a more vivid pictorial impression, and inclosed in single pages, in a stout pocket-book or envelope alongside the letter-press in unbound sheets. The whole work is so arranged as to appear in twenty-five monthly parts, each containing twenty plates, and accompanied by eighty pages of letter-press. The advantage of the plan is its comprehensive illustration of a particular subject at one view, by which we may compare the development and mutual relation of different machines, diagrams, mechanical and other processes. The condensation is of course a striking feature, as in the compact charts of the northern and southern Heavens. This is gained by great distinctness in the engraving, noticeable especially in the astronomical maps.

The text is translated and edited by Dr. Spencer F. Baird, Professor of Natural Sciences in Dickinson College. The introduction of this work into general circulation among our school and other libraries, public and private, cannot fail to be productive of advantage. Of a very important matter to purchasers in the issue of a serial work of this magnitude, we may speak with confidence—the reliability of the undertaking in the cardinal points of punctuality and sound business morality. There is no risk of the work falling short in any way of the promises of the prospectus.

FAMILY PICTURES FROM THE BIBLE. By Mrs. Ellet, Author of the "Women of the American Revolution." G. P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

This emanation from the prolific pen of Mrs. Ellet, has much of merit and not a little of interest. It comprises twenty-one chapters, in each of which the families of the Patriarchs are treated, not all however by the same pen. The Rev. Drs. Bethune and Dalton, and some others, have contributed portions of the work, forming a very agreeable companion for religious meditation.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Abdication of James II., 1688. By David Hume, Esq. A new edition, with the author's last corrections and improvements; to which is prefixed a short account of his life, written by himself. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

This forms No. 4, of the beautiful unabridged edition of Hume, in process of publication. Our readers are aware that the edition is to be composed of six volumes. The publishers have, however, announced that the last volume will contain a *complete Index of the whole work.* Although attended with considerable additional expense, yet the publishers, very justly we think, deemed this an indispensable feature, in making it a convenient work of reference for the period of history which it embraces, and have, therefore, with great liberality, added it to the original programme of publication.

The great history of Hume, although generally accepted even in England, as inclining to the side of power, and not always accurate in quoting from his authorities, is, after all, the one most respected and admired by the general reader. He is the historian whose general air of calmness and good sense wins gradually upon our confidence, and his opinions insensibly become our own. Hume, of all other English historians, is the author who, from his conciseness, the charms of his style, and the weight of his philosophical observations, is always preferred, and is far universally and thoroughly read. There is in this age far less necessity for a caution to readers against the political bias of the book, inasmuch as that the advance of ideas since he wrote, has been sufficient to guard the public from its consequences. The precedents he seeks to establish in favor of the royal prerogative, have now but little weight, while the attractive nature of his story will defy alike the attacks of theologians and the dissatisfaction of partisans.

LATIN CLASSICAL TEXTS. Armour & Ramsay, Montreal. G. P. Putnam, New-York.

This series of well-printed little works, comprises at present the following— Cornelius Nepos, 1s. 6d; Virgilii Georgica, 1s. 6d.; Cicero de Amicitia, 1s.; Cicero de Senectute, 1s.; Ovidii Fasti, 1s. 6d.; Cæsar de Bello Gallico, 1s. 9d.; Q. Curtius, 1s. 9d.; Taciti Agricola, 9d.; Horatii Carmina, 1s. 9d.; to be followed by other numbers.

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THE CANADIAN GUIDE BOOK; with a Map of the Province. Montreal, Armour & Ramsay. G. P. Putnam, New-York.

The arms of the Union are already extended to embrace the approaching Canadas, as, link by link, they let go the bonds that hold them to their mother-country. Each day the intercourse between the two countries increases, and the mutual interest improves. The appearance of works on Canada, its resources, means and modes of living, are doubly welcome. The work before us contains a fund of information upon the most important topics touching that country. Its descriptions are full and attractive, and its statistics accurate and comprehensive.

GLIMPSES OF SPAIN; or Notes of an Unfinished Tour in 1847. By S. F. Wallis. Harper Brothers.

Whatever tends to illustrate the social condition of Peninsular Spain is of interest; and the work before us introduces us in a graceful and familiar manner to the society of the Peninsula. The author in his preface apologises for having no rencontre with banditti to recount; but the country in respect to life and limb has become insipidly safe. The agreeable adventures that were encountered are here given in a very attractive style.

THE INEDITED WORKS OF LORD BYRON. Now first published from his Letters, Journals and other Manuscripts, in the possession of his son, Major George Gordon Byron. G. G. Byron, 257 Broadway.

Major Byron has produced the first number of his promised work, containing the inedited writings of Lord Byron. Its appearance reflects high credit upon the publisher in point of typography and general appearance. It will, doubtless, command extensive patronage, more particularly that the English seem over anxious to condemn it.

REDBURN: his first Voyage. Being the Sailor-boy's Confessions and Reminiscences of a Son of a Gentleman in the Merchant Service. By Herman Melville, Author of "Typee," &c. Harper Brothers.

The announcement of a new work by Mr. Melville, caused a degree of interest and eagerness to obtain it seldom created of late years by an American book. The appearance of "Mardi," in accordance with this announcement, produced unmistakeably a feeling of disappointment; not that that work was not in itself a great and meritorious book, deserving of much popularity, but the brilliant and bewitching scenes of "Typee" and "Omoo" had identified Mr. Melville's name, in the public mind, with scenes and adventures of a most attractive nature in a new field of operations. These were sketched with a power of description, a vividness of delineation, and a talent for humour, that would have elevated the writer among a crowd of competitors in the most beaten track. The public mind thus preoccupied, was offered an entirely different work of a less lively and practical nature, and its expectations were not realised. "Redburn," in the writer's own peculiar vein, has reawakened the ardor with which "Omoo" was greeted, and once more Mr. Melville triumphs as the most captivating of ocean authors. There is a variety of pictures exhibited in "Redburn," each drawn with a power and skill seldom reached, and the humour is of the most contagious nature. The work must be read to be appreciated.

HEARTS AND HOMES; or, Social Distinction.—A Story. By Mrs. Ellis, Author of "The Women of England," &c. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

Since the appearance of the first part of this admirable work, public expectation has been eager for the conclusion. The animation and spirit of the first portion has suffered no abatement in the continuation, which presents an ever-varying picture in these subdued and truthful lights and shadows, which throw the events of life into strong relief. It has the full force and effect of a "Vanity Fair," with less of the exaggerated and the burlesque.

SHAKSPEARE'S DRAMATIC WORKS; with Introductory Remarks and Notes. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

This is the second number of the beautiful edition of Phillips, Sampson & Co. The typography of the work is admirable, being large and well executed on strong white paper. Each number, at 25 cents, contains a play complete, illustrated by a beautiful engraving of some leading character. The present number contains "The Merry Wives of Windsor," with a beautiful engraving of Mrs. Ford.

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THE OLD WORLD; or, Scenes and Cities in Foreign Lands. By William Furniss. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

This little volume contains glimpses of the most important cities of Europe, given in a light and agreeable manner. Almost every city of Europe is embraced in the scope of the work, and those features of each that strike the stranger's eye most vividly, are given with good effect.

EXERCISES IN GREEK PROSE COMPOSITION. Adapted to the first book of Xenophon's Anabasis. By James R. Boise, Professor of Greek in the Brown University. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

These exercises are designed mostly to familiarise the learner with the language of Xenophon. They consist of easy sentences, similar to those in the Anabasis, involving the same words and construction; and the chapters and sections in both are made to correspond.

SHIRLEY; a Tale.—By Curren Bell, Author of "Jane Eyre." Harper Brothers.

This new work by the popular author of "Jane Eyre," has been published by the Messrs. Harper in two styles; one a very neat library edition in muslin, and also in the cheap 8vo. form for 37½ cents. In this manner the means and convenience of all classes of readers are accommodated. The novels of Mr. Bell possess an interest for many readers far beyond the attractions of the new French school of novelists, and command a place in the library as much as for the mere reading of the day.

ABBOTT'S HISTORIES.—History of King Alfred of England. By Jacob Abbott, with Engravings. Harper Brothers.

The clear and familiar style in which Mr. Abbott places the career and personal character of the world's heroes before the young, is every way calculated to win their attention and fix their minds upon reading of a practical and instructive nature, rather than upon the fictitious matter which bewilders the judgment and vitiates the taste. He has selected his field with excellent taste, and his labors will doubtless be productive of incalculable benefit.

THE NILE: Pharaonic, Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine, Saracenic, Mamlook, Ottoman. Its Ancient Monuments, its Modern Scenery, and the varied Characteristics of its People, on the River, Alluvium, and Deserts, exhibited in a Grand Panoramic Picsure, explained in oral Lectures, &c., &c. By G. R. Gliddon.

This is the title of a pamphlet from the pen of Mr. Gliddon, issued in London as a kind of *avant courier* to a course of lectures which will shortly be published in this city. One of the few copies yet received is before us. The novel feature will be seen to be a *Panoramic Exhibition*. In respect to this Panorama of the Nile, we are informed that during this summer a magnificent transparency of some of the most interesting scenery on the "Sacred River" had been painted by artists of great celebrity, (Messrs. Henry Barren, James Pakey, John Martin, E. Corbould, and C. H. Rigall,) from drawings made on the spot by Mr. Bonomi, an associate of the late Prussian Mission to Egypt; and this was exhibited in London, under the most favourable auspices. On this panorama Mr. Gliddon cast a longing eye, considering it, as it was in truth, a most valuable accession to the illustrations of the Egytian Lectures, of the previous value and beauty of which, most of our readers are well aware; and after some negotiation, this picture has become his property, and will be exhibited in the United States during the coming winter, as an accompaniment to his oral lectures. The exhibition opened at the Chinese Rooms, in Broadway.

LA CIENCIA DE TENEDURIA DE LIBROS.—Simplificada, por la applicacion de una Regla infalible para acerter el Deudor y el acreedor; bien calculada para Ersenar completemente la teoria y practica de la partida doble, &c. Por C. C. Marsh, Contador. J. C. Riker, New-York; A. Chartain, Havana.

Mr. Marsh enjoys deserved celebrity for the clear and concise manner in which the spirit of book-keeping, so to speak, is imparted to the learner. It differs from most methods, in that he does not depend upon the memory to retain, and skill to apply numerous rules, with their divers exceptions, to the transactions of actual commerce. He awakens and drills the reasoning powers of the student to an understanding of the nature of all possible mercantile transactions, and the process of induction perfects the work. The growing importance of the Island of Cuba, and our intercourse with Mexico, involves the necessity of a Spanish edition of this book; and his is produced in a most beautiful shape, amended and revised. We recommend it to the use of the Spanish merchant.

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